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THE CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW

For the Study of the Church History of the United States

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FOR THE STUDY OF THE CHURCH HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

Volume IV

APRIL, 1918

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The Catholic Historical Review

VOLUME IV

APRIL, 1918

NUMBER 1

A SELF-EFFACED PHILANTHROPIST: CORNELIUS HEENEY, 1754-1848

In these days of "Foundations" and "Libraries" such a title as a self-effaced philanthropist seems a positive contradiction. It must be used however in making the record of Cornelius Heeney, a layman whose name constantly recurs during the formative period of the Church in New York and Brooklyn in the closing years of the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth centuries. It is only when the details of almost every movement there for the spread of the Faith during this period are gone over that the ubiquity of his energies and the lavishness of his generosity and charity can in a measure be realized. Yet how few in the now great city know anything about him; how few ever heard his name with any sense of realizing what it means in the history of pioneer days in Catholic New York? However, any general and eager curiosity about our Catholic history is not something over which we can boast at much length; and besides, as the lamented Dr. Herbermann wrote in the *Catholic Historical Review* for October, 1916 (p. 306), "many of our Catholic histories read partly like pages of a ledger and partly like catalogues of bishops and priests." The layman, outside a few stock historic figures, is conspicuously absent. Cornelius Heeney could survey the foundations of the Church in Greater New York today and with justice paraphrase Sir Christopher Wren's famous epitaph. In establishing the Brooklyn Benevolent Society he effaced his own personality, but put himself in the front rank of practical philanthropists.

He was a curious type of the apostolic Celt who has carried the Cross to the utmost confines of the known world. Born in King's County, Ireland, in 1754, the first thirty years of his life

were spent in his native land. A relative, who was in business in Dublin, gave him a good mercantile education, so that he was well equipped to make his way in America when he determined to follow his father to the New World in 1784. After a perilous voyage he landed penniless at Philadelphia, where a Quaker named Mead gave him employment. He tarried there only a few months, and then went to New York. Here another Quaker, a shipping merchant and trader named William Backhaus, engaged him as accountant and bookkeeper in his store which was located at No. 40 Little Dock, now Water Street. In this store he had as a fellow-employee John Jacob Astor, then a porter and salesman, and subsequently the founder of the family of multi-millionaires of our own time. The William Backhaus Astor of local fame was named after the proprietor of the Little Dock Street store, who retired from business in 1797 and, going back to England to end his days, left his business to his two employes Heeney and Astor.

Their dealings were mainly in trading furs and skins, but the partnership only lasted for a short time. When they separated Astor retained the old Backhaus store and Heeney opened another in the same line, at No. 82 Water Street. He was a shrewd, cautious merchant, well knowing the value of money, and he soon acquired a competence. In those days of moderate ideas as to wealth, as he was a bachelor, his personal outlay was a trifle of his income, for which he seemed to have no other use than to further the interests of the Church and to answer the pleas of charity. St. Peter's, the first congregation in New York, it will be remembered, was organized in 1785 and Mr. Heeney was therefore one of the few assisting in this connection. Father Farmer, S.J., after a visit to New York early in 1785, wrote to Dr. Carroll: "The congregation there seems to me to be yet in a poor situation and under many difficulties. Father Whelan, since getting faculties, had only twenty odd communicants,"¹ and tradition says Heeney was among these "twenty odd." At all events, as the congregation gradually took shape and form, he became one of its leaders and was elected a trustee, a position of special importance in those days. For some time,

¹ BAYLEY, *History of the Church in New York*, p. 57.

he served as treasurer of the congregation. The trustees were elected by the pew-holders, the Protestant idea of church membership and pew-holding being interchangeable obtained also through ignorance and the effect of environment among the early Catholic congregations.

St. Peter's is one of the few Catholic congregations in the country that have archives of any comparative antiquity and the subject of pews frequently crops up in the records of its early years. At a meeting of the trustees, held on April 24, 1789, among the measures adopted was:

That a committee consisting of Mr. Silva and Mr. Stoughton be appointed to procure a plan from Mr. Thomas Ogilvie, the carpenter, for the erecting of from forty to fifty pews in the Church and to know his lowest terms of payment and length of credit, and report the same at their next meeting.²

Under date of May 24, 1793, the trustees, in a petition sent to Joseph de Jaudenes and Joseph Ignatius de Viar of Philadelphia, in the hope that they would interest the King of Spain in "the particular exigencies of the Church," state that:

The present urgencies of the Church consist in the want of funds to defray the expenses of making of an altar and pulpit, pews, galleries and other indispensable conveniences.

At the trustees' meeting on June 1, 1789, it was agreed to select four of their number who in rotation were, two and two, to take up the collection every Sunday.

And the two trustees whose number and order it may happen to be for the Sunday collection may sit in the seat set apart for, and called the trustees' pew, and that not more than three of the trustees shall sit in the said pew at any time.

Pews and pewholders were the essential factors according to the ideals of the times, in the progress of the congregation, to which on April 16, 1794, was formally issued this notice:

The Trustees of St. Peter's Church having determined to make Sale of the Pews of said Church, have appointed the 21st day of this Month [April] being Easter Monday for that purpose: The Sale to begin at XI o'clock, and in order to avoid all causes of jealousy and distinction

² José Roiz Silva was the Portuguese Consul, and Thomas Stoughton the Spanish official representative then resident in New York.

and complaint, for the time to come, have (in Vestry assembled) adopted the following rules and regulations, Viz.:

I. No preference to be given to any person whatever, but each Pew to be disposed of to the highest Purchaser, as agreed upon on the day of sale, and an annual rent to be paid for each Pew.

II. The rent of each Pew to be paid quarterly, that is to say every three months.

III. That every person put in possession of a Pew, in said Church, shall in future be deemed the right owner, and have his or her name entered in the Church Book.

IV. That on all future occasions, the subscribers shall be equally entitled to the preferences of any vacant Pews.

V. That no person, not being a subscriber, shall get a vacant Pew, whilst a subscriber, or his or her heirs, wanting a Pew shall apply for it.

VI. That the highest subscriber, at all times, wanting a Pew, or willing to exchange his Pew, shall have the preference of a vacant Pew.

VII. That no person shall be allowed to sell or give his or her Pew, to any friend or stranger, but it shall descend in right only to such relation, as would be his or her heir at law, provided such heir belong to said Church.

VIII. That every Pew vacated for three years, without a lawful claimant, shall be the property of such person, who gets it by his subscription, but if the former owner should return, such person shall be entitled to the first vacant Pew.

IX. That any person that shall be known to let his Pew, or any part thereof for more than the just value, according to the yearly rent shall be dispossessed of it, or fined as a trafficker in the Church, the fine to be given to the Poor.

X. That every person who shall neglect to pay the rent of his Pew for six months after it becomes due, shall be dispossessed and the Pew given to another.

Later a warning to all who neglected to assume their status of formal membership was promulgated in this fashion:

PUBLIC NOTICE

To all whom it may concern: Whereas the exigencies of this Church require the absolute assistance of each and every member belonging thereto in order to support said Church and defray the weighty expenses which are daily incurred, and whereas with concern we see the supine neglect in many of the members thereof in subscribing to its relief, We the Trustees of said Church, with the advice and approbation of the Rev. Pastor thereof, do declare and make known to all whom it may concern, that no person after the date hereof shall be entitled to a place in our Burial Ground, who is not found to be, as the Law prescribes, regis-

tered in the Church Books as a stated member of said Church, and a yearly subscriber of Four Dollars, which subscription is to be paid each and every quarter into the hands of the Collector of the Church.

Signed on behalf of the Trustees,

WILLIAM O'BRIEN, *Pastor.*

New York,

Jan. 6, 1796.

Of course Cornelius Heeney sat in a prominent pew, as was fitting for a man of his social and commercial standing. It was a coign of vantage whence he surveyed his fellow-worshippers and it led to a friendship with a young Austrian that in a measure influenced this young man's life. This young man was John George Gottsberger, who arrived in New York in 1801, and attended Mass at St. Peter's. One Sunday, he said in telling the story to his son, who in turn related it to me: "A little old man came up to me in St. Peter's and said, 'Young man, I've observed you hearing Mass here regularly and I wish you'd come and sit in my pew.'" The invitation was accepted and an intimacy began that prompted Heeney to take the young man to live with him in his bachelor apartments over the store in Water Street. Another friend who shared its shelter was Francis Cooper, a Philadelphian of good old Catholic stock whose name is to be found among those foremost in early New York's Catholic activities. Cooper was one of the first of the Faith to hold public office in New York, and served as a member of the State legislature in 1807, 1808, 1809, 1815 and 1826. It was when he was elected in 1806 that an obnoxious anti-Catholic oath of office was finally wiped off the statute books so that he could take his seat in the Assembly. The trustees of St. Peter's presented the petition to the legislature that brought about this reform. Mr. Heeney also took an active part in politics and as a Democrat served five terms in the Assembly, following Mr. Cooper from 1818 to 1822. As a patriotic Irishman he joined with Thomas Addis Emmet and the other exiles of the '98 rebellion to defeat the effort of Rufus King to be chosen United States Senator from New York. King, during the United Irishmen episode, was our Minister to England, and in that capacity by his own diplomatic objections tried to prevent Emmet and his fellow-prisoners in Fort George from coming to

the United States, thus keeping them in Fort George as political prisoners for a considerable period beyond the time set for their release. They retaliated by blocking his election as Senator from New York.

Cooper and Heeney were the first Catholics to hold elective offices in New York and the first Catholic members of the legislature. Cooper during his stay in New York appears to have enjoyed the confidence and esteem of his ecclesiastical superiors and to have shown himself in every way worthy of their friendship. His letters to his parents in Philadelphia, reproduced in the American Historical Society's *Records* in 1900, give interesting sidelights on New York during the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

When Father Anthony Kohlmann, S.J., was sent in 1807, by Bishop Carroll, to cure the troubles of the discordant Church in New York, he found a zealous assistant in Cornelius Heeney. "This parish," Father Kohlmann wrote, on March 24, 1809, "comprises 16,000 Catholics, so neglected in all respects that it goes beyond conception." One of his projects for the reform was to build a new church in what was then the outskirts of the upper eastern section of the city, and Old St. Patrick's, the former Cathedral, was the result. "Mr. Andrew Morris, Mr. Matthew Reid and Mr. Cornelius Heeney were among the chief contributors, as appears from Father Kohlmann's subscription book in my possession."² The site was a cemetery ground belonging to St. Peter's Church and the territory about it was still farmland and woods. In addition to the generous amounts he had subscribed to the building fund of the new church, Mr. Heeney gave \$18,000 and a plot of ground in 1812 for an orphan asylum opposite St. Patrick's at the corner of Prince Street. Later, he added an adjoining plot. He built the free parish school for girls, gave a lot to enlarge the graveyard, and made other gifts of money and property to St. Peter's and St. Patrick's that amounted in all to about \$60,000—an immense sum in those days.

In the cause of Catholic education he was especially zealous. The oldest free school in New York is that belonging to St.

² BAYLEY, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

Peter's parish, which was opened in accordance with these resolutions passed by the trustees on March 30, 1800:

Resolved, That a free school for the education of children be and is hereby established, and that a proper master be chosen to superintend said school.

Secondly, That Messrs. Morris, Neylon, Heeney and the Rev. Dr. O'Brien be and are hereby charged for the due and immediate execution of the same.⁴

When Father Kohlmann, S.J., began the New York Literary Institution, the city's first Catholic College, the title of the mansion and grounds in the then village of Elgin (now Fifth Avenue, 50th and 51st Streets, and occupied by St. Patrick's Cathedral), which he purchased for that purpose, was taken for him by Cornelius Heeney and Andrew Morris on March 6, 1810, the consideration paid for the property being \$11,000. They held it until May 21, 1821, when the college project having been abandoned they sold it to Denis Doyle for \$2,000 above a mortgage held by the Eagle Fire Insurance Company. Doyle used the place for a road hotel (it was on what was called the Middle Road) until 1828, when the mortgage was foreclosed, and the property sold by Court order to Francis Cooper who bought it in for \$5,550 in behalf of the trustees of St. Patrick's and St. Peter's Churches to whom he conveyed it on January 30, 1829. They wanted it for a new cemetery, old St. Patrick's graveyard having filled up. All these data are from the officially recorded real estate transfers in the public register's office and effectively dispose of the oft-repeated fable that the city made a gift to the Church of the now so valuable Fifth Avenue site of St. Patrick's Cathedral.

The father of John McCloskey, the first American Cardinal, died in 1820, at his residence in Murray Street, New York, to which he had moved from Brooklyn some time previously. Mr. Heeney was made the boy's guardian. Cardinal Farley, in his *Life of Cardinal McCloskey*, relates how, after an arrangement to send the boy to Georgetown College had fallen through, he was called out of Brady's school, one day in the summer of 1822 and rushed in quite a state of trepidation to the little frame house,

⁴ The first city public school was not opened until May 19, 1806.

then the Orphan Asylum in Prince Street. Here he found himself in the presence of a clergyman who, he soon learned, was Rev. Mr. Dubois, president of Mt. St. Mary's College, Emmitsburg, then on a vacation tour. "Here's the boy," said a familiar voice. It was Mr. Cornelius Heeney, his guardian, who spoke. The whole affair had been settled by the good mother and Mr. Heeney that he should repair at once to Mount St. Mary's College without consulting the principal party concerned.

Mr. Heeney was also instrumental in having Mother Seton assign three of the Emmitsburg Community, Sisters Rose White, Cecelia O'Conway and Felicité Brady, in June, 1817, to found a house in New York. In the letter which their spiritual Director, Father John Dubois, wrote to Bishop Connolly in regard to this project he says: "We shall be too happy to have such men as Messrs. Fox, Cooper and Heeney, or either of them, to accompany our Sisters to New York." After the Sisters had been at work for some time in New York, in their first charge, the Orphan Asylum, they turned their attention to the demand for teachers for the large number of Catholic girls whose parents were willing and anxious to give them a sound Catholic education. Hence we find in the *Truth Teller* for July 30, 1830 a circular signed by the rector of St. Peter's, the Rev. Dr. John Power, V.G., announcing that "three of the Sisters of Charity have arrived from Emmitsburg to open a Pay School in this city for the instruction of females," and that the patrons of the school were Denis McCarthy, Francis Cooper and Cornelius Heeney. The circular reads:

The Roman Catholics of New York have now an opportunity of giving their children an education both ornamental and useful, and what is by far more important of *bringing them up in the discipline and correction of the Lord*. To this it is hoped, they will not be indifferent, now that so favorable an opportunity presents itself. If it is of acknowledged moment that parents should engage in these duties which concern the temporal use and welfare of their offspring; if it is incumbent on them to exert their best powers to prepare them for action on the great theatre of life; to enable them to adorn those spheres in which Providence may place them, should not the most animated zeal be indulged in fixing and giving life to every moral and religious principle?

In moral and religious acquirements consist the chief dignity and happiness of man—deprive him of these and you make him ignorant of the true principles and grounds of rectitude and honor and dry up the purest

sources of human joy; you degrade him in the creation and render him an improper object for the future rewards of his Maker. To finish then the characters of their offspring—to complete the circle of their principle duties in their behalf, the patronage of the Catholics of this city is respectfully solicited for this new, and it is to be hoped highly successful, establishment.

It was thus that the foundation was laid for the present secondary and higher educational system for Catholic women in New York and it is early evidence of that leadership New York has always maintained in the cause of sound Catholic education.

Cornelius Heeney's name is to be found among the subscribers who enabled the first Catholic books, Pastorini's *History of the Christian Church* to be published, by Bernard Dornin, in New York, in 1807, Duffy's *New Testament*, Georgetown, in 1817, and Rev. Dr. John Power's *New Testament*, New York, in 1824. He also helped Denman and Pardow to establish the *Truth Teller*, the first Catholic paper, in April, 1825. No doubt he also aided his protégés, the Gottsbergers, to get out New York's first magazine for Catholic children which lasted from 1838 to 1840, and had at one time 13,000 circulation.

In the list of the early members of the New York Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, Heeney's is the second Catholic name that appears (1804). Dominic Lynch's is the first. All others are those of North of Ireland Protestant merchants and professional men. It is an evidence of his social and commercial standing at that early date, and there is also testimony to his benevolent disposition in the fact that for years the society's roll includes him as one of its "Charity Committee."

That part of New York's First Ward east of Broadway and below Wall Street was destroyed by a fire that broke out on December 16, 1835. In all 648 stores and property valued at \$18,000,000 were destroyed. Heeney's establishment at 82 Water Street was among the number. He did not rebuild it. His fortune in spite of his lavish gifts to charity was ample and he retired to live at his ease in a house and farm in Brooklyn on the heights overlooking the river which he had purchased for \$7,500, in 1806. He had always been interested in the progress of his fellow Catholics in Brooklyn. The Catholic colony there began with the establishment of the Navy Yard

on that side of the East River in 1801. The first Mass was said for them in 1820 by the wandering Augustinian missionary, Father Philip Larisey. St. James' congregation was organized on January 1, 1823, and until this church, the first on Long Island, was ready for dedication on August 28, 1823, the people heard Mass in the "long room" of Dempsey's Blooming Grove Garden, a roadside hotel on the highway to Jamaica now Clinton and Fulton Streets, which property Cornelius Heeney owned. He offered to give land at what is now Court and Congress Streets for the first church, but the site was considered too remote. That in Jay Street where St. James' stands was taken. When Bishop Dubois' Seminary at Nyack was burned down in 1833, Heeney offered this same land to the Bishop for a new Seminary, but wanted to make the gift contingent on certain conditions, and the Bishop finally refused it, although some of the building material had already been taken to the site. The ground was finally given by Heeney for St. Paul's Church, the second erected in Brooklyn, and for the Girls' Orphan Asylum and Industrial School that adjoin it. He reserved, however, a strip of the land immediately behind the west wall of the church and here he built a vault in which he is buried. Next to it, he gave a similar vault to his friend Madame Parmentier, the widow of André Parmentier, a Belgian engineer and horticulturalist who was one of the founders of St. James' Church. He conveyed it by a formal deed that carried the right of way, easements and all the other obligations of a real-estate transfer. It was legally recorded and remained in force until the death of Miss Rosine, the last Parmentier, a charming old lady, on January 30, 1908. She and her sister Madame Bayer had devoted their lives and fortune to works of charity and the old vault was closed forever at Rosine's death and the ground willed to St. Paul's Church.

Heeney's Brooklyn residence was a Mecca for those in need; few failed in their appeals to his generosity. Children and poor widows were the special objects of his care. In spite of his years and busy life he retained all the alertness and the shrewdness that had enabled him to prosper in his business career. In 1845, he made up his mind to be his own executor, and to pro-

vide for the continuation of the benevolence that had been the predominant characteristic of most of the years of his long life. He therefore determined to establish what he called the Brooklyn Benevolent Society, which was really an incorporation of his estate.

The charter, obtained by act of the legislature of the State of New York, passed May 10, 1845, and reads as follows:

Section 1. Cornelius Heeney, Francis Cooper, James Friel, Henry M. Patchen, and John George Gottsberger, together with the four other persons hereinafter named, that is to say: Noel I. Becar, William H. Peck, Peter Turner and Bartlett Smith, to whom shall be added, as ex-officio Trustees, the Roman Catholic Bishop of the Diocese of New York, for the time being, and the Mayor of the City of Brooklyn, for the time being, making eleven persons in all, shall be the Trustees of the Charity hereinafter named, and that such other persons as shall be united with them, shall be the Associates of the said Charity, and that such Trustees and Associates are hereby constituted a body corporate by the name of "The Trustees and Associates of the Brooklyn Benevolent Society."

2. The said Corporation may take and hold, by deed of gift, from Cornelius Heeney, the present owner thereof, the parcels of land in the City of Brooklyn, lying between Hicks, Columbia, Congress and Amity Streets, and may take and hold any further real and personal estate that said Cornelius Heeney may convey to it gratuitously or may bequeath or devise to it by his last will and testament.

3. The one-fifth of the rents, issues and income of the said estate and of said Corporation shall be annually expended in supplying poor persons residing in Brooklyn aforesaid gratuitously with fuel during the winter; one-tenth thereof shall also be annually expended in gratuitously supplying poor children attending school in Brooklyn aforesaid with shoes and stockings or other articles of clothing absolutely necessary for their health and protection during that season of the year. The sum of two hundred and fifty dollars out of said income shall be expended quarterly in the payment of a teacher of said poor children in spelling, reading, writing and arithmetic; and the whole clear surplus shall be applied solely to the support, maintenance and education of poor orphan children between the age of four and fourteen.

The Associates are those who contribute dues of three dollars a year to the charity and they elect the board of trustees at the annual meeting. The only salaries to be paid are a "reasonable compensation" to the treasurer and the "Agent" who carries on the business of the society. In the By-Laws the object of the society is thus detailed:

It is understood and declared by the founder and donor of this Society, by His Honor, the Mayor, and other members at their first meeting, that the funds which it may be enabled to distribute are for the relief of Catholic poor and Catholic orphans; but this understanding and declaration are not meant to prohibit the Society from relieving poor persons without distinction, when either an excess of funds, or the urgency for relief may render it necessary and expedient.

The first meeting of the Brooklyn Benevolent Society was held on August 6, 1845 and Bishop John Hughes presided. Besides Mr. Heeney there were present, Mayor T. G. Talmadge of Brooklyn, John G. Gottsberger, Bartlett Smith, James Friel, Peter Turner, and William H. Peck. Mayor Talmadge eulogized "the generous donor whose name shall be held in remembrance by a grateful people," and Mr. Heeney explained that his idea of the charity was mainly that his Catholic fellow countrymen and their families should be relieved from want, many of them on their arrival here being in absolute need of assistance. Bishop Hughes was elected president; James Friel, treasurer; William H. Peck, secretary; and Patrick HALEGAN, agent. HALEGAN was a sort of familiar who lived in the Brooklyn house with Mr. Heeney during the close of his life and exercised considerable influence over him. The life trustees named were the Bishop of New York, the Mayor of Brooklyn, *ex officio*, Cornelius Heeney, James Friel and W. H. Peck of Brooklyn; John George Gottsberger and Francis Cooper of New York; annual trustees, Peter Turner and N. J. Becar, Brooklyn; Bartlett Smith, New York. They received the formal deed transferring all Mr. Heeney's property to them on September 17, 1845. This property in time became part of the most attractive residential section of Brooklyn and has never been sold. The ground was leased for a term of twenty-one years and then built on. The renewals are made by three valuers, one chosen by the owner of the house, one by the Society and the third by these two. The income of the Society from these rents and investments has averaged from \$15,000 to \$25,000 a year. The cost of administration has been almost nominal, about two per cent, the rent going to charity as the charter directs. More than a million dollars have been distributed since the Society was organized. The coal and clothing is given through the St. Vincent de Paul Society in the various parishes and the surplus in cash to the

orphans cared for by the "Roman Catholic Orphan Asylum Society"—the amount usually being from \$13,000 to \$15,000.

The latest formal report of the Society is of interest in this connection.

The Trustees of the Brooklyn Benevolent Society submit the following statement for the year ending February 28, 1918:

<i>Receipts</i>	
Rentals.....	\$21,685.43
Interest on deposits.....	1,234.15
Interest on bonds and mortgages.....	566.25
Bank stock dividends.....	1,548.00
Members' fees.....	6.00
Balance from last year.....	3,739.91
Total.....	\$28,779.74
<i>Expenditures</i>	
Support of orphan children.....	\$12,000.00
Coal for poor families.....	5,841.53
Shoes and stockings for the poor.....	4,200.17
Teacher of poor children.....	250.00
Counsel fees.....	1,000.00
Salaries.....	1,250.00
Taxes.....	181.75
Printing, stationery, gas, repairs.....	277.91
Total.....	\$25,001.36
March 1, 1918, balance.....	3,778.38
Grand total.....	\$28,779.74

JOSEPH F. McDONNELL, *Treasurer.*

The Auditing Committee has examined the accounts of Mr. Joseph F. McDonnell, treasurer, and certify the same to be correct.

FRANK J. HEANEY,
EUGENE F. O'CONNOR,
Committee.

Dated, Brooklyn, March 1, 1918.

Since this report was filed an additional \$5,000 was given to the Catholic Orphan Asylum Society, making a total of \$17,000 during the asylum's current fiscal year. Few, if any one, of the thousands who receive this annual bounty know how it came to

them, or even the name of the man to whose generosity they are indebted for it.

Mr. Heeney continued to take an active interest in the work of the Society he thus created until a few weeks before his death. The last meeting he attended was held on March 27, 1848. He died on May 3 following. Three days later his funeral took place from St. Paul's Church with all the solemn pomp the Church ordains, after which he was buried in the vault he had built in the rear back of the sanctuary wall.

Over the grave is set a tablet surmounted by a portrait bust, and bearing this epitaph:

In memory of Cornelius Heeney who departed this life on the third day of May, 1848, in the 94th year of his age. Born in the King's County, Ireland, he was a citizen of the United States from the adoption of the Federal Constitution. Throughout his life he was much respected for his many Christian virtues, and was distinguished as the friend of the widow and orphan by his numerous acts of private benevolence and liberal gifts for the erection and support of institutions for their benefit; and at his death by the munificent bequest of an estate for their relief and comfort. REQUIESCAT IN PACE. Erected by his executors, James Friel and Peter Turner, with the concurrence of the Brooklyn Benevolent Society of which he was the founder.

No portrait of Mr. Heeney as far as is known was ever made during his lifetime. A death mask was taken and from this a bust carved for his monument. In a paper read by the Rev. John M. Kiely, at the meeting of the United States Catholic Historical Society, on September 28, 1891, he said that from those who had known Mr. Heeney he learned that "he was about five feet nine inches in height, clean-shaven and pleasing rather than handsome of face. His forehead was a receding one and his head bald on top. His hair when long was confined behind his neck by a slight ribbon and fell over his coat collar, and to a stranger he would pass as an orthodox Quaker, even to the broad-brimmed hat and William Penn knee breeches."

The Rev. D. A. Merrick, S.J., as a boy lived in a house in Brooklyn, built on Heeney property, and in his *Recollections of an Old Fellow* (*Fordham Monthly*, January, 1906) says: "The only gentleman I ever knew who wore a pigtail was Mr. Cornelius Heeney." Mr. Frank Gottsberger, the son of Heeney's old protégé, said of his father's patron: "I remember his old home in

Brooklyn well. It stood about where Amity Street is now, between Hicks and Henry. At the west end was Mr. Heeney's sitting room where he received his visitors. He sat in a large arm-chair and it was customary for all visitors to salute him on entering the room, the ladies making a curtsy and the men and boys a bow. I remember the drilling I had to go through so that I could make a proper and polite bow. He was very particular in this regard and if any of the boys failed to make a formal salutation on their arrival at the house he would take them to task about it when they appeared before him at their departure."

He was strong-willed, self-opinionated, but not too cranky to get along with his fellows. His long tenure of office, as a trustee of St. Peter's Church in New York without getting into any serious complications with the pastors during a time when trusteeism in all its most obnoxious phases was rampant, seems to indicate that his charitable disposition extended beyond mere material donations.

After his death the Brooklyn Benevolent Society had to defend its title to the trust he created through a series of vexatious law suits brought by alleged heirs. The famous jurist Charles O'Connor was the Society's legal champion and successfully defeated these raids on its property, which during all the years has been safely and wisely administrated for the object this generous old man set it apart. He forgot himself when he gave it to charity, and the great community in which he spent so much of his long and busy life has forgotten him, though the good he did lives after him and yearly adds to the record that is imperishable for his eternal reward.

THOMAS F. MEEHAN,
New York City.

THE CENTENARY OF OHIO'S OLDEST CATHOLIC CHURCH (1818-1918)

In few of the early missions in the United States was the sowing of the seed of Catholic faith accomplished under more untoward circumstances or attended with such abject poverty, as in that of Ohio. It was a spiritual work that demanded heroic courage and a true spirit of self-sacrifice. In few of the States also has the seed of truth sown by their first missionaries borne such abundant fruit. For these reasons, the centenary of Saint Joseph's Church, near Somerset, Perry County, Ohio, which will round out the first hundred years of its existence on the sixth day of December, the current year, can hardly fail to elicit the attention of Catholics not in Ohio only, but through all the country.¹

The first of the white race to penetrate into, or attempt settlements in, that portion of the United States comprised in what is

¹ The materials used for this article are principally: I. SOURCES. (A) MSS. *Archives of the Propaganda*, Rome; *Archives of the Master General of the Dominicans*, Rome; *Archives of the Dominican Fathers*, Haverstock Hill, London, England; *Archives of the Dominican Fathers*, Louvain, Belgium; *Archives of the Dominican Fathers*, Saint Joseph's Priory, Somerset, Ohio; *Archives of the Archdiocese of Baltimore*; *Archives of the Archdiocese of Cincinnati*; *Archives of the Maryland-New York Provinces of Jesuit Fathers*, Baltimore; *Archives of Notre Dame University*, Notre Dame, Indiana; *Bishop B. J. Flaget's Diary for 1812-13*; *Archives of the Diocese of Louisville*. (b) PRINTED: *A Circular Letter of Bishop Edward D. Fenwick* (in Italian), addressed to the Catholics of Italy and printed in Rome, December, 1823. II. WORKS: (A) GENERAL: BRYANT, *A Popular History of the United States*, New York, 1884-90, Vols. i and iii; CLARKE, *The Deceased Bishops of the Catholic Church in the United States*, Vol. i, New York, 1888; DECOURCY-SHEA, *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*, New York, 1856; DRAKE AND MANSFIELD, *Early Cincinnati*, 1826; ELSON, *History of the United States of America*, New York, 1905, Vols. i and ii; GRAHAM, *History of Fairfield and Perry Counties, Ohio*, Chicago, 1883; HOWE, *Historical Collections of Ohio*, Columbus, 1891, Vol. iii; HOUCK, *The Church in Northern Ohio and in the Diocese of Cleveland*, first edition, Benziger Bros., 1887, and second edition, Cleveland, 1890; MARTZOLFF, *History of Perry County, Ohio*, Columbus, 1902; O'DANIEL, *The Friars Preacher, A Seventh Centenary Sketch*, Somerset, Ohio, 1917, and *Very Rev. Charles Hyacinth McKenna, O.P., Missionary and Apostle of the Holy Name*, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1917; SHEA, *Life and Times of the Most Rev. John Carroll*, New York, 1888, and *A History of the Catholic Church in the Limits of the United States*, Vol. iii, New York, 1890; SPALDING, *Sketches of the Early Catholic Missions in Kentucky*, Louisville, 1884, and *Sketches of the Life, Times and Character of the Right Rev. Benedict Joseph Flaget*, Louisville, 1852; WEBB, *The Centenary of Catholicity in Kentucky*, Louisville, 1884; WINBOR, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, Boston and New York, Vols. iii, iv, v; VOLZ, *A Century's Record* (a

now the flourishing State of Ohio, were French. These hardy explorers made their earliest entry into this part of the New World in the second half of the seventeenth century; and, as was then the invariable custom, they were either accompanied or were soon followed by Catholic missionaries of their nation. In this instance, as in many others, the missionaries belonged to the Society of Jesus. Records show that from the time de Blainville took possession of the territory in the name of the King of France, in 1749, these good Fathers were often with the explorers; that they built a chapel for the Indians where now stands the city of Sandusky; and that they labored occasionally among the aborigines along the southern shores of Lake Erie until 1763, when the western country, as far as the Mississippi, was ceded to England.

From the time of the surrender of the Ohio Valley by the French, that part of the country was not visited by a priest until 1790, when Father Peter Joseph Didier, O.S.B., was sent to take spiritual charge of the ill-planned and ill-fated Scioto Colony. Father Didier's labors, however, were short-lived; for, finding the colonists discontented, unruly and deeply imbued with the principles of the French Revolution, after a brief sojourn at the present Gallipolis, he continued his way to Saint Louis.

pamphlet), Somerset, Ohio, 1905. (B) SPECIAL: 1888; HAMMER, *Eduard Dominik Fenwick, der Apostel von Ohio*, Freiburg, 1890.

In addition to the above list of materials, we have consulted the *Catholic Almanac* of 1848, which has a good biographical sketch of Bishop E. D. Fenwick, O.P.; the *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, first eight volumes, Lyons, 1828-42, under titles of *Mission du Kentucky*, *Mission du Michigan* and *Mission de l'Ohio*; the *United States Catholic Magazine*, 1847, three articles on: *The Catholic Church in Ohio*; the *Dominican Year Book*, 1913, article by the writer on: *Saint Rose's Priory*, Springfield, Washington County, Kentucky; the *American Catholic Historical Researches*, July, 1891, p. 98ff, article: *The Catholic Religion in the United States in 1816*, and other contributions on the early Church in Ohio, too numerous to mention, that have appeared in our Catholic papers. Doubtless more than one reader will remark that this article differs greatly from much that has been written on so interesting a chapter of our American church history. But, based as it is largely on documents from the hands of the first missionaries themselves and others who played a conspicuous part in the events of that remote day, there is every reason to believe that the account presents a correct outline of the pioneer missionary labors in Ohio. We regret to say that the noted historian Shea (*History of the Catholic Church in the United States*, Vol. iii, pp. 352-53), following his usual bias against the Dominicans, takes occasion of a brief misunderstanding to enkindle prejudice against those who were engaged on the early missions of Ohio.

Late in 1793, Fathers Barrièrès and Stephen T. Badin, who were on their way down the Ohio River to Kentucky, tarried three days with the remnants of the Scioto Colony at Gallipolis. Again, in 1795, Rev. Edmund Burke, an Irish priest and later vicar apostolic of Nova Scotia, while with the English soldiers at Fort Miami, on the Maumee River, began a mission among the Indians in the northwestern part of the territory. But Burke's labors, like those of his predecessors, were also of short duration, ceasing with the withdrawal of the British forces which he accompanied into Canada.

No further effort was made to plant the Church's standard in what is now, in point of wealth and numbers, the fourth State of the Union, until after the dawn of the nineteenth century. In the meantime, November 29, 1802, Ohio was admitted to the rights of statehood. Its population was growing apace, and it was believed that there were many Catholics among its inhabitants. Accordingly, in 1808, Father Edward Dominic Fenwick, of the Order of Preachers and later Cincinnati's first Ordinary, in obedience to the wishes of his superiors, and probably at the request of Archbishop Carroll, left his convent home in Kentucky to penetrate into the forests of Ohio. Different dates have been assigned to Father Fenwick's first entrance upon his northern mission; but the good friar himself, in a circular letter written fifteen years later during a visit to Rome as bishop, and addressed to the people of Italy in behalf of his impoverished diocese, tells us that it was in the year we have given. The document does not mention the time of the year, but circumstances indicate that it must have been in the latter half of 1808. On this occasion, the bishop says, he found three German families (that is, of German extraction), comprising twenty individuals in all, who had not seen a priest for ten or twelve years. Deprived so long of the consolations of their religion, their joy at the visit of the missionary was inexpressible. They considered him a messenger sent by Heaven for their salvation. But the delight caused the future apostle by the discovery of the little flock he chanced upon, was not less than that of the good people themselves.²

² Our belief that Father Fenwick's first visit to Ohio was probably due in part to a request from Archbishop Carroll is based on two letters of Jacob Dittoe to that

These three families were discovered in that part of Fairfield County now included in Perry County. One of them was the family of Jacob Dittoe who had moved at an earlier date from Pennsylvania to Frederick, Maryland, whence he migrated to Ohio a few years prior to the time of which we speak, settling eventually on the farm where Fenwick found him, about a mile and a half from the present town of Somerset. It was in Dittoe's house that Father Fenwick said his first Mass in Ohio. Another was the family of John Finck who had gone to Ohio direct from Pennsylvania, and whose pioneer home stood where now is the east end of Somerset, near the present public school. The name of the third family is shrouded in some obscurity, but was probably that of Joseph Finck. Father Fenwick had been but lately released, at his own request, from the position of superior of the little band of Dominicans he had led out to Kentucky two years before. Freed from this burden and eager to give himself up to the life of an itinerant pioneer missionary, he promised his newly discovered flock in the wilds of Ohio that he would visit them occasionally and administer to their spiritual needs. The zealous friar's ministerial duties in Kentucky, however, the office of syndic which he held at the struggling new convent of Saint Rose and the college of Saint Thomas attached to that institution, and the some seven hundred miles that he had to travel on horseback to and from this part of Ohio, caused his journeys to the north to be less frequent than he would have liked.

A well-defined tradition still existing among the Catholics of

distinguished prelate. Both have the postmark of Lancaster, Ohio. One bears the date of January 5, 1805; the other that of February 1, 1808; and they are in the Baltimore diocesan archives, Case 3, D7 and 8. The first requests Doctor Carroll to make application to Congress for a section of land, (in Range 17, Township 17, and section 21), to be used for church purposes and to be granted by or purchased from the United States. The second seeks to enlist the archbishop's interest in obtaining aid to hold a tract of land that had been secured for the Church, and tells him the prospects of maintaining a priest in Ohio. Bishop Fenwick's circular letter to the people of Italy was printed, with the permission of Leo XII, at Rome, December 13, 1823. It authorizes Father John Grassi, S.J., rector of the Royal Collegio del Carmine, Turin, to accept alms for the Diocese of Cincinnati. This was probably the Father Grassi who had previously been president of Georgetown College, D. C., and was an intimate friend of the bishop.

that part of Perry County, and which is found recorded in writings that date back to within a few years after Bishop Fenwick's death, tells us that the hard-working missionary made from one to two visits a year to keep alive the faith of the Catholics he had found in the north. But we have no further documentary evidence of his presence there until we find a letter from Jacob Dittoe to Archbishop Carroll, bearing the date of New Lancaster, August 19, 1810, and indicating that Father Fenwick had been at Somerset earlier in that year or in the preceding year, if not in both. Tradition tells us also that it was in 1810 that the first Mass was said within the present corporate limits of the town of Somerset, and that it was celebrated by Father Fenwick in the house of John Finck, whose name has been mentioned.*

From 1810 until May 25, 1812, we have no further letters. But at this latter date Father Fenwick writes to Jacob Dittoe from Springfield, Kentucky, expressing his regret at having been prevented for so long from going to the spiritual assistance of the little Catholic colony; he gives the causes that deterred him and promises that he and Bishop Flaget will be in Ohio in August or September. Doubtless Father Fenwick was to accompany

* In an article on Saint Rose's Priory, Springfield, Kentucky, for the *Dominican Year Book*, 1913, we maintained that 1810 was most probably the year in which Father Fenwick made his first visit to Ohio. Later study, however, seems to show conclusively that he was in the State as early as 1808. The tradition of which we spoke in the *Year Book*, as we have since learned, regards the first Mass said in the town limits of the present Somerset (in John Finck's house), rather than the beginnings of the missionary's labors in the north. Only a few weeks ago, Peter J. Dittoe of Baltimore, a grandson of Jacob Dittoe, told the writer that he had often heard his father, whose name was also Peter, speak of how Father Fenwick had discovered the old family home by the sound of an axe in the forests, and of how glad the pioneers were to see a priest come among them. The circumstances of the discovery were precisely those that have not only been handed down by tradition, but recorded in early accounts of Catholicity in Ohio and expressed in the well-known picture representing the missionary finding and blessing the Catholic backwoodsmen of Perry County. The first Peter Dittoe was fifteen years of age at the time, and the men of the family who had moved some months earlier in the same year (1808) to the farm on which Fenwick discovered them, were engaged in felling trees near the home for outbuildings. This story is further corroborated by the date (March 1, 1808) of the grant of a quarter section of land to Jacob Dittoe. The deed is now in possession of Peter J. Dittoe of Baltimore. Jacob Dittoe's letter referred to here is in the diocesan archives of Baltimore, Case 8a, F. 4. The name Finck is now frequently written Fink.

the bishop, as far as Ohio at least, on his way to a Council that was to be held in Baltimore. This plan, however, was changed, and Rev. Stephen T. Badin went with Doctor Flaget—a circumstance which, together with a letter of Fenwick written to Kentucky's veteran missionary (Badin) in 1823, has led some erroneously to conclude that the bishop was the discoverer of the three families mentioned above and the first to offer up the holy sacrifice of the Mass at Somerset.⁴

The next document bearing on this early Catholic settlement in Ohio is also from Fenwick. It is dated: Georgetown, Kentucky, April 20, without the year; but it evidently belongs either to 1815 or 1816. It contains the same story of regret and unavoidable absence as the letter of which we have just spoken.⁵ About this latter date, however, we find the tireless Friar Preacher giving up the missions in Kentucky to devote himself entirely to the still more desolate Church of Ohio. In Kentucky he had practically lived in the saddle for seven or eight years, going from place to place "in search of stray sheep," to employ a phrase that has been canonized from its use by the saintly apostle of Ohio. In the north his lot was even more lonely and trying. A man of boundless energy, he made Somerset the centre of his apostolic activities, traversed and re-traversed the almost unbroken primeval forest of Ohio in all directions and throughout the length and breadth of the State. Doubtless it was in part Fenwick's labors in Ohio that caused Father John Grassi, S.J., to write of the little band of Dominicans in Kentucky in 1816, that "they try to remedy this want [of numbers and means]

⁴ The letter of Father Fenwick to Dittoe referred to here is in the Archives (not indexed) of Saint Joseph's Priory, Somerset, Ohio. That to Badin is given in the *Catholic Almanac* of 1848 (pp. 62-65), is dated: Bordeaux, August, 1823, and contains the words: "When I first went to the state of Ohio, nine years ago, I discovered only three Catholic families from Limestone (Maysville) to Wheeling." From this some have drawn the conclusion that the date of Fenwick's first entrance into Ohio is 1814. But it is evident from what has been said both in this article and in the *Dominican Year Book* for 1913, that the words "nine years ago" are certainly an oversight, or a mechanical error for "fifteen years ago." It is quite probable that the form in which this letter of Fenwick was first given to the public was a French translation; that the *London Spectator* (Vol. i, p. 350), from which the *Catholic Almanac* copies, translated it back into English; and that the error occurred in one or the other of these translations.

⁵ *Archives of Saint Joseph's Priory, Somerset, Ohio.*

by edifying industry." The knowledge of their splendid efforts in the cause of religion having reached England, Father P. N. Sewell, S.J., wrote to an American confrère: "The Dominicans are doing great things for the glory of God in Kentucky, on the Ohio, etc. Let us emulate them and renew the zeal of our forefathers."⁶

Early in his career as a missionary in Ohio Father Fenwick was proffered by Jacob Dittoe, the State's first Catholic benefactor, three hundred and twenty acres of land near Somerset, on the condition that a church and a house of the Order, for the education of young men for the institute, be erected thereon. The missionary gladly accepted this generous offer, with the permission of his superior and Bishop Flaget, and he was anxious to carry out the intention of the donor. In the meantime, however, the growth of the State's population was phenomenal, while the great number of German and Irish Catholics who came into its territory to occupy the virgin soil, multiplied the zealous priest's labors almost to the breaking point. Thus he had not even leisure, until the arrival of assistance, to give the project the little time required for building a small, primitive wooden church sufficient to accommodate the few scattered Catholics who lived in that vicinity. In this way, some years were to pass before he saw the realization of his cherished design. But we cannot do better than let Father Fenwick tell, in his own interesting way, of his toils and trials both in Ohio and in Kentucky. Writing from Georgetown, D. C., to a friend in London, England, November 8, 1818, he says:

It is now two years since I have lived in the Convent of Saint Rose in Kentucky, having become, as they call me here, an itinerant preacher. I am continually occupied in traversing these immense tracts of country, either in search of stray sheep or to distribute the "bread of angels" to thousands of persons who live scattered about in these our vast solitudes. The whole State of Ohio and a part of Kentucky, from Frankfort, Lexington and Richmond to Cincinnati, Canton, and on to Cleveland on Lake Erie, are the places to which I make my apostolic travels, not neglecting the adjacent counties and cities. In the State of Ohio, which has a

⁶ *American Catholic Historical Researches*, July, 1891, p. 103; Rev. P. N. Sewell, S.J., (Stonyhurst?), England, September 22, 1824, to Rev. Enoch Fenwick, Georgetown College (Archives of the Maryland-New York Province of Jesuit Fathers, Baltimore, Case 206, K. 14).

population of 500,000 souls, there is not a single priest [that is, not a single secular priest, or a priest with a home of his own]. There are Germans and Irish who do not know any English at all. Hence you can well imagine the pains I have to take, and the efforts I have to make to be understood by them and to understand them, and to offer them some little spiritual help. It often happens that I am compelled to traverse vast and inhospitable forests, wherein not a trace of a road is to be seen. Not infrequently, overtaken by night in the midst of these, I am obliged to hitch my horse to a tree, and, making a pillow of my saddle, I recommend myself to God and go to sleep, with bears on all sides. However, our Lord in His mercy lightens these trying experiences for me, and sweetens them with sensible consolations. A short time ago, a colony of thirteen families, having by chance found a Catholic book, conceived the desire of embracing our holy religion; and although I was three hundred miles away, they wrote me a letter, in which they made their desire known to me. I made my way to this colony, which I had the good fortune to find, instructed them all in those things that are necessary to be known, and had the consolation of baptizing them. The people in general are anxious to learn, and disposed to receive the Word of God with docility. What a pity, though, that there are so few laborers. Our convent of Saint Rose is not without its needs, and the community is not large enough to send missionaries to such distant places. Our five newly-ordained priests, by their piety and talents, do honor to the Order and Religion. . . .⁷

Such were the beginnings of Father Fenwick's labors in the north—labors that were to earn for him the richly merited title of "Apostle of Ohio." By this time, however, he had been joined by his nephew, Father Nicholas Dominic Young, O.P., who was ordained in Kentucky late in 1817 and who was assigned to the northern missions the following year. Hence the future bishop of Ohio, having told his friend in London that the Fathers of Saint Rose's in Kentucky, besides their college and "a large congregation" there, "have the care of eight distant missions," proceeds to say:

I am at present in charge of the mission at St. Joseph's with a young confrère. I built that new church, and hope before long to establish a convent there. Besides, I am now building another church and convent near Lancaster, Fairfield County, three hundred acres of land hav-

⁷ *Diario di Roma*, January 25, 1819. The *Diario* says this letter was written to a gentleman in London, but does not give the name of the addressee. The extracts published from it were translated into Italian for the *Diario*; and the translation from Italian back into English which we were obliged to use, since we could not find either the *Diario* or the original, does not seem to have been well done.

ing been given to me for that holy purpose. . . . I have been obliged, to my great sorrow, to refuse other similar offers for want of missionaries. Pray the Lord to inspire some pious and zealous priests with the holy resolution to come and join us in order to co-operate in such a meritorious work, and to propagate the light of our holy faith among people whose only desire is to be instructed. I must not conceal from you that we are in need of sacred vessels, vestments, missals, and everything that is required that the Divine Services may be conducted with the greatest possible reverence.

The church at Lancaster was given the name of Saint Mary in honor of the Mother of God. About the same time a third temple of prayer was erected just outside the confines of Cincinnati, where there was a law forbidding the existence of a Catholic church within the municipal limits, and was placed under the patronage of Ireland's apostle, Saint Patrick. Indeed, the expression "*sopra l'Ohio*" found in the rendition of Fenwick's letter into Italian for the *Diario di Roma* would suggest that the missionary must have mentioned this church, and that it was overlooked in the translation. Both these houses of prayer were plain barn-like structures of plank, and seem to have been completed and blessed in 1819. Saint Patrick's was forty-five feet in length by thirty in width; and Saint Mary's was somewhat smaller. Both were without ceiling and unplastered. The convent at Lancaster, owing to the circumstances of the times, was never completed, and the ground on which it was to have been built was later ceded to Archbishop Purcell for the diocese.⁸

Saint Joseph's near Somerset, built on the farm donated by Jacob Dittoe, was a log cabin twenty-two feet long by eighteen in width, and of the same character as the ordinary home of the pioneer settlers of the country. The bare ground served as a floor, while an opening in each side-wall answered for windows. Means of heating in the winter it had none; but a little log structure called "the warming house" stood near by, and was a blessing to the woodsmen who came from afar, before entering the

⁸ While it seems certain that Father Fenwick intended to erect a convent at Lancaster, it does not appear that he obtained so much land at that place as is stated in the *Diario di Roma*. For this reason, we are inclined to believe that the translator, unacquainted with the geography of Ohio, confused the property bestowed upon Fenwick at Lancaster with that given him by Jacob Dittoe near Somerset.



church or before starting on their homeward journey. Like its younger twin sisters, Saint Joseph's lacked everything conducive to comfort or ornamentation. All three were an index of the wide-spread poverty that prevailed in the state and oppressed its early white inhabitants. Yet, though diminutive in size and primitive in construction, they were large enough to accommodate, for the moment, and elegant enough not merely to satisfy, but even to delight the few scattered Catholics.

From Maryland, whence he wrote the letter we have just quoted, and where he probably had gone in the hope of procuring a few necessities for his new churches in Ohio, Father Fenwick hastened back to Somerset to bless and open Saint Joseph's for divine service. The impressive event, which marks an era in the history of the Catholic Church in Ohio, took place on December 6, 1818, and drew a large and curious audience of every shade of religious belief from miles around. To those of the faith it was the occasion of much delight and edification. But the joy of the good Catholic people, who now numbered ten families, at finally having a house of prayer and temple of God in their midst was no greater than that of Fathers Fenwick and Young, the two priests who officiated at the solemn ceremony.

Thus was blessed and consecrated to God Ohio's oldest Catholic church—the mother, in a sense, of all the ecclesiastical edifices, great and small, now scattered through the length and breadth of the State, and the first fruit of the zealous Dominican's apostolic labors in the north. For these reasons, to the end of his days, it has been said, Bishop Fenwick could not speak of this event or of the discovery of the three Catholic families, of whom mention has been made, without his eyes filling with tears. The discovery of these families was the nativity of the Church in Ohio; Perry County its cradle; Edward Dominic Fenwick its apostle. Or, as it has been aptly expressed:

Here is our own State [is a] center of Catholic piety . . . that, in other States, would have made Catholicism famous and honored. At old St. Joseph's priory and novitiate, in Perry county, the Dominicans have a historic shrine that should draw the hearts of every Catholic of Ohio, for St. Joseph's was largely the cradle of Catholicity in Ohio. From its rude log church rode forth with scrip and saddle-bags the brave Dominican Fathers who, in the forests yet unhewn by the axe of the

immigrant and yet echoing to the whoop of the red man and the voice of panther and wolf, laid the foundation of the Church in Ohio.*

Along with the church of Saint Joseph there arose a convent that was given the same name. It was blessed at the same time as the diminutive house of worship, and was built that the Fathers might have a home they could call their own. Like the church, this pioneer monastery was a log structure, two rooms in length and a story and a half in height with an additional one-story room in the rear for a kitchen. Like the church again, the convent was bare of every ornament, with the exception of a fine oil painting of the "Descent from the Cross," which had been presented to Father Fenwick by Archbishop Carroll as a token of esteem, and which the missionary first took to Kentucky, but afterwards carried to his proto-Ohio mission. The painting, which still continues to be cherished at Saint Joseph's in memory of the institution's founder, hung on the rough, bare wall of the parlor, and was an object of wonder to the simple pioneer settlers. Not only had the Fathers, during the rare intervals they were at home, to rest content with few comforts; often they had barely the things that were considered as necessities of life even in that hardy day. Yet they were joyous in the possession of a home of their own, and in the realization that their efforts for the good of religion had now begun to bear permanent fruit.

Happy in these thoughts and sustained by the prospects before them, the two priests, instead of suffering themselves to be discouraged by the difficulties that confronted them on all sides, redoubled their energies and their efforts in the cause of Christ. Indeed, Father Nicholas D. Young, as a reward of his long, tireless and fruitful labors on the missions, deserves the title of co-apostle of Ohio. It is in this spirit that we find Father Fenwick writing from Georgetown College, D. C., June 1, 1820, to his old-time friend, Father John Augustin Hill, O.P., then in Rome, but afterwards one of Ohio's noted missionaries and pulpit orators:

. . . I am settled, with a confrère, Father Dominic Young, in Ohio (near Somerset, Perry County), where we have a splendid prospect of establishing our Holy Order; for we are the only ecclesiastics in the

* The *Catholic Columbian*, Columbus, Ohio, June 9, 1916.

entire state, which has about three thousand Catholics scattered, like so many stray sheep, over an extent of territory of from seven hundred to eight hundred miles. Such is the theater of our mission. So you see: *Mensis quidem multa, operarii autem pauci. Rogate ergo . . .* [The harvest indeed is great, but the laborers are few. Pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest, that He send forth laborers into His Harvest]. Our flock is composed principally of German and Irish Catholics. We are in great need of a German priest, for the greater number are genuinely German, having emigrated within the past few years. But we want only truly apostolic men—men willing to bear the burdens of the heat and cold, of fatigue and thirst, and content to traverse mountains and valleys in search of these lost sheep: "*qui non quaerunt quae sua sunt, sed quae Jesu Christi*" [Who seek not the things that are their own, but the things that are Jesus Christ's]. . . . I hope you will strive to recruit and to bring as many *suitable laborers* as you can to our assistance in the Lord's vineyard.¹⁰

The missionary then proceeds to tell his friend how glad he is that he (Hill) is enjoying the blessing of receiving his ecclesiastical education in the Capital of Christendom and so near the Order's General; what will be expected of him when he comes to America; the prospects of having a Dominican bishop in Ohio, since the Ordinary of Kentucky, Doctor Flaget, has proposed Father Wilson, the provincial, for an episcopal see to be erected at Cincinnati; and the great need of the Fathers for breviaries, missals, vestments, and church supplies, requesting him to procure for them as many of these necessities for religion as he could. Returning to the subject of the Ohio missions, the holy priest writes again:

The Church and house where we [that is, he and Father N. D. Young] live are dedicated to Saint Joseph. Here we have a goodly estate—a farm of three hundred and twenty acres. We have another church or chapel, called Saint Mary's, twenty miles distant from these [that is at Lancaster]; and a third at Cincinnati, one hundred and fifty miles away, which is under the patronage of Saint Patrick. But we have not enough vestments, chalices and furnishings for one place. At Saint Joseph's we barely manage to make out with one chalice and a few old vestments

¹⁰ *Propaganda Archives, America Centrale*, Vol. iv, No. 151. This volume is not paginated or folioed. Carl Russell Fish (*Guide to the Materials for American History in Roman and Other Italian Archives*) numbered its documents for his own convenience, and we have followed his numbering. The Propaganda Archives have only a French translation of parts of the letter. Unable to find the original, we were obliged to use this translation.

belonging to Saint Rose's. These three churches have been erected within the last fifteen [?] months. Since coming to this State, we could have built four or five more chapels, in different places, if we had had the means of constructing them. We are offered lands and lots in cities for this purpose, but such is the scarcity of money, the indifference of the times, and the want of charity in this regard, that we are unable to collect the funds necessary to build. In a word, we are totally without pecuniary resources, and have to depend solely on Divine Providence and the liberality of certain ones who have, up to the present, aided us in every way. . . .

Imbued with the spirit of their Order and carrying out its best traditions, the two missionaries sought in every legitimate way to keep alive the spark of faith in their widely scattered flock, to bring others into the one fold, to build up Catholic centres by inducing those of their religious convictions in the east who might be contemplating taking up homes in the new west, to settle in the same localities. In all these efforts they were eminently successful. A fruitful source of conversions employed by them was the custom of preaching everywhere and on all manner of occasions. Another was the practice, whenever they met on their apostolic journeys, of holding public discussions, one advancing the objections then in vogue against the Church and her doctrine, the other answering them. Still a third was the use of leaflets, explanatory of Catholic teaching and doubtless printed on the little pioneer press then in existence at Saint Rose's, in Kentucky. These leaflets they scattered broadcast. Controversies with non-Catholics were not infrequent. But the Fathers generally sought to avoid such intellectual bouts, for it was felt that they tended to deepen prejudice, and were often an occasion of further misunderstanding, if not ill-will, rather than of any real and lasting good. More than likely the following circular letter addressed by a committee in Cincinnati to Archbishop Maréchal and bearing the date of September 25, 1820, like many others of its kind, was written under the inspiration of the missionaries:

We, the Roman Catholic committee of this city, beg leave to inform you, that about thirty miles from hence, on the East branch of the little Miami river, there have several families of the Catholic faith established themselves on a body of fertile lands, purchased by them from William Lytle, Esq., who, in order to encourage settlers of our faith, has with

that liberality for which he stands distinguished, granted a considerable tract of land for the use and benefit of a Roman Catholic church to be established there, in addition to which several of the settlers have contributed portions of land contiguous to the same, so as to form a respectable fund for the above pious purpose.

It having hitherto been [a] matter of deep regret and bitter disappointment to many of our countrymen, that on settling in the western wilds of this country, they have been deprived of the comforts and benefits arising from the exercise of our holy religion, we consider it of prime importance to give information to such persons as are inclined to emigrate hither, that on the extensive tracts of land, of first rate quality now on sale by Mr. Lytle, all of which are situated on the waters of the East branch of the little Miami river, and are either intersected by, or contiguous to, the state road from hence to Chillicothe, they may have the opportunity of augmenting the number of Roman Catholic settlers under well founded hopes, that a regular and permanent establishment will speedily be made, of a church and a pastor, so much to be desired by every Christian.

It may be further necessary to state that Mr. Lytle (*sic*) is determined to give encouragement to Roman Catholics and that he appears to us disposed to give them most liberal encouragement to purchasers of our communion as well on his lands above alluded to, as on his other property. And also that we have lately succeeded in the establishment of a respectable Roman Catholic church in this town, which unhappily had been so long deprived of that important benefit. Our object, therefore, in this and similar addresses is to inform emigrants of these circumstances, in order that they may not by religious considerations be deterred from endeavouring to better their fortunes by coming to the western country—either by settling on the above land as agriculturists or in this town as mechanics or men of business. [Signed] P. Reilly, John White, William Boyle, James W. Byrne, Michael Scott, Edward Lynch, John Sherlock, James Gorman, Thomas Duran [? Dugan], P. Cazelles [? Cassilly], Michael Moran.¹¹

It has been seen how the needs of the Church in Ohio, as well as the labors of the Friar Preacher in the cause of souls there, had attracted the attention of Doctor Flaget, how he realized the necessity of having an episcopal see erected in Cincinnati, and how he had intended to ask Pius VII to appoint the provincial of the Dominicans, Father Samuel T. Wilson, to this responsible position. But as a search in the Archives of the Propaganda failed to reveal any document containing such a proposal, it would seem that the good bishop changed his mind

¹¹ *Baltimore Archives*, Case 22, B. 1.

on the question of the State's first Ordinary, and that the learned and holy friar's name was never sent to Rome in that connection.

The reasons for such a change were probably due to the fact that Wilson, besides being advanced in age, was pre-eminently a scholar, accustomed for years to study and to the direction of students rather than to the active life of a pioneer missionary, and that Doctor Flaget was unwilling to lose a clergyman whom he considered a shining light in his diocese. He, therefore, began to look for others from whom to choose Ohio's first spiritual head. The two who appealed to him especially, were Fathers Demetrius A. Gallitzin and Edward D. Fenwick. Accordingly, he proposed them to the Holy See as priests worthy to wear the mitre of Cincinnati. Gallitzin was selected by Flaget largely because of his knowledge of German, the language spoken by many of the Catholics in the north; Fenwick because of his zeal and effective missionary labors in that part of the country. Archbishop Maréchal, at first, sent the names of Bishop David and Father Fenwick, saying of the latter, that he had done great work in that portion of the Lord's vineyard, and was certainly a learned and prudent man, as well as a priest noted for his piety and zeal. But two months later, when he had studied the matter more thoroughly, he wrote again, withdrawing the name of David and proposing only that of Fenwick, whom he declared to be the fittest of the candidates mentioned to direct the destinies of the proposed diocese.¹²

Totally unaware, it seems certain, of the steps the hierarchy were taking for the welfare of the Church in Ohio, the two missionaries continued their heroic efforts both to foster its growth, and to encourage and save souls. More than once they sought help from their brethren in Kentucky; but the needs of Saint Thomas's College attached to Saint Rose's Priory and the strong opposition of Bishop Flaget to priests departing from that portion of his diocese made it impossible for their superior to send them succor. So they were obliged to toil on singlehanded until they were rejoiced, in the summer of 1821,

¹² Bishop Flaget, Bardstown, November 6, 1820, to the Prefect of the Propaganda (*Propaganda Archives, America Centrale*, Vol. iv, No. 139); Archbishop Maréchal, Baltimore, April 4, 1820, to same (*ibid*, No. 148); same to same, June 28, 1820 (*Propaganda Archives, Acta* of 1821, folio 272a).

by the arrival at Saint Joseph's of recruits from Europe, who were on their way to Saint Rose's, but who were later to give their services and their zeal to the missions in the north. These new recruits were Father John Augustin Hill, Brothers John Thomas Hynes and John Baptist Vincent DeRaymacker, both ready for ordination, and Daniel Joseph O'Leary, a young Irishman who had nearly completed his studies in Rome, but had not yet made his religious novitiate. The three students had been gathered together by Father Hill for the new American province of Friars Preacher.

A little later in the same year, news was received which, while it brought joy to the Catholics of Ohio, filled the heart of the State's apostle with consternation. This was that bulls had come to Bishop Flaget erecting Cincinnati into an episcopal see, appointing Father Fenwick its first Ordinary, and placing Michigan and the Northwest Territory under his jurisdiction. The humble friar had no fear of labor, but he dreaded honors and distinctions almost as much as he dreaded sin. His first thought, therefore, was how to escape the mitre. The thought of having to wear one was such a shock to his humility, it is said, that he buried himself in the forests of Ohio, and it was with difficulty that he could be found. When found, it required all the persuasion and authority of his ecclesiastical superiors to induce him to bow to what all, except himself, felt to be the will of God.

Father Fenwick was raised to the episcopal dignity by Doctor Flaget on January 13, 1822; and the consecration, which was the second function of the kind performed west of the Alleghany Mountains, took place in Saint Rose's, Kentucky, a church that the good friar himself had built. A few weeks later, at the same place, he ordained four young men of his Order to the priesthood—Fathers Thomas Martin, John Hyacinth McGrady, J. T. Hynes and J. B. V. DeRaymacker, all of whom were to do efficient service for the Church in Ohio. Then, having gathered together whatever articles the Fathers of Saint Rose's could give him, and having taken up a subscription among his friends to meet the travelling expenses of himself and co-laborers, as well as the outlay which he should have to incur in settling in Cincinnati, the new bishop started for his diocese, carrying his entire episcopal retinue and equipage in a dilapidated two-horse farm-wagon that

had been donated by his convent. He was accompanied by Fathers S. T. Wilson, Hynes, McGrady and DeRaymacker. The journey, owing to rain and swollen streams, was uncommonly rough even for that remote day. Their wagon broke down, and they were in danger of being drowned in the Kentucky River. But the good prelate's trials did not stop here. In Ohio, what remained of the four or five hundred dollars in paper money that he had collected in Kentucky, was depreciated by one half. Undismayed either by this series of misfortunes or by the hardships with which he was confronted on all sides, Bishop Fenwick proceeded to rent a temporary home, to purchase a lot, and, now that the law forbidding the existence of a Catholic church within the municipal limits of Cincinnati had been repealed, to move the little frame structure that had stood on the outskirts, into the city to be his first cathedral. But this, too, threatened to fall apart whilst in transit, and it was with much difficulty that it was saved.¹³

Father Wilson's purpose in accompanying the bishop was to be his vicar general and to found a college and a house of his Order in the new episcopal city. Indeed, it was determined to send most of the Fathers to Ohio, to make that State the chief centre of the province's activities, and to use Saint Rose's principally as a simple novitiate—perhaps to give up the place altogether, since Kentucky was comparatively well supplied with missionaries. Here again, Bishop Flaget interposed, and obtained a letter from the Propaganda obliging the province to divide its forces between the two dioceses—an ill-advised step that not only retarded the growth of the Church in Ohio, but crippled the Fathers' power for good for many years. It was this order, together with his own extreme indigence, that caused Doctor Fenwick, 1823–1824, to take his well-known journey to the Eternal City to make his needs known to the Holy Father and to obtain help. His poverty may be judged by the fact that he was obliged to borrow all the money required for his expenses. Wherever the pious prelate went, he created so profound an impression that he received a warm welcome alike from the Pope and cardinals in

¹³ Notes on Saint Joseph's Province of Dominicans in the United States of America by Rev. J. B. V. DeRaymacker (*Archives of the Dominican Fathers*, Louvain, Belgium—not indexed); *Catholic Almanac of 1848*, p. 58ff.

Rome and from the hierarchy, clergy and nobility of Europe. The French Association for the Propagation of the Faith was particularly kind and generous to him. Indeed, it is quite probable that the assistance Bishop Fenwick received from this society, led a few years later, to the establishment of a similar organization in Austria, known as the Leopoldine Association, which continued to do so much good for our young American Church long after the good prelate's death.

To follow Doctor Fenwick in his travels through Europe, or to attempt to trace his labors for souls and for his diocese, both in Ohio and in the northwest, after his return to America, would carry us far beyond our allotted space. Suffice it, then, to say that the financial aid which he obtained abroad, although it was by no means commensurate with his needs, enabled him to do much for the material betterment of his diocese and it strengthened his courage to continue his spiritual toils. Of even greater importance than this were the priests whom his piety, gentlemanly manners and priestly zeal drew to his cause, both then and in succeeding years. Those of his own Order he placed mostly in Ohio; the others labored principally in the northwest. While the money the bishop obtained in Europe was soon exhausted, leaving him as poor as ever, his hardworking missionaries remained to cheer his spirits, to sustain his energy, and to quicken his zeal.

In spite of his poverty and ill health, the small number of priests at his disposal and pastoral cares sufficient to appall a much younger and more robust man, the zealous prelate started a college for the Catholic education of youth, conducted a seminary for the fostering of sacerdotal vocations, bought a printing press and edited the *Catholic Telegraph* for the spread of Catholic truth and the defense of the Church. This paper is still in existence, and is now the oldest Catholic journal in the United States. Nor did he forget the orphan or neglect the interests of the female portion of his flock. To this end he sought in every way to introduce the Sisterhoods into his diocese, finally succeeding in the permanent establishment of the Daughters of Charity of Mother Seton in Cincinnati,¹⁴ and of the Dominican Sisters at

¹⁴ Cf. Mary Agnes McCann, *History of Mother Seton's Daughters, the Sisters of Charity of Cincinnati*. Two Vols. New York, 1917.

Somerset. His thirst for souls knew no distinction of race or nationality. The salvation of the Indians under his charge was a subject to which he gave much serious thought. Upon the red man, indeed, Bishop Fenwick seems to have bestowed a special affection, and he would gladly have laid aside the mitre to labor among them as a simple missionary. As far as the writer has been able to ascertain, he was the first of our hierarchy to attempt to foster vocations among the aborigines, sending two Indian youths to the College of the Propaganda, Rome. One of these, however, died before finishing his studies; while the other, discouraged by the death of his companion, failed to persevere.

Thus toiled on the apostle of Ohio, traversing his vast diocese and doing good to all that he might bring all nearer to Christ, until the day of his death. He passed to his reward, September 26, 1832, dying as he had lived, on one of his apostolic journeys and almost in the stage-coach. His demise brought sorrow to all the land, but particularly to that part which was under his spiritual guidance. It may be doubted if any member of our hierarchy has ever been better known, more deeply or truly loved and venerated by his people.

It is now time to return to the century-old Saint Joseph's Church and Convent, and briefly to trace their part in the early history of Ohio's Catholicity. Saint Joseph's was at once the domicile of the Fathers and the centre from which they went forth to evangelize the State. Down to the time of Bishop Fenwick's death, few besides the Friars Preacher labored in the cause of the Church there. But their activity was not confined to the limits of Ohio. Often we find them penetrating into what are now the commonwealths of Indiana, Michigan and Wisconsin. Like their chief, Doctor Fenwick, they were seldom to be found at home. Like him again, or even like our Master, they were the poorest of the poor. Their clothing, of necessity, was scanty and of the coarse homespun worn by the most destitute of the pioneer settlers. Often they were obliged to go almost barefoot in the cold winter months. Their food was in keeping with their raiment.

Yet these men of God never lost their courage; neither did they abate their zeal. Toiling ever on, they traversed and re-trav-

ersed the State in every direction. Their travels, their labors and spirit of self-sacrifice remind one of the early days of their Order. The number of conversions to the faith made by them was extraordinary. Perhaps, indeed, none of our early missions can boast of so many. Father Hill, a convert, an erstwhile officer of the English army, and an orator of the first merit, was specially fitted for this good work. He was, perhaps, the equal of Bishop Fenwick, who was possessed of an instinctive talent for dealing with his fellow Americans, and whose humility and frank, open, sincere character disarmed all opposition.

Deep and well did these Friars Preacher lay the foundations of Catholicity in Ohio; thoroughly did they prepare the soil; carefully did they sow, watch, water and cultivate the seed of faith which was later to bear such abundant fruit. From the time of the blessing and opening of Saint Joseph's, especially from the consecration of Bishop Fenwick, churches sprang up here and there in rapid succession for the day and the circumstances then prevailing. God blessed their work. Today Saint Joseph's can claim, in some sense, the honored title of mother to the Archdiocese of Cincinnati, to the three flourishing Dioceses of Cleveland, Columbus and Toledo, and to the hundreds of churches, both great and small, scattered throughout the length and breadth of the State. So, too, may she glory in the long list of her superiors that would do honor to the Church in any land; the great, learned and holy men who have made their home within her hallowed walls; the bishops she has given to the American hierarchy; the missionaries she has sent forth to preach the Gospel and teach the word of truth throughout the length and breadth of the land.

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REV. ANTHONY KOHLMANN, S. J. (1771-1824)

The name of Anthony Kohlmann occurs in Catholic historical records often enough to arouse the interest of students: in Europe at the end of the eighteenth century as one of the Fathers of the Sacred Heart, and of the Jesuits in White Russia; and later, in Rome, as professor at the Roman College, where we find among his pupils such men as Leo XIII and Cardinal Cullen. To the American student, however, the interest chiefly lies between these two periods, in his connection with events in New York and Washington in the early years of the Republic. Among his own brethren, he is in honor as one of the founders of their present organization in the United States, and to the more general student he is the link between the first and second Bishops of New York, and a pioneer Catholic educator in two cities. Still other interesting connections are with such varied personages as De Witt Clinton and Mother St. Euphrasia Pelletier, Tom Paine and Cardinal McCloskey. Coming to this country to be professor of philosophy, it is safe to say that as an administrator and a theologian, he is to be received as one whose influence and learning entitle him to a place among such men as Carroll, Cheverus, Fenwick, Maréchal and others in moulding the course of the Church in America.

He was born on July 13, 1771, at Kayserburg, a town near Colmar in Alsace, at which latter place we are informed he made his first studies. Of his early life we have practically no details, but we do know that at one time he was a Capuchin, and upon the dispersion of that order by the Revolution in France he fled to Fribourg in Switzerland, where he was ordained in 1796. Immediately after this he joined the Society of the Fathers of the Sacred Heart, which was founded in 1794 by Tournely and de Broglie, and was composed chiefly of those who had been religious of the Society of Jesus, or pupils of the Jesuits before the suppression in 1773. He made his noviceship at Gogingen, distinguished himself for his heroic labors during a plague at Hagenbrunn in Austria, and, being later sent into Italy, spent two years in tireless activity at the military hospital at Pavia. In 1801, he was director of the Ecclesiastical Seminary at Dillingen, and later Rector of a college at Berlin and founder of one

at Amsterdam. Here he came in contact with Fr. Adam Beckers S.J., who had just been received back into the Order by the General in Russia, and through this good man he made his own application for entrance into the Society. It was a time when the scattered Jesuits were timidly and tentatively beginning to take up the threads of the old life. The canonical existence of the Jesuits in Russia was becoming every day more manifest, and many old members were asking for readmittance. Father Kohlmann was to wait almost two years for a favorable answer and he spent the time of waiting at Kensington College, London, under Father Rozaven. At length he got word to come to Russia, and leaving England in June, 1805, arrived at Riga the 10-22 of the same month, and on June 21-July 3 was formally received as a novice at Düneburg. Here he made a year of noviceship and at the end of that time evidently more than satisfied his superiors of his fitness; for, before taking his vows he was ordered to America to teach philosophy at Georgetown.¹

In the United States at this time the Society was just beginning to take up its revived existence. The General in Russia, where it had never been disestablished, had in a brief of July 2, 1802, received permission to accept subjects in foreign lands. Accordingly, on April 25, 1803, a petition for readmittance was addressed to Bishop Carroll by sixteen men—ex-Jesuits, secular priests and student aspirants—and forwarded by the Bishop to Russia a month later. The result was that Bishop Carroll was empowered to name a Superior, which he did on June 27, 1805, in the person of Fr. Robert Molyneux. A year later the novitiate was opened at Georgetown, with ten novices and Fr. Francis Neale as Novice Master. Kohlmann, who had sailed from Hamburg on August 20, with one companion, Fr. Epinette, arrived at Baltimore on November 4, and it is a proof of the confidence he inspired that he was immediately sent to Georgetown and, while still a novice himself, made socius to the master of novices, whose duties he was soon called upon largely to take over. "With great fervor and unction," says Father McElroy in his *Recollections*, "he gave the novices frequent exhortations, which pro-

¹ These details are taken from GUMÉN, *Notices Historiques sur quelques membres de la Société des Pères du Sacré Cœur*. Paris, 1860.

duced the most happy effects; he also introduced the customs, penances, etc., usual in the Society as he had found them in Russia."¹

At Georgetown he remained nearly two years, two very busy years, for, besides his regular duties, he appears in the Catalogue of 1807 as missionary at Alexandria, and we know from his own letters that he was sent out on short trips through Pennsylvania, rounding up the many scattered German Catholics there, and hearing confessions in English at the German Church of the Holy Trinity in Philadelphia, as Fr. Adam Britt, S.J., the pastor there, never fully mastered that language. Father Kohlmann's stay in England had evidently taught him that tongue; he had already in 1807 preached several times in English, he says, "and every one tells me I was fully understood." He is very enthusiastic about the good he was able to do, and says numbers of conversions were made by himself and others. On one of these journeys, in April, 1807, he started by giving a mission at Holy Trinity, Philadelphia, where he stayed two weeks, and then went on to Haycock, Goshenhoppen, Lancaster, Coleman's Furnace Elizabethtown, Little York and Conewago, where the Jesuits had missions, and ended with a triduum at the German Church in Baltimore. In his letters he is continually dwelling on the good to be done. "Conversions are of daily occurrence," he says, and he has the highest hopes for the future of the Church in America. "There is a great number, especially among the Methodists in the country districts, the greater part of whom would, as experience demonstrates, become Catholics, if there was anyone to point out the truth to them."²

But it was the eve of great happenings in America, fraught with immense consequences for the Church, and destined to bring about one of the most interesting periods in Father Kohlmann's own life. To appreciate his own place in these happenings, it is necessary to observe closely the exact sequence of events. Bishop Carroll had for some time been petitioning Rome for a division of his vast diocese, and the beginning of 1808 saw

¹ Carroll to Molyneux, June 27, 1805; Kohlmann to Strickland, February 23, 1807; Carroll to Plowden, January 10, 1808; cf. McElroy, *Unpublished Recollections*. (Privately printed.)

² Kohlmann to Strickland, February 23, 1807, and March 9, 1808.

the step about to be accomplished. Bishop Concanen, O.P., the newly-elect for New York, was consecrated on April 24, and hastened to convey the good news to America. It finally came through Archbishop Troy of Dublin, on September 25 of the same year.⁴ Shortly before this, however, as Carroll says in a letter of September 25, 1809, he had sent to New York, with the approval of their Superiors, Fathers Kohlmann and Benedict Fenwick, and they took with them four scholastics, with the intention of beginning a College there. Father Kohlmann succeeded, as Rector of St. Peter's, the Rev. Matthew Byrne, who had long been desirous of resigning, so that he, too, could enter the Society. He did enter and died as a novice at St. Thomas' Manor, September 28, 1809.⁵

Father Kohlmann came to New York with the most enthusiastic hopes for the Church and his Society. He foresaw that New York would always be the first city in America, and he is all for urging his superiors to forestall events and establish the Society formally there. He was an enthusiastic Jesuit and in the existing state of things could not help being impressed with the preponderating place of his Order in the States. We can forgive him if he did not appreciate the full hierarchical development later years were to bring, and if in private letters he indulged in glowing hopes for the Society.⁶ Beyond all doubt he was a sincere and generous hearted man, solely desirous of spreading Christ's religion, wherever he might be. He was well received at St. Peter's, the trustees laying out \$800 for the repair of the house, though, he says, before his arrival they had not spent one cent on it. What he took in his humility as a token of regard for his Order, may perhaps also be ascribed to the genial tact and magnetism of the man himself. He had two tasks before him: to tend to his congregation—and, after his appointment as Vicar General, to organize the diocese—to secure the education of youth, his chief purpose in coming, and a prime object of the Society itself. He lost no time in setting about both. On October 11, Bishop Carroll had received word from Bishop Con-

⁴ *Cath. Hist. Review*, Vol. ii, p. 27.

⁵ McElroy, *ut supra*.

⁶ Cf. Kohlmann to Strickland, November 7, 1808; September 14, 1810; November 28, 1810.

canen to appoint someone as Vicar General "with all the necessary powers that you and I can delegate to him."⁷ As Father Kohlmann was already on the scene and perfect confidence was had in his ability and prudence, he received the appointment and found himself at the head of a large diocese that took in New York State and the northern end of New Jersey. He does not seem, however, to have received any power to administer confirmation, as Father Nerinckx had, for we find Cheverus of Boston performing that office as late as 1814. Bayley testifies to seeing his name as Vicar General on documents in Quebec⁸ and he actually did appoint Bishop Plessis his Vicar for subjects of the diocese near the border, being in turn made the same by that prelate for a like purpose.⁹

In a letter written that November he gives some idea of the work that lay before him.¹⁰ "The congregation chiefly consists of Irish, some hundreds of French and as many Germans, in all, according to the common estimation, of 14,000 souls." "The parish," he later said, "was so neglected in every respect, that it goes beyond all conception."¹¹ He saw immediately that one church was not sufficient, and with characteristic energy set about building another, large and splendid enough to be the Cathedral of his Bishop, who was in Italy anxiously awaiting a chance to cross the ocean, a chance denied by Napoleon's officials. Accordingly Kohlmann bought a large tract of unoccupied land on Canal Street between Broadway and the Bowery, and with the cooperation of his trustees, but not without pessimistic prophecies from many people, carried it through to completion. It was to be for those Catholics who had settled "outside the city," and was in the country amid the villas of the rich and the scattered farmhouses thereabouts. Woodlands and meadows surrounded it, and "so very close to the wilderness [was it] that foxes were frequent visitors." The pro-

⁷ Concanen to Carroll, July 26, 1808, in *Cath. Hist. Review*, Vol. ii, p. 32.

⁸ Kohlmann to Strickland, November 7, 1808.

⁹ On the canonical aspect of this office, and the objections of the General, S.J., to his holding it, and of Carroll to his giving it up, cf. HUGHES, S.J., *Hist. of S.J. in N. A.*, Documents, pp. 865 note, and 857.

¹⁰ Kohlmann to Strickland, November 28, 1808.

¹¹ *DE COUNCY*, p. 366.

ject succeeded so well that on June 8 of the following year Kohlmann laid the cornerstone. According to a current account, "The Rector, with the assistant clergy, choir and the board of trustees, walked in solemn procession to the ground, where was delivered a suitable discourse, . . . and the ceremonies were concluded amidst a large and respectable assemblage of citizens, exceeding 3,000."¹²

Meanwhile the Fathers were not neglecting any means to raise the spiritual condition of their flock. On December 29, 1808, Kohlmann wrote to the Archbishop: "The whole day, from early in the morning till the evening, is occupied, either in hearing confessions till eleven o'clock, or calls for the sick, superintendence over the common schools, instructions, collecting money for the sick or for the embellishing of the church, etc." His unselfish exertions did not go unrewarded, for shortly afterwards he was able to record: "The communion rail daily filled, though deserted before; general confessions every day . . . three sermons, in English, French and German, every Sunday, instead of the single one in English; three catechism classes every Sunday, instead of one; Protestants every day instructed and received into the Church; sick persons attended with cheerfulness at the first call, and ordinarily such as stand in need of general confession and instruction; application made at all houses to raise a subscription for the poor, by which means \$3,000 have been collected, to be paid constantly every year." This generosity of the Catholic faithful shows itself early in a people who, since that time, though never wealthy, have so magnificently given money to forward the glory of God and the welfare of his poor. That Kohlmann's influence and work were predominantly in the spiritual order, and resulted in a universal renewal of piety, is proved by two letters of Bishop Carroll, wherein he was able to say: "Incalculable good is done there," and again on September 19, 1809, "They have already produced most happy fruits by introducing exercises of piety, sodalities, establishing an extensive Academy."¹³

¹² BAYLEY, *Hist. of Cath. Church in N. Y.*, p. 73; FARLEY, *Hist. of St. Patrick's Cathedral*, pp. 49-50. New York, 1908.

¹³ Carroll to ————(?), September 5, 1809; to Plowden, England, September 19, 1809.

This Academy was not the first the Jesuits had opened in New York. As far back as 1685, Colonel Dongan, Catholic Governor of the Province, had sent to Europe for some English Jesuits to convert the Iroquois to Christianity, since he was opposed, on national grounds, to using the zealous French missionaries for that purpose. These fathers are mentioned in the Roman catalogue as residing in New York at this time; they are probably those who responded to the Governor's call—Fathers Thomas Harvey, Henry Harrison and Charles Gage. Being unacquainted with the Iroquois dialects, they proceeded no farther than New York, but profited by their stay in that city to open a college, which was called the New York Latin School and was situated upon what are now the grounds of Trinity Church. Their stay was brief and all but fruitless, owing to the small number of Catholics and the untiring bigotry of Leisler, the usurping Protestant Lieutenant Governor of New York.¹⁴ Father Kohlmann started under more favorable circumstances. He began by renting a house in Mulberry Street fronting the ground on which he was building the Cathedral, and here, with the help of his four scholastics, he opened up his school. One of the professors was James Wallace, S.J., reputed the best astronomer of his day in this country, who later became famous by winning the prize offered by the French Government for solving a mathematical problem offered in open competition. Mr. White, S.J., was professor of Latin and Greek. When Kohlmann wrote to the Archbishop after the Christmas of 1808, he already had seventeen pupils. The school soon showed signs of outgrowing its quarters, as in the following July the pastor wrote: "It now consists of about thirty-five of the most respectable children of the city, Catholic as well as Protestant. Four are boarding at our house, and in all probability we shall have seven or eight boarders next August."¹⁵ That September, however, he moved it around to Broadway, and in March, 1810, a new site was secured "far out into the country," on which was a building, to which additions were made. The land was bought in three lots by his two friends, Andrew Morris and Cornelius Heeney, for the sum

¹⁴ O'CALLAGHAN, *Documentary Hist. of New York State*, Vol. ii, p. 14. SHEA, *Catholic Churches of New York City*, p. 25.

¹⁵ DE COURCY, p. 367.

of \$11,000, and they kept the title to it in their own hands.¹⁶ This site, the "most healthy and delightful spot of the whole island," and from which both rivers could be seen, was just opposite the old Elgin Botanic Garden,¹⁷ at what is now Fifth Avenue and Fiftieth Street, the location of the present St. Patrick's Cathedral.

In its new country situation it began really to have the success hoped for by its founder. He continued to direct his two parishes from his house on Mulberry Street, and made Father Fenwick head of the College, while he came out once a week to hear confessions and to attend to other affairs. Father Fenwick was of an old Maryland family, descended from Cuthbert Fenwick, and later was Administrator of Charleston and Bishop of Boston. No means was neglected to enhance the reputation of the school, as for instance the public examination held in September, 1810, which was advertised in the papers and drew a "respectable audience of ladies and gentlemen." Friendly relations were established with Columbia College, and they were invited to the latter's annual commencement in that same year.¹⁸ Among the students of the school was a son of the late Governor Livingston, and one of Governor Tompkins, later Vice-President of the United States. In the first eight months it received thirty-six pupils and later the attendance rose to nearly one hundred.

This same year, 1810, word came to New York of the death of its good Bishop, whom his subjects had never seen. Not in good health when he was named, his constant worries and disappointments wore him out, and just in sight of embarking for America, he was again turned back by Napoleon's agents, and died, one might almost say of a broken heart, at Naples, Italy, on June 19, 1810, a pathetic picture of unfulfilled longings and deferred hopes.¹⁹ To the end he showed the most lively interest in the welfare of his diocese, and his memory was fittingly celebrated by Father Kohlmann in a solemn High Mass at St. Peter's. The

¹⁶ HUGHES, *Documents*, p. 357: Marshall, S.J., to the General, S.J., March 5, 1821.

¹⁷ *Historical Records and Studies*, Vol. iv, p. 332 ff.

¹⁸ Kohlmann to Strickland, September 14 and November 28, 1810.

¹⁹ *Cath. Hist. Review*, Vol. ii, p. 43.

trustees, he tells us,²⁰ spared no expense on the occasion and the church was imposingly decorated. Father Fenwick preached the funeral sermon on the episcopal dignity "to an audience so numerous as has scarce ever been seen before in any church. . . . I am informed that no solemnity performed in our church made ever so blessed an impression on those who were present." Efforts were made to induce Kohlmann to accept the mitre as his successor, but the humble religious always refused.²¹

A striking incident in which Kohlmann figured was his presence at the deathbed of the atheist Tom Paine, in 1809. In a vivid account left by Father Fenwick,²² who accompanied him, we are told that the wretched man had called for a priest, but only, as they were to discover, because he imagined they could work some good for his body. Fenwick says they agreed beforehand as to what line to take with him, but when he found out the real reason for their visit, the salvation of his soul, his rage was so great that he carried on like a man really possessed. Threats and appeals alternately did no good, and in the midst of the most awful blasphemies, they were compelled to leave him to the mercy of God.

A much more successful effort was his action in the famous confession trial in New York in 1813. A Catholic named James Keating had accused a certain Philipps and his wife of receiving goods stolen from himself, and later, suspicion of the theft fell upon two negroes. Before the trial came off, however, Keating announced he had recovered his goods and, upon being questioned, replied that restitution had been made through Father Kohlmann. The latter, thereupon, was subpoenaed to give his witness, but respectfully refused to give the name of the culprit, as he had the knowledge only under the seal of confession. The trial came off, however, this time at the request of St. Peter's trustees, so that the point might be determined. It aroused immense interest, and again Father Kohlmann refused to give witness. Two Protestants, Messrs. Riker and Sampson, had volunteered to be his counsel, and they argued his case with great ability. The judges were De Witt Clinton, the mayor;

²⁰ Kohlmann to Carroll, October 12, 1810.

²¹ *Catholic Almanac*, 1856, p. 49.

²² *U. S. Cath. Mag.*, Vol. v, p. 558.

Josiah Ogden Hoffmann, recorder, and Richard Cunningham and Isaac Douglass as aldermen. The mayor gave the decision. It was a lengthy and full statement of the case for religious liberty and on these grounds and those of the rules for evidence, excused Kohlmann from giving witness where his religion forbade it, and where he would be exposed to infamy, and, in his own conviction, to punishment in a future state. As Bayley remarks, things had come a long way from the bigotry and prejudice of pre-Revolution days.²³ The case had a twofold outcome. One was a law passed in Albany, December 10, 1828, ensuring ministers and priests freedom from disclosing matters known only in a professional capacity, when such silence is imposed by their denomination. The other was a book by Father Kohlmann himself, in which he took advantage of the intense interest aroused, to enlighten non-Catholics on the matter in question, and state convincingly the Church's doctrine on the Sacrament of Penance. It appeared as an appendix to a review of the whole case by William Sampson, Esq., called "The Catholic Question in America."²⁴ It is a complete theological treatise on the sacrament, and is in high regard for its clearness and completeness.

In a letter written in 1810,²⁵ Kohlmann had stated his plans for the advancement of religion in the Diocese—a school for boys, a convent for girls, and an orphan home conducted by nuns. The first he had already established, and for the second he secured through Father Betagh, S.J., of Dublin, a few Ursulines, who came in April, 1812, and settled on Fiftieth Street near Third Avenue. But since they came only on condition of receiving novices within three years, at the end of that time they returned to Ireland.²⁶ Their chaplains during that period were the Trappist Fathers, who, driven by persecution from France, had finally come to New York. A community of Trappist nuns also came with them, and fulfilled for a time Kohlmann's third requirement. At one time they had thirty-one children under their care. In October, 1814, however, all monks and sisters embarked for Havre, as it seems the superior, Dom Augustine,

²³ BAYLEY, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

²⁴ Printed in New York, by Edward Gillespy, 1813.

²⁵ Kohlmann to Strickland, November 28, 1810.

²⁶ DE COURCY, pp. 377-380; BAYLEY, p. 82*f*.

had never really given up the intention of finally resettling in France.

In 1814 Kohlmann's stay in New York was drawing to a close. That it was a fruitful one we cannot doubt. The new Cathedral due to him was completed, but was only consecrated after he left, on May 14, 1815. Prejudice and bigotry had been allayed, and the Catholic religion was more favorably known to outsiders, while the spiritual level of the flock itself was perceptibly raised, and he had won high praise from Bishops Carroll and Cheverus.²⁷ But one by one the high hopes with which he had come to New York seem to have vanished. The Cathedral was long in building; though three more priests, among them his own brother Paul, had joined him in 1812, the school seemed destined to fail through lack of teachers of the Society; no bishop had come to take over the administration of the vast diocese, and the Society itself was in an anomalous position. It was not until its world-wide restoration on August 7, 1814, that the American Jesuits were able to show to Bishop Carroll the proofs of that complete independent canonical existence that he demanded. The delay greatly hampered their expansion, and if they were to exist at all, it became increasingly evident that they must adopt a cautious policy, or take on a factitious extension outside their rules which Carroll agreed with them they were prudent not to do.²⁸ Father John Grassi, the Superior, writing to Kohlmann, told him that Maréchal, who, it was supposed, was to be the next Bishop, agreed that the New York School was become an *onus insupportabile*, and in this Carroll, while praising what Kohlmann had done, concurred.²⁹ Accordingly, after further consultation with his own advisers, he recalled the teachers to help build up what could be made certain and safe, the College at Georgetown. This was in September, 1813, and the building on Fifth Avenue was loaned to the Trappists, leaving on it, with the Jesuits, a debt of honor of \$10,000, which they paid with difficulty later. It had an interesting subsequent history told in

²⁷ Cheverus, Boston, to Plessis, Quebec, January 20, 1811.

²⁸ Carroll to Plowden, England, December 12, 1813.

²⁹ DE COURCY, pp. 368-9; Carroll, in note 28. Grassi, writing in 1818, says it was closed "solely for want of teachers," *Notizie Varie sullo Stato della Repubblica degli Stati Uniti*, Milan, 1819.



Cardinal Farley's *History of St. Patrick's Cathedral*. It was sold by the Jesuits on February 27, 1821, for \$1,800.³⁰

The uncertain state of affairs as to New York and the problematic good he might still do there, influenced the recall of Father Kohlmann himself to important work in Maryland. The second phase of his life in America was over and the third began. He left New York in January, 1815, and was immediately made Master of Novices at White Marsh. The externally uneventful life he led here was soon rudely broken by the death of the venerable Archbishop on December 3, 1815. Both he and Grassi were present at that saintly deathbed. Almost the good prelate's last words, as reported by Grassi,³¹ were: "There is one thing more than any other gives me consolation at this moment, and that is that I have placed my Archdiocese under the protection of the Blessed Virgin Mary." In the summer of 1817 Grassi went to Rome, and never returned. His natural successor was Kohlmann, and his appointment dates from September 10, 1817. He immediately removed to Georgetown, taking also the post of Rector of that College. The Luther Tercentenary was being celebrated about this time, and Kohlmann entered the lists with two important pamphlets on the heresiarch, the second a species of dialogue with a Lutheran pastor of Pennsylvania, wherein he refutes all modern pretensions in Luther's own words, quoting book and page.³² A little later a new project was under way in Washington. A building erected for a novitiate on F Street near 10th, was made instead a theologate, and on August 15, 1820, Kohlmann moved in as Rector and Professor of Dogma, with Fr. Maximilian Rantzaus as Professor of Moral, and eight theologians. Some prominent Catholics were soon attracted by the institution, and begged Kohlmann to open its halls to the boys of the city. This was done, and on September 1, 1821, it was started as a day-school. "Directed by the ability and experi-

³⁰ HUGHES, *Documents*, pp. 357, 397. It was Marshall who, as procurator of the mission, sold the property. Marshall to General, S.J., March 5, 1821.

³¹ McELROY, *Recollections*.

³² "The Lutheran Centennial Jubilee" and "The Blessed Reformation, Martin Luther portrayed by himself, etc.," Philadelphia, Bernard Dornin, 1818. 94 pp. Finotti, p. 185, says that the author's name "John Beschter" is a pseudonym for Kohlmann.

ence of Father Kohlmann, Gonzaga College [as it was later known] soon became the leading school in Washington." The classes—three that year, nine the next—were taught by the theologians. It was while here that he met Mrs. Ann Mattingly,³³ sister of Thomas Carbery, Mayor of Washington, and persuaded her to make the novena in union with the prayers of Prince Hohenlohe, that resulted on March 10, 1824, in her complete restoration to health. Here, too, he wrote and published his famous treatise on Unitarianism.³⁴ Jared Sparks, then of the Unitarian Church in Baltimore, in an effort to transplant his doctrines from New England to that city, was editing *The Unitarian Miscellany*, and to offset the effect of this Kohlmann launched a series of pamphlets, thirteen in number, in which he attacks that system with a wealth of patristic and scriptural learning, brilliant theological reasoning, and many moral and psychological arguments, calculated to persuade as well as to convince, and at the same time treats his adversary with uniform courtesy, patience and firmness. It had a real success, and by 1822 the third edition in book form had appeared. Father McElroy is authority for saying that for years the book was read in the refectory of St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore.

This book was probably indirectly the cause for his leaving America. Pope Leo XII, on May 17, 1824, restored to the Jesuits the Roman College, which they had lost at the Suppression, and eminent theologians were called in from all parts of the world to make this college once more a great seat of learning and one of service to the entire world. Father Kohlmann was one of these, and for five years he taught dogma there, associating with such men as Taparelli, Perrone and Patrizi, and having for pupils the future Leo XIII and the future Cardinal Cullen. It was while objecting at a public defense by the latter that he attracted the attention of the Pope, who soon made him a consultant of the Congregations of Ecclesiastical Affairs and of Bishops and Regulars. Later on, by Gregory XVI, he was made Qualificator of the Inquisition, and the same Pope is said to have

³³ *U. S. Cath. Miscellany*, Charleston, 1824, pp. 351, 361, 375, 387, 403; a fully documented account of the miracle.

³⁴ *Unitarianism, Philosophically and Theologically Examined*, Washington City, Henry Guegan, 1821, two volumes, pp. 296 and 265.

wished to make him a Cardinal. In 1830, he retired from his office and became spiritual father at the Roman College, and the next year retired to the professed house of the Gesù, where he was destined to end his days, and where, in addition to his work on the Congregations, he gave himself up freely to the confessional and the apostolate. He enjoyed a high reputation as a spiritual director, his wide knowledge of languages undoubtedly attracting to him many young men from many lands, among whom was Father John McCloskey, the future Cardinal.³⁵ He always enjoyed also a peculiar ascendancy over the minds of those outside the Church, and one conversion of this period that caused a sensation was that of Augustine Theiner, the historian, who has himself graphically related the event in the preface of one of his works.³⁶ A first visit reluctantly made completely won him over, and after a few more he was entirely satisfied, and returned, after many wanderings, to the Church, on April 3, 1833. Among his own brethren, Father Kohlmann's last years were the cause of much edification, the fruit of a holy life well spent in single hearted labor for religion wherever obedience called him—a typical apostle of those days, learned and indefatigable, with much personal charm that won him many victories, and, besides, a decided gift for government. It was the labor of his last Lent that killed him. Though already stricken with inflammation of the lungs, he persisted in the confessional on April 8, 1836, for several hours.³⁷ Two days later, in the most pious Christian sentiments of resignation he breathed his last.³⁸

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³⁵ McCloskey, Rome, to Dr. Power, V.G., New York, April 15, 1836; *Hist. Rec. and Studies*, Vol. ii, p. 278.

³⁶ *Histoire des Institutions d'Education Ecclésiastique*, i, Introd.

³⁷ *Catholic Almanac*, 1872, p. 80.

³⁸ For Cardinal McCloskey's account of the death of Father Kohlman, cf., CARDINAL FARLEY, *Life of John Cardinal McCloskey*, pp. 110-112. New York, 1918.

A CENTENNIAL OF THE CHURCH IN ST. LOUIS (1818-1918)

The Fifth of January, 1918, brought to the city of St. Louis the centenary of the coming and installation of Bishop Du Bourg. It marked also the hundredth anniversary of the establishment there of a permanent clergy.¹ The date is of more than mere local interest, for the double event just mentioned may be truly said to have inaugurated a new era in the history of the Church in the immense territory west of the Mississippi River.

In the beginning of 1818, St. Louis was only a little town of some two thousand inhabitants,² and could scarcely be regarded a religious center in the Louisiana Diocese, as most of the Catholics were in the South; moreover, New Orleans, the logical cathedral city, had been an Episcopal See in Spanish times, and the residence of Du Bourg himself during the years of his Administratorship (1812-1815). What motives, therefore, led the Bishop of Louisiana to settle in that out-of-the-way place?

The investigation of these motives, the account of the various steps which culminated in the Prelate's decision, and the recital of the circumstances attending his actual installation in St. Louis, is the object of this paper.

Appointed Administrator-apostolic of Louisiana by Archbishop Carroll on August 18, 1812, Father Louis William Du Bourg had worked strenuously, for well-nigh three years, to bring order into the vast Diocese committed to his charge. His

¹ Bishop Spalding, in his *Sketches of the Life, Times and Character of Bishop Flaget*, p. 136, gives the list of all the priests "who held pastoral charge of St. Louis from its foundation;" and in this list we find the indication: "1811-1817, Rev. F. Savine." Father Savine was then pastor of Cahokia, and attended St. Louis as an out-mission, the third Sunday of every month. Rev. Joseph Rosati's name follows that of Father Savine for the year 1817. Father Rosati came to St. Louis on October 17, 1817, with Bishop Flaget and Father De Andreis for the purpose of making preparations in view of the reception of Bishop Du Bourg, and stayed there about a week. The parish register mentions only four baptisms performed by him during that time. he never held pastoral charge in St. Louis.

² Recollections of John F. Darby in WALTER B. STEVENS' *St. Louis the Fourth City, 1764-1909*, Vol. i, p. 117. St. Louis, 1909. Two-thirds of the population were French and one-third Americans. There may have been four to five hundred negroes, but these were not, it appears, registered in the census. The prevailing language of the white people was French; all the colored people spoke French.

was almost a superhuman task. To begin with, his jurisdiction extended not only over the whole of the Louisiana Purchase, but over the Floridas as well. The immense territory, known as Upper Louisiana, was then but sparsely populated and gave little trouble to the ecclesiastical authorities; moreover, the Bishop of Bardstown had consented to look after its spiritual welfare. But the Floridas were an apple of discord between the Administrator and the Bishop of Havana. At the time of the erection of the See of New Orleans (1793), when Louisiana was a Spanish possession, the Floridas, which were likewise a dependency of the crown of Spain, had been annexed to the new Diocese. But after the retrocession of Louisiana to France, and its sale by Bonaparte to the United States, the Bishop of Havana, on the plea that Spanish lands ought to be ruled by Spanish Bishops, pretended that Florida had reverted to his Diocese. Archbishop Carroll and Father Du Bourg, on the other hand, challenged this claim; and even though Rome upheld their view, it was no easy matter to persuade the tenacious Cuban prelate to relinquish his title.

These, however, were trifling difficulties compared to the troubles which the Administrator had to contend with at home, in Lower Louisiana. In that portion of the Diocese, which numbered more than 50,000 Catholics,³ there were only eleven parishes,⁴ and not enough priests to attend them all. It is not strange, therefore, that, "many Catholics die without sacraments, many children unbaptized; others scarce see a priest once in a lifetime; marriages are contracted without blessing, Christian doctrine is not taught, and such a decay of Christian life is to be observed, that within a few years the Catholic faith will be entirely obliterated."⁵ Darker still is the picture of the conditions in New Orleans: "There is rife in that city a spirit of unbelief, or rather of godlessness, which is gradually corrupting the whole

³ A note in the Archives of Propaganda: *Scritture referite nei Congressi. America Centrale. Codice 4. Notizia de Luigiana*, gives the total number of Catholics in the whole Diocese as 150,000, certainly too high a figure; the estimate of Bishop Du Bourg (60,000) is, no doubt, much nearer the truth.

⁴ New Orleans, Terre-aux-Bœufs, St. Charles, St. John Baptist, St. James, Ascension, St. Gabriel, Pointe-Coupée, St. Martin, Natchitoches and Natches.

⁵ *Notizia*.

mass. This plague is to be attributed to the coming of a great number of free-masons and hucksters of every description, to the spread of French maxims, to infrequent preaching of the word of God, to love of lucre and pleasure, so much intensified by the climate and the number of female slaves, above all to the scandals given by the clergy.”⁶

These last words, however, ought not to be understood as applying to the entire clergy. Of the five priests then living in New Orleans, three are singled out, birds of a feather whom analogous instincts moved to flock together and who made the cathedral their eyrie: the Spanish Capuchin Rector, Anthony de Sedella—Père Antoine, as he was commonly called—for years the head of a clique opposed to the new order of things created by the Louisiana Purchase, and his two notorious assistants, the whilom Recollect John Kuana (Kuhn?) and the ex-Dominican Père Thomas.

And to make things yet worse, at the gates of the city stood an English army ready to attack it.

Amidst such trying circumstances, Father Du Bourg had met with partial success. His attitude during the crucial moments of the war had won him the respect of the saner part of the people and that of public officials, General Jackson in particular; at the same time, the opposition had somewhat abated, at least momentarily, when the ringleader, Father Anthony, yielded a kind of recognition to the Administrator's authority. But all this did not compensate the havoc wrought by death among the clergy: “They die like flies,” wrote Du Bourg to Bishop Flaget. In the eighteen months since his arrival,⁷ four priests of the Diocese had passed away, so that ten only remained, *tant bons, indifférents, que mauvais*—two over sixty, and three above seventy years of age.

The treaty of Ghent (December 24, 1814) and the crushing defeat of General Pakenham at New Orleans having now cleared the ocean of hostile vessels, Father Du Bourg resolved to go directly to lay before the Pope the pressing needs of the flock entrusted to his care. “Were it necessary,” he said to

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ The letter containing these details is dated December, 1814.

Bishop Flaget, "I would go to China, either to be relieved of this terrible burden, or to seek necessary aid to enable me to bear it properly." He would make an earnest appeal for evangelical laborers, and, if unsuccessful, would request the Holy Father to accept his resignation. At any rate, he would provide for Upper Louisiana by asking its dismemberment from New Orleans and its union to the See of Bardstown.

The news of his approaching departure at once rekindled the fire of the smouldering opposition; and a spirited correspondence on the lawfulness of the appointment of Father Louis Sibourd as Vicar General was exchanged between the Cathedral and the Ursuline Convent where Father Du Bourg made his residence. The Administrator had announced to Father Anthony the Vicar General's appointment in the following note:^a

New Orleans, April 29, 1815.

Reverend Father:

Being about to start for Europe, whereto the urgent needs of the Diocese entrusted to my care compel me to go, I have the honor to notify you that I have appointed the Rev. Louis Sibourd my Vicar General, to administer the Diocese during my absence, and that, accordingly, he is the person to whom all things within the pale of Ecclesiastical authority should be referred. I have in regard of this appointment all the necessary faculties.

I am respectfully,

Reverend Father,

Your servant

WM. DU BOURG.

Two days later, Father de Sedella replied to the Administrator:

New Orleans, May 1, 1815.

Reverend Administrator Apostolic:

In order to enable me to answer with proper accuracy your favor of the 29th ult., received yesterday, I beg you kindly to show me your letter of appointment as Administrator Apostolic, and the new faculties received by you subsequently which empower you to appoint a Vicar General for the time of your absence; otherwise neither my honor nor my ministry allow me to comply with your ordinance.

Moreover, you are certainly aware that all title-letters and like faculties should be entered and preserved in the Archives of this church, in order that they might be authenticated by this formality—which has not been done hitherto.

I beg, etc.,

P. ANTHONY DE SEDELLA, Rector.

^a *Arch. of Prop., l. c., Cod. 3. ff. 330.*

Without delay, Father Du Bourg penned the following reply:

Reverend Father:

Being desirous not to leave the least shadow of difficulty remain over the faculty by virtue of which I have appointed the Rev. Louis Sibourd Vicar General to take my place pending the indispensable journey which I am about to make to Europe in the interest of the Diocese, I am sending you a copy of my letter of appointment certified and registered at the office of Mr. Narcisse Brontio, Notary Public.* You will notice, Reverend

* Although the text of the Pontifical Brief to Bishop Carroll and that of Bishop Carroll's letter to Father Du Bourg are well known, it may not be out of place to give them here.

To our Venerable Brother the Archbishop of Baltimore, PIUS VII, POPE.

Venerable Brother, Health and the Apostolic Blessing.

The solicitude wherewith the Roman Pontiff must look after the whole church of God cannot allow any part of the vineyard planted by the eternal Son of the Father to be without labourers, in order that by their work and unremitting zeal the true faith, which is one as God himself is One, should be firmly maintained and spread ever farther, and the spiritual harvest of souls increased to the hundredfold. Some time ago, We provided for the Church of New Orleans, that is, of Louisiana, in North America, bereft of its Pastor and Bishop, by committing that Church to your Ordinary jurisdiction, dear Brother, until We and this Holy See may find an opportunity to make some more satisfactory arrangement. As this opportunity is not yet forthcoming, and you have enough other heavy burdens to care for, We, therefore, pursuant to the advice of our Venerable Brethren the Cardinals of the Congregation of Propaganda, in order that nothing demanded by the spiritual necessity or interest of the faithful residing in those parts should be left undone, instruct and enjoin you, Venerable Brother, if before the Lord you deem this measure expedient, to delegate and send by our Apostolic authority to the aforesaid State of Louisiana, in the capacity of Administrator Apostolic and with the rights of an Ordinary, for as long a space of time as shall be this Holy See's pleasure, and according to the instruction which shall be forwarded you by the above-mentioned Congregation, either our Beloved Son[†] Charles Nerinckx, in whose seal and virtue We have absolute confidence, or, if perchance he should deem himself unequal to the task, another capable priest, well known by you, secular or regular;—all things to the contrary notwithstanding.

Given at Rome, at St. Mary Major, under the seal of the Fisherman, April 6, 1808. L. Card. ANTONELLI.

Very Rev. William Du Bourg,

President of St. Mary's College, Baltimore.

I, the undersigned, Archbishop of Baltimore, fully cognizant of your faith, the sterling quality of your conduct and doctrine, your tireless zeal for the care of souls, and your masterful preaching of the word of God, by virtue of the above Pontifical Brief, delegate and send you, Very Rev. Wm. Du Bourg, to the Diocese of New Orleans, that is, of the State of Louisiana, in order that you may, by Apostolic authority, rule this same Diocese in the capacity of Administrator Apostolic, and with the rights of an Ordinary, for as long a space of time as shall be the Sovereign Pontiff's and Holy See's good pleasure. In the Name of the Most Holy Trinity. One God, Father, Son and Holy Ghost. Amen.

Given at Baltimore under our Great Seal, on August 18, 1812.

†John, Archbishop of Baltimore.

Father, that in this letter the Pope gives to the priest whom the Most Reverend Archbishop of Baltimore may, by virtue of the Pontifical Brief, eventually appoint, the title of Administrator Apostolic of Louisiana, revocable only by the Holy See. I am, therefore, by the choice which this Prelate made of me, the Pope's immediate delegate, and, as such, have received from His Holiness all the rights appertaining to the Ordinary: *cum juribus Ordinarii*.

Now, that such persons as are delegated by the Pope to an office of jurisdiction, have the right to subdelegate the faculties attached to this office, is incontrovertible. So affirms Cabassut in his *Théorie et Pratique du Droit Canonique*, l. iv, c. 1, No. 11: *Delegati a Papa sub-delegare possunt quando eis collata fuit potestas per modum jurisdictionis*; and he cites as his authority the *Cap. fin. de Off. et Potest. judic. deleg.*

Conformably to this principle universally admitted by canonists, the Pope, in the general faculties which he sends to all the Prefects of Missions, Vicars Apostolic, etc., closes with these words: *praedictas facultates communicandi sacerdotibus idoneis, ut, sede vacante, si qui possit supplere donec Sedes Apostolica certior facta alio modo provideat*.

These last words deserve attention. They prove that it is the Church's intention 1° that its jurisdiction be not interrupted anywhere; 2° that this jurisdiction be transmitted, at least provisionally, by him who is in possession thereof. From this it follows that not only the Pope's immediate delegate, but subdelegates themselves have the right to appoint their successors, or substitutes, when they are compelled to discontinue the exercise of their authority, and this until other provision be made by the Sovereign Pontiff.

Thus, by virtue of this power, founded on the very constitution of the Church, the Prefects Apostolic in the Missions have always appointed one or two vice-prefects in their stead. This is a well-known fact.

By itself, the clause *cum juribus Ordinarii* qualifying my office in the Brief of His Holiness, unequivocally says as much. In Ecclesiastical parlance the Ordinary, or the Bishop, are one and the same thing, so far as jurisdiction is concerned. I am, then, in possession of all the jurisdictional rights of the Bishop. Like the Bishop, therefore, I am empowered to communicate my faculties to another; for this power is not a privilege of Order, but a consequence of jurisdiction, as is manifest from the fact that a Bishop-elect, even before his consecration, can appoint a Vicar General.

In point of fact, what am I doing, when I appoint a Pastor, but communicating to him my jurisdiction over a part of the territory assigned to me? Now if I can thus apportion my jurisdiction piecemeal, is it not evident that I can commit to another the whole of it as well?

I trust, Reverend Father, that the above remarks will satisfy you. The Rev. Rectors of the Diocese have already manifested their readiness to acknowledge Father Sibourd as provisional superior during my absence and until the proper authorities appoint some one else. Your refusing

to acknowledge his authority would eventually result in the nullity of all marriages in need of a dispensation from diriment impediments.

I am respectfully,

Reverend Father,

Your most humble and devoted servant

WM. DU BOURG.

New Orleans, May 2, 1815.

The Administrator's lucid Canon Law dissertation elicited this astonishing rejoinder:

Reverend Administrator Apostolic:

As I am by inclination a lover of peace and a punctual observer of the orders of my lawful superiors, as you well know, allow me to state candidly that neither from your special letter of appointment by the Most Rev. Archbishop of Baltimore, nor from the letter sent at the same time by the same Most Rev. Gentleman to Father John Olivier, can anything else be taken, but that you are a mere subdelegate, without any other faculties than those which your predecessor enjoyed. I shall not argue about the title of Administrator Apostolic which occurs in your letter of appointment referred to above; but I do beseech you to be pleased to indicate clearly to me in what letter or Brief you have received from the Holy Father the faculty to appoint a Vicar General for the time of your absence, as you positively assert in your favor of the 29th ult.; since in the aforementioned document there is not a word to that effect. I will add, moreover, that, in order to absent himself from his official residence for a protracted length of time, a person entrusted with a duty such as that which you discharge, must, according to the best canonists, have some great causes concerning the Church at large, and not a particular Church; and in the supposition that such causes be true, it is absolutely necessary, moreover, that beforehand a written permission should be asked from, and granted by the Holy Father, or at least the Metropolitan or the senior Bishop of the Province. In view of the foregoing remarks, I hope that you will do me the kindness to put at rest my conscience and that of others on this point. Were you to act otherwise, you would be answerable for all the evils which might ensue.

Ever your devoted servant,

P. ANTHONY DE SEDELLA.

New Orleans, May 3, 1815.

Was this "bluff" or ignorance on the part of the wily Capuchin? At any rate, Father Du Bourg condescended to answer once more:

New Orleans, May 3, 1815.

Reverend Father:

In reply to yours^d of this day, just received, I must first express my surprise that you did not advert to the difference between an Adminis-

trator Apostolic and an Administrator's Vicar General. My true predecessor was not Father Olivier, but the Most Rev. Archbishop of Baltimore, for whom I was substituted according to the Brief that I sent you: for it was not as Archbishop of Baltimore that he exercised jurisdiction over this vacant See, but because the Pope had especially entrusted this office to him, as he himself says; and the very words whereby faculty was given to the Archbishop to relieve himself of this burden by confiding it entirely to another person, declare the latter shall be regarded as sent in the name of the Holy See, and enjoy all the rights which were formally the Most Rev. Archbishop's. Now this Prelate unquestionably had the right to appoint a Vicar General; therefore, I also have that right. There you have, as well as from the general faculties granted to Prefects Apostolic in the Missions, which I mentioned in my last letter, the solid foundation upon which was grounded my assertion that I am empowered by the Pope to designate a substitute.

I am perfectly aware, Reverend Father, that an Ecclesiastical superior must have grave reasons to absent himself from his Diocese; but I am aware also of the fact that he is answerable for these reasons only to his superior. As a matter of fact, I have for this journey the assent of the Most Rev. Archbishop; but this was in no way necessary, for every superior has the right to go to Rome, in order to confer with the Head of the Church, and is accountable therefor to no one. Nevertheless, I, too, am too much a lover of peace, not to be disposed to communicate to you the Most Rev. Archbishop's letter on this subject. The letter is in English, but in it is enclosed another in Latin, addressed to His Eminence Card. Litta, Prefect of Propaganda, to whom I am to present it. This letter, and even both of them, I will show you readily, if you take the trouble to come here.

You may withal, Reverend Father, do as you please. I have satisfied my conscience, and am no longer responsible for the ominous consequences which your letter makes me anticipate; but these forebodings cannot deter me from undertaking my intended journey, as the interest of the Diocese, of which I am sole judge, appears to me to demand it.

I am respectfully,

Reverend Father,

Your most humble and devoted servant,

WM. DU BOURG.

P. S.—I beg you to understand that when I say: You may do as you please, my intention is by no means to countenance your departing from the order which, as Ordinary of this Diocese, I deemed it my duty to establish for the exercise of my jurisdiction during my absence. Having no exterior means of compelling the priests to submission, I can only bemoan their behavior before God, and make it known to His Holiness.

WM. DU BOURG.

The next day, May 4, the Administrator, his mind overcast by ill omens of what was but too likely to happen during his absence, sailed for Europe. He landed at Bordeaux at a most unpropitious moment (early in July, 1815), just when, after Napoleon's defeat at Waterloo (June 18) and his abdication (June 22), and the subsequent capitulation of Paris to Blücher (July 3), the whole country was in an uproar. To set out on a journey through distracted France would have been sheer rashness. Father Du Bourg, therefore, decided to wait at Bordeaux until travelling should be safe, and from the Archbishop's palace, where he was tendered the most generous hospitality, wrote to Card. Litta:¹⁰

Bordeaux, July 12, 1815.

Your Eminence:

From Louisiana, in North America, I set out some time ago to visit the *limina* of the holy Apostles, for the purpose to set forth personally before the Holy See the most wretched condition of this church long since bereft of Pastor, the administration of which was, by Apostolic authority, entrusted to my humble person. I just landed in France, where, owing to civil disturbances and the dangers attending travel, I am prevented, I do not know for how long, to pursue my journey. For this reason I have deemed it necessary to implore without delay Your Eminence's help, in order to obtain that, as soon as possible, by an act of the Apostolic authority provision might be made, at least temporarily, for the ecclesiastical government of that Diocese. Naturally I did not fail, just before my departure, to appoint as Vicar General a man remarkable by his piety and prudence, namely, the Rev. Louis Sibourd, formerly pastor in the French Island of San Domingo; and to him at once the missionaries of the State promised obedience—all but one. This man is the Spanish Capuchin Father Anthony de Sedella, concerning whom my predecessors had in the past grave complaints to make to the Holy Father, and I myself shall have much to say when I have an audience with Your Eminence. This man, impatient of control, and quite expert in the art of tickling the popular fancy, who, for thirty years and more has lorded it in the Cathedral, and holds and twists at will in his hand the minds of nearly all the inhabitants of a large city, this man, I say, challenging my power to delegate my authority, is, now that the first schism kindled by him has been quenched, threatening to start another. Unless treatment is promptly applied to this frightful calamity, the evil, I am afraid, will be soon past remedy.

The Administrator begged for a recognition of the lawfulness

¹⁰ *Arch. of Propag., l.c., Cod. 3, Fol. 333.*

of Father Sibourd's appointment, pointing out the necessity to abstain, for prudential reasons, from any reference, even indirect, to Father Anthony.

What the result of this petition was, we do not know in every detail; we can say only that the stand taken by the Administrator in this affair was undoubtedly approved: of this approval the fact that no sooner had Du Bourg reached the Eternal City (September, 1815), than he was made Bishop,¹¹ is sufficient evidence; moreover, a note of the Secretary of Propaganda written on the back of Du Bourg's letter informs us that the Congregation wrote on this subject to Archbishop Carroll on August 26 following.¹² Archbishop Carroll died on December 3, 1815, possibly before this letter reached him;¹³ at any rate, it was Archbishop Neale who answered it, on February 4, 1816:¹⁴

. . . Four letters sent from Rome . . . one dated August 26, 1815 . . . In this I noticed the commission given to the Archbishop to uphold without delay before the Catholics of Louisiana the authority of the Vicar General, Rev. Louis Sibourd, appointed by the Administrator to rule in his absence, against the attempts of Father Anthony, who claims the right to govern the Church of Louisiana until the Administrator's return.

Now whilst I was considering what means of performing the commission laid upon me might prove the most effectual, I just received from the Rev. Louis Sibourd a letter telling me that Father Anthony has put an end to the trouble of which he was so long the cause, and ceased to exercise the jurisdiction he had usurped; so that there remains for me no necessity to interfere in the quarrel.

How short-lived Father Anthony's submission was, the sequel will manifest.

¹¹ He had been already appointed for the first time in 1812, shortly after being made Administrator, and had accepted the appointment. His Bulls, however, were delayed. Father Maréchal, then in France, wrote that he expected to be the bearer of them; but he returned to Baltimore without them. Pope Pius VII, lingering in prison, and worn out by the intrigues and harassing vexations of his imperial gaoler, firmly declined to issue any more Bulls. SPALDING, *Flaget*, pp. 163-164. A note informs us that all these particulars are gathered from a letter of Du Bourg to Bishop Flaget, dated Baltimore, August 11, 1812.

¹² This letter must be in the Archives of Baltimore.

¹³ The matter might be ascertained if the date of receipt was entered on the original, or a Journal of the correspondence sent and received was kept. The point is of secondary importance.

¹⁴ *Arch. of Prop., l.c.*, Cod. 3, Ff. 360-364.

It does not fall within the scope of this paper to rehearse the various events which filled the days of Du Bourg's sojourn in Rome, to tell how, despite his reluctance, he was finally prevailed upon to receive episcopal consecration (September 24, 1815), and how his "refusal to take No for an answer" secured for his Diocese a band of missionaries and substantial pecuniary aid. When his first recruits left Rome (October 21st and December 15,¹⁶ 1815) for Bordeaux, the understanding was they were to go with the Bishop to New Orleans. Great was their surprise, therefore, when, whilst waiting at Bordeaux for the prelate, they were informed by a letter written from Lyons on Easter Sunday (April 24), 1816, that the Bishop was abandoning his project of going, and taking them, to Lower Louisiana. This letter, addressed to Father De Andreis,¹⁷ read in part as follows:

I see you are all eager to sail. Yet, since I saw you last, I had decided our departure would not be before next October; and letters which I received from New Orleans recommend waiting until the above mentioned date, on account of the summer heat and the autumn fevers prevailing there, which would expose too much my precious colony. Nevertheless other more recent letters, which convey very sad news and tell of the darkest machinations of the *inimicus homo* who controls the religious opinions of that city, compel me to alter all my plans, and may bring about your departure at a much earlier date. . . .

You know that when a general wishes to conquer a country, he does not always stop to besiege fortified cities, lest this should weaken his army and hamper at every step the progress of the campaign. According to this mode of strategy, I am considering leaving aside New Orleans, and attacking my Diocese at points more easy of access for me: instead of fixing my residence and my establishments in Lower Louisiana, it is to St. Louis, in Upper Louisiana, that I am thinking to go, at least for a while.

. . . Many reasons convince me that, even apart from the opposition to be met with at New Orleans, the good of the Diocese suggests that St. Louis should have the preference as the Episcopal city. I think I am perfectly free in this regard, since, after all, I shall still be within the Diocese; however, for conscience's sake, I have written to Rome to have the opinion of Propaganda on this matter. Should the Holy See

¹⁶ Fathers Rosati, C.M., Acquaroni, C.M., Spezioli, and Mr. Deys. Father Spezioli went no farther than Bordeaux.

¹⁶ Fathers De Andreis, C.M., Marliani, Messrs. Dahmen and Gonzales. At Bordeaux Father Marliani was found by the doctors unable to undertake the trip.

¹⁷ Original in the *Archives of St. Louis Archdiocese Chancery*.

refuse to sanction this new plan of mine, I would consider our Mission as a rash undertaking, and the whole affair a wretched failure.

The letter to Rome to which reference is made by Bishop Du Bourg had been sent on 11th of April to Card. Dunagni, Pro-Prefect of Propaganda.¹⁸ After thanking the Cardinal for a gift of 600 *scudi* voted by the Congregation at the Pro-Prefect's instance, and registering the success obtained so far, the Bishop of Louisiana broaches the subject of his intended change of residence:

The news which I received from New Orleans would almost make me give up the whole undertaking. The *inimicus homo*, on hearing of my appointment, renewed and multiplied his perfidious wiles. There is now question of having the State Legislature pass a law placing my temporalities under the absolute control of the men most strenuously opposed to Episcopal authority; and so heated are the minds of the party, that my friends entertain fears about my personal safety, should I appear in the City. Your Eminence may realize easily what distress such news caused me. I must say candidly that I came very near beseeching His Holiness to take away from my shoulders a burden which, in circumstances such as these, appeared to me simply unbearable.

Unbearable it would be, indeed, Your Eminence, for the most courageous and fearless Bishop, if he were obliged to settle in the city of New Orleans, or even in Lower Louisiana, which is almost entirely under the influence of that wretched Religious. Nothing at all can be hoped there as long as that man is living. However, I feel how essential it is not to give up the hope of bringing back some day by dint of meekness that part of the Diocese under submission to Episcopal authority. But this consideration itself positively forbids exposing the Bishop to an uneven struggle, the inevitable result of which can be only the loss of the respect due to his dignity. I see but one means of reconciling all the interests at stake, and I beg Your Eminence kindly to propose this means to the Cardinal Prefect and to the Sacred Congregation: it is, that I should for the time being establish my See in Upper Louisiana, namely, at St. Louis. Apart from the peremptory motive which brought this idea to my mind, several other reasons seem sufficiently strong to recommend this measure. In order that I may work thoroughly for the good of my Diocese, I must establish a Seminary and primary schools; these new establishments ought to be, until they are solidly grounded, under the immediate and constant supervision of the Bishop. Now everything is against their being located in Lower Louisiana, whereas everything looks favorable to their happy development if they be in Upper Louisiana: in the one place morality is at an incredibly low ebb, it remains untainted

¹⁸ *Arch. of Prop., l.c.*, Cod. 3, Fol. 369.

in the other; in the one the air is unsalubrious, it is pure and healthy in the other; in the one real estate and living are very high, they are very cheap in the other. In case I were to settle in Upper Louisiana, I would appoint only a Vicar General at New Orleans, requesting His Holiness through the Sacred Congregation to grant him the faculty to administer *as I would deem fit* the Sacrament of Confirmation, as the immense distance between the place of my residence and Lower Louisiana would prevent my betaking me thither to fulfill this august function of my Order. In this case, too, it would be necessary to postpone indefinitely the carrying to execution of the project which I had suggested to the Sacred Congregation touching the dismemberment of Upper Louisiana from my Diocese and its erection into a new Diocese.

Bishop Du Bourg's plea was accepted; and from a note of the Secretary of the Congregation of Propaganda added to the original of the above letter, we learn that, in May, 1816, the Cardinal Prefect wrote his approval of the prelate's project. But communications were then very slow; the Bishop, moreover, whose nerves were constantly kept on edge by the correspondence he received from America, was naturally anxious that Rome should be in possession of all the information bearing on the case. He, therefore, on June 24, renewed his petition in another letter to Cardinal Dunagni, adding new light on the misdeeds of Father Anthony and his clique:¹⁹

Your Eminence:

I had the honor of writing to you from Lyons about the end of April, to acquaint you with the sad news I had just received from New Orleans, submit to you the plan I had formed to establish my residence, at least for a while, in the town of St. Louis, and beseech you to forward as soon as possible your answer to Bordeaux. Since that time, I have been constantly assailed by letters from the same quarter, all very dispiriting, and the trustworthiness of whose writers I cannot question, for these persons are precisely those who are most devoted to me, namely, my brothers, my Vicar General, the Ursuline nuns and others. The uniform burden of all these letters is that, when the news of my Episcopal consecration reached over there, the party began to stir themselves to have the State Legislature pass a law enacting that the Cathedral should be administered by a Board of Trustees, all naturally Father Anthony's abettors;—that, besides, the ringleaders have so roused all the classes of the people against the coming of a Bishop, that my friends believe it would be unsafe for me to go there; at least access to the Cathedral would be denied me, and the Episcopal dignity would be ignominiously

¹⁹ *Arch. of Prop. L.c.*, Cod. 3, Ff. 372-373.

outraged;—that, when my Vicar General brought to Father Anthony the Testimonial of my Consecration and the Brief of His Holiness raising me to the Episcopate, in order to have them registered and filed in the Cathedral Archives, Father Anthony replied derisively that he would consult about the matter with the trustees, one of whom had, shortly after, the impudence to take these documents to a saloon and, on the occasion of them, to aim gibes and insults at the Holy Father and the Bishop;—that Father Anthony boasts that he has nothing to do with the Pope and the Bishops of his making;—that, however, by an unconceivable inconsistency, or maybe a remnant of political timidity, not only he accepts matrimonial dispensations issued in my name by my Vicar General, but even refuses to bless marriages in need of dispensation, until the parties have secured this dispensation from the lawful authority. So that, on the whole, there is actually no schism, but everything is ready for starting one at the first provocation; and the appearance of the Bishop in the country shall not fail to be the signal; so that, not only the respect due to the Episcopal dignity, but the vital interests of religion as well, shall be jeopardized; which must be avoided at all costs, because once the mischief is done, it will be impossible to mend it. From this I might be led to conclude that God does not wish me in my Diocese; and I would not have hesitated to send my resignation to His Holiness, had not the thought occurred to me that St. Louis may offer me a residence where I may settle with greater profit to religion than could ever be found in New Orleans.

However, Your Eminence, before going there, I deemed it necessary to make sure of the kind of welcome I might expect there; for I am told also that the coterie at New Orleans have spared no efforts to poison the minds of the country-people, and as much as they could, of the whole Diocese. In consequence, I have written to Bishop Flaget of Kentucky, who is highly esteemed in Upper Louisiana, and who, being well acquainted with the dispositions of the people there, solicited the erection of a new Episcopal See in that district; I have requested him to urge those people to express themselves plainly, and assign to the Bishop a maintenance independent from the caprice and humor of his flock. My opinion is accordingly that I should wait for their answer before definitely determining to go there.

Upon these various points it is extremely urgent, Your Eminence, that I should have as soon as possible the directions of the Sacred Congregation; for without these directions I act only at haphazard, being obliged to rely solely on my own judgment. I consulted, however, the most enlightened and wise French prelates and ecclesiastics; and all approved of my plan.

Meanwhile, I did not fail to further the work of my Mission; and I have just sent to Upper Louisiana, by the way of Baltimore and Ken-

tucky, five priests, four clerics in minor Orders, and four Brothers,²⁰—all well-trying men, to whom I have explained the exact condition of things. Ten or twelve more may possibly be ready to sail by October next; but I will not send these without fear, if I have not the opinion of the Sacred Congregation. I beseech Your Eminence, therefore, to take my position into serious consideration, and, after conferring with the Cardinals of the Congregation on the foregoing *exposé*, to forward me as soon as possible their answer to the following three questions:

1. Owing to the certainty that the Episcopal dignity will be reviled, and to the extremely strong probability that I may personally be exposed to serious danger in New Orleans, is it not advisable to fix, at least provisionally, my residence in St. Louis?

2. Ought I not to wait, before going to St. Louis, for an assurance that I shall be well received there, and find a maintenance?

3. Should I likewise delay until then the departure of the Missionaries who have offered to share in my labors?

Anent the first query, I do not see how there could be two opinions. All persons conversant with the conditions are unanimously saying that attempting to go first to New Orleans would be inexcusable rashness, and a death-blow to Religion. As for myself, Your Eminence, who know better than anyone both the place and the men, I must declare that I do not feel equal to the task of exposing myself to the consequences of such a step.

With regard to the second question, it does not seem to me that the Church's intention is that a Bishop should be a beggar. If the hope of having a resident Bishop does not move the people of Upper Louisiana to settle something definite for his maintenance, still less will they be disposed to do anything, once he is with them, and they know he cannot go anywhere else. I believe it necessary, in consequence, that they should come out with a plain statement, before I go there. Already in April Bishop Flaget has broached the subject, and we may probably know the result of his negotiations before the end of the year.

The solution of the third question depends, in my opinion, upon the answer given to the second. However, I would not see so much inconvenience in an early start of the Missionaries who, at any rate, wish to go to America and are sure of finding work there, than in my own departure at haphazard. This measure may even be necessary for the encouragement of the benefactors of the Mission who seem to reckon on that early start. If, after all, it turns out that I cannot follow my destination, the money given me will thus nevertheless be faithfully applied according to the intention of the donors.

²⁰ Fathers De Andreis, C.M., Rosati, C.M., Acquaroni, C.M., Carretti and Ferrari of Port-Maurice; Messrs. Dahmen, Dey, Gonzales and Tichitoli; Blanka, C.M., Flegifont, Boranvanaki, de Latre; of these four men only the first was actually a lay-brother, the other three had manifested some intention of joining the Community; none of them eventually persevered. All sailed, on June 12, 1816, on the American brig *The Ranger*.

This letter reached Rome on August 17. We are not in possession of the Cardinal's reply; but from the subsequent correspondence of the Bishop, we may gather that Rome approved of his waiting for Bishop Flaget's information, and directed him to send his Missionaries at once.²¹ Anticipating such an answer, he resolved to undertake a campaign through France and Belgium in view of collecting funds and recruiting subjects for the Mission. The King of France, Louis XVIII, granted him free passage for himself and all his Missionaries on the first ship of the Royal navy to sail for America.

Did the authorities at Rome forget the difficult circumstances in which he was, and the approval given to his delaying his departure? It would seem so, from a letter of Propaganda, dated November 23, expressing the Congregation's dissatisfaction, because, "instead of starting for his Diocese, according to the orders given him, he had gone to Paris." This unmerited censure caused a severe wound to his sensitive nature; and at once he poured out his heart's feelings in a letter to the Cardinal Pro-Prefect, in which he explained and justified the course he had taken.²² This letter, received in Rome in the first days of February, produced the desired effect; the mistake was acknowledged, and regret expressed for its commission. But this comforting news had not yet reached the Bishop at the end of March; his heart's wound still bleeding, he once more appealed to the Cardinal:²³

²¹ "I conformed, my Lord, to the orders of Your Eminence on these two points. I have already sent forth thirteen ecclesiastics, nine to St. Louis" (De Andreis' band) "and four to New Orleans." Letter to Card. Dunagni, December, 1816. *Arch. of Prop., l.c., Cod. 3, Ff. 387-388.* Three of the latter, two Frenchmen and one Italian, died prematurely in the fall of 1817. Letter of Father Rosati to Father Baccari, Bardstown, February 8, 1818.

²² Lyons, December 28, 1816. *Arch. of Prop., l.c., Cod. 3, Ff. 387-388.* We date this letter with certainty, December 28, although the original bears no date; because, according to a Postscript, Bishop Du Bourg sent at the same time his "Opinion on marriage licences issued by civil authorities in the U. S." This document, which has found place only in Fol. 400 of the *Cod.*, is explicitly dated, Lyons, December 28, 1816. Let it be remarked in passing that the index of this letter in Prof. Carl Russell Fish's *Guide to the Materials for American History in Roman and other Italian Archives*, p. 177 (Washington, D. C., 1911), is misleading: "The Bishop of New Orleans," says the *Guide*, "gives his reasons for wishing to be transferred to Paris" (italics mine) "and exposes his projects." The fact of the matter is that the Bishop gives his reasons why he went to Paris, which is quite different.

²³ *Arch. of Prop., l.c., Cod. 3, Fol. 425.*

Paris, March 29, 1817.

My Lord Cardinal:

Over two months ago, being then at Lyons, I wrote to Your Eminence, to endeavor to clear myself in your eyes of the charge of disobedience. You had upbraided me for my failure to follow your orders of repairing at once to my Diocese. My answer to this allegation was in Your Eminence's very last two letters, wherein you deemed it prudent for me to delay my departure until I should hear about the outcome of the negotiations started by the Bishop of Bardstown with the inhabitants of St. Louis of the Illinois, on the subject of establishing there, at least for a while, my Episcopal See.

If meanwhile I went to Paris, I take God to witness it was in no way for the purpose of winning the good graces of the Royal family, or for any human advantage; but solely for the spiritual benefit of my poor Diocese. Indeed, I went not only to Paris, but also to Belgium, to secure everywhere I could both active laborers and help of every kind; and, thank God, my efforts were not fruitless.

For, besides the thirteen men already arrived in my Diocese²⁴ (among whom are Fathers De Andreis, Rosati and Acquaroni, of the Roman house of the Mission, Flavian Rossi and Aloysius Bighi, of the Roman College), twenty and more ecclesiastics are ready to sail with me, with whose help we will be able to provide in some way for the foundation of the Seminary and the personnel of the Missions. Moreover, with regard to the expense, His Most Christian Majesty will furnish a ship, the Princes and some good Christians money and a supply of sacred utensils—a very nice liberality in the present straitened circumstances. Nothing now detains me, except that I have to wait for the favorable season to set sail; in May, therefore, or, at the latest, in June next, God willing, we shall be on our way to Baltimore, whence we will go overland and by river-boats to St. Louis.

In the meantime, I hear frequently from my Vicar General who stays all alone in New Orleans: so far, no change has been noticed in the ill-feeling of my opponents; and whatever persons in that depraved city are well disposed towards religion approve my plan to settle in Upper Louisiana, in order that the Episcopal dignity may not be discredited.

It being so, it appears to me urgent that Your Eminence carry out the intention which you were pleased once to manifest to me, namely, to obtain for me from the Holy Father the faculty of delegating a priest to administer the Sacrament of Confirmation, consecrate chalices and altars for that portion of the Diocese which, on account both of the distance and of the hostility still prevailing, I shall be unable to visit.

I had just written this much, when Your Eminence's most welcome and truly fatherly letter of the 5th of February was handed to me. It

²⁴ So did Bishop Du Bourg think; he did not know then that Bishop Flaget had advised them to wait at Bardstown.

was like balm on my perhaps oversensitive heart, which had felt the wound smarting all the more, because the hand that inflicted it was the dearer. Deign Your Eminence pardon the pain of a son, who beheld him whom he used to look upon as a father, suddenly and without cause that he knew of, assume the stern looks of a judge. Well, God, who is always good, permitted it all, I am sure, to give me a new token of your kindness and of your affection: words fail me to express my gratitude therefor to Your Eminence. No more complaints that my confidence had grown strained. Nay, would that it never overstep the proper bounds of filial confidence.

. . . Whence may have arisen the fear that I should obey the promptings of love of country rather than those of pastoral duty? I have not the least idea, nor do I care to investigate. I even pardon this insult the more readily, because it has afforded me keen satisfaction to hear I have in America friends so good as to set so much value on my worthless efforts. . . .

Bishop Du Bourg's expectations as to the date of his departure were somewhat disappointed. On June 16, he wrote joyfully: "At length the long-wished-for day is at hand: to-morrow we embark, and, God willing, shall set sail for America."²⁵ Yet, for some cause unexplained in our documents, *La Caravane*, a "flute" of the French Royal Navy, left her moorings at Bordeaux only on July 1.²⁶ With the prelate were twenty-nine recruits for the Louisiana Mission: five priests, four subdeacons, nine clerics, three Christian Brothers, four young men still in their classical course, and four workmen, who had offered themselves to the Mission and whom the Bishop intended to organize into a kind of community of mechanics.²⁷

²⁵ Letter to Prop. Arch. of Prop., l.c., Cod. 3, Fol. 453.

²⁶ There can be no doubt as to this date, given by Bishop Spalding, *Flaget*, p. 172. A letter of Mr. Portier and another of Father Anthony Blanc, cited in the *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, Vol. ii, No. 5, p. 62, and Vol. ii, pp. 334-335, respectively, state explicitly the voyage lasted sixty-five days; and it is certain, on the other hand, that the party landed at Annapolis on September 4.

²⁷ Various estimates of the number of persons who came on *La Caravane* are current. The list here given is copied from a scrap of paper scribbled in 1820 by Father Rosati, and containing, obviously for his own use and *ne pereant*, the names of all those who came to the Louisiana Mission between 1816 and 1820, with the date of their arrival. This list, which aims at completeness, must be assumed to be correct. It is preserved in the Archives of the Archdiocese of St. Louis. Priests: De Crugy, Anthony Blanc, Janvier, De la Croix, Vallesano; Subdeacons: Bertrand, Portier, Jeanjean, Valentin; Clerics: Brassac, Desmoulins, Hosten, Niel, De Parcq, Maenhaut, De Nekere, Perrodin, Chaudorat; Christian Brothers: Audin, Fulgentius, Antoninus; College Boys: Barreau, De Geithre, Desprat, Magne; of the four workmen we have only the first names: Joseph, Bernard, Isidore, Francis.

The company's life on board ship was as regular and edifying as that of the most fervent seminary; and by word and example the Missionaries inaugurated their apostolic work among their providential travelling companions of *La Caravane*. What consoling success crowned their zealous endeavors, we learn from a letter of Father Anthony Blanc, the future Bishop of New Orleans:²⁸

Our voyage was a little long; but we never regretted this delay, because it was undoubtedly brought about by a special disposition of God, who wished to give us time to prepare the sailors who desired to take the opportunity of our presence on board to fulfill their religious duties. Every day we had a catechetical instruction for the benefit of all who wanted to attend. The first instruction was given by the Bishop himself to the whole crew assembled. We could not but admire the attention with which these poor people were listening. On August 24, eve of St. Louis' feast, the Bishop officiated in the largest and least encumbered room of the ship, and we had the consolation to see forty of the crewmen sit at the Holy Table, seven of whom were making their first communion. Thirty-four of these men received on the same day the sacrament of Confirmation with the most edifying dispositions. In the evening we had a renewal of the promises of Baptism made by those forty who, that morning, had received communion: the Bishop asked the question, and all answered in a loud and manly tone of voice: We promise it! This ceremony was touching in the extreme, and affected deeply the officers, some of whom confessed later on that, on going back to their cabins they could not refrain from shedding tears. On the following Sunday, a few went again to Holy Communion. Most of these men were above twenty-five years of age; a few were around fifty, and said they had neglected their duty for thirty years. We all had our share in this work, some giving the instructions, others hearing confessions. For my own part, I signed seventeen Confirmation tickets. Before we left the ship, they asked us for rosary-beads, which afterwards all were carrying around their necks.

Most touching was the parting scene at Annapolis, when, the Bishop bidding adieu to these neophytes, all fell on their knees and asked a last farewell blessing. "God," adds the chronicler of the *Annales*, "did not wish to expose these good men to the danger of once more losing their souls; on her return trip to France, *La Caravane* was assailed by a fierce hurricane, and nearly all the crew perished at sea."²⁹

²⁸ *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, Vol. ii, pp. 334-335. Cf. Letter of M. Portier, the future Bishop of Mobile: *op. cit.*, t. i, No. 5, p. 62.

²⁹ *Ann. de la Prop. de la Foi*, Vol. i, No. 1, p. 18.

The safe arrival of the Du Bourg party was notified at once by Father Bruté to Bishop Flaget, who was requested to set out directly with Fathers De Andreis and Rosati, then his guests at Bardstown, in order to make the requisite arrangements for the Bishop's reception and maintenance and for the establishment of the Mission. The whole trip, made on horseback, and lasting from October 1 to November 6, proved one of the most arduous that the stout-hearted Flaget had ever undertaken; but he was wont to look upon hardships as the coin wherewith success is purchased; indeed the success of the delicate negotiations he had come to engage far exceeded his most sanguine anticipations.³⁰

The Bishop of Louisiana, after some time spent at St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore (September 10–November 4),³¹ set out, on November 4, on his journey westwards, and, on the evening of December 2, accompanied by Father Blanc, and two Kentucky priests³² sent to Louisville from Bardstown to welcome him, had the happiness of embracing his old friends Bishop Flaget and Father David, and his first company of missionaries who had been for a long year awaiting his coming.

He was anxious to get "home." It was agreed that the tireless Bishop of Bardstown should introduce him to his people and install him in his cathedral. Accordingly, on the 12th of December, the two prelates, Father Badin and Mr. Niel, one of the students for the Louisiana Mission,³³ started for St. Louis. The following Sunday (December 14), Bishop Du Bourg preached in the chapel erected by Father Badin at Louisville; and, four days later, the travellers embarked on the steamboat *Piqua*, in hope of completing the voyage in seven days and reaching St. Louis

³⁰ SPALDING, *Flaget*, pp. 170–171; *Life of De Andreis*, pp. 170–173.

³¹ On landing, he left under the care of Father Blanc some of his companions at Annapolis, where they were entertained with princely hospitality until the end of October in the mansion of Charles Carroll of Carrollton. From Annapolis and Baltimore, the party, with the exception of Mr. Portier, who remained at St. Mary's Seminary, went by stage, in three successive bands (the Bishop being in the last) to Pittsburgh, where they embarked on a flat-boat, reaching Louisville on November 30th.

³² Fathers Chabrat and Schaefer.

³³ Nowhere is that student's name given; it is certain nevertheless the young man was Mr. Francis Niel, later on pastor of St. Louis. He is mentioned by Bishop Du Bourg in a letter to Father Rosati, April 22, 1818, as being in St. Louis.

just for Christmas. Bishop Flaget's humorous pen-picture of the *Piqua* is worth quoting here:

Nothing could be more original than the medley of persons on board this boat. We have a band of seven or eight comedians, a family of seven or eight Jews, and a company of clergymen composed of a tonsured cleric, a priest, and two Bishops; besides others, both white and black. Thus more than thirty persons are lodged in an apartment (cabin) twenty feet by twelve, which is again divided into two parts. This boat comprises the old and the new testament. It might serve successively for a synagogue, a cathedral, a theater, an hospital, a parlor, a dining room, and a sleeping apartment. It is in fact, a veritable *Noah's Ark*, in which there are both clean and unclean animals—and what is most astonishing, peace and harmony reign here.²⁴

The travellers' expectations of a speedy journey were doomed to failure; owing to excessive cold weather, the navigation was seriously hampered by huge ice-floes, and even for two full days the boat was stuck fast in the middle of the river. When, on December 24, painfully the craft reached at last the mouth of the Ohio, the prospect looked still gloomier; and indeed, as the voyagers rose up the next morning they realized with dismay they had not progressed an inch. Unable to say their Christmas Masses, they resolved to make three meditations instead. At the conclusion of the second, the proud *Piqua* resumed her course towards her goal. Slowly she ploughed her way northward, and at length, on the evening of the 28th of December she arrived at the landing near Mrs. Fenwick's farm,²⁵ where she was to stop a few hours.

There it was the Bishop of Louisiana first set foot in his Diocese. Near the spot a cross prepared for the occasion was solemnly erected whilst the Prelates and their two companions sang the *Vexilla Regis*.²⁶

²⁴ SPALDING, *Flaget*, pp. 173-174.

²⁵ On the north side of the mouth of Apple-Creek, in Perry Co., Mo. Cf. Letter of Bishop Du Bourg to Father Rosati, St. Louis, April 22, 1818. *Archives of St. Louis Archdiocese*.

²⁶ Letter of Father A. Blanc. *Ann. de la Prop. de la Foi*, Vol. ii, p. 336. Father Blanc repeatedly intimates that the details which he gives were furnished by a letter of Bishop Flaget to Bardstown. Father Rosati's account, in a letter to Father Baccari, dated February 7, 1818, is much more summary; he refers to the same source of information. We shall follow these two guides very closely in the next few pages.

At Fenwick's Father Badin parted with the company. Only twenty miles away lay the "Barrens," where, some twenty years before, a number of his old Kentucky parishioners—as also were the Fenwicks—had come to settle. The occasion to see them was too good to miss; to the "Barrens," therefore, he directed his steps, intending to overtake the Episcopal party a few days later at St. Genevieve.

Returning to the boat, the Bishops "found the comedians performing a play—that is, engaged in a general fight among themselves—until they were separated by the captain."⁷⁷ At midnight, on the 30th, they arrived in view of St. Genevieve, and early next morning they despatched a messenger to announce their coming to Father De Andreis.⁷⁸ Two hours later, the latter, accompanied by some forty of the principal inhabitants, went on horseback to the landing with several young men likewise on horseback, and a carriage, to escort the prelates into the town. They repaired first to the rectory, where they donned their pontifical vestments; and, a few moments later, headed by the cross and twenty-four altar-boys, the two Bishops, under a canopy carried by four of the principal citizens, were, to the accompaniment of the peal of the church-bells and amidst the universal joy of all the parish assembled, and even of many Protestant members of the community, conducted in solemn procession to the throne erected in the sanctuary of the little village church. With that felicitous cleverness which always put on his lips the right words for the right place, Bishop Du Bourg opened his heart to his St. Genevieve audience, expressing his delight that he was at last in his Diocese, among his own spiritual children, and auguring from this happy event great progress for religion in Upper Louisiana. An enthusiastic *Te Deum* closed the ceremony, and the rest of the day was spent in receiving visits.

On the 1st of January, 1818, the Catholics of St. Genevieve witnessed for the first time the splendors of a Pontifical Mass, cele-

⁷⁷ SPALDING, *Flaget*, p. 174.

⁷⁸ As a result of the arrangements made by Bishop Flaget at St. Louis in October, Father Henry Pratte, pastor of St. Genevieve, had been summoned to St. Louis, to superintend the repairing of the church and rectory; Father De Andreis went to St. Genevieve to take his place.

brated by their Bishop, who once more preached to them; and the next day, the two prelates, Father Badin, who had joined them after his short visit to the "Barrens" settlement, Father De Andreis and Mr. Niel, crossing over to Illinois, resumed their journey towards St. Louis. They arrived the next evening (Saturday, January 3) at Cahokia, where they were welcomed with unbounded transports of joy.³⁹

Monday, January 5, had been fixed for the last link of the journey. Forty men of Cahokia, mounted on superb chargers, and marching two by two in perfect order, led the pageant to the bank of the Mississippi River, where a boat was in readiness.⁴⁰ On the Missouri side, a large crowd of people, in fact all the inhabitants of the town, Protestants as well as Catholics, were anxiously waiting at the landing;⁴¹ and with faces beaming with joy, after welcoming the prelates in the best French style, led them to the "Episcopal palace," still a sorry looking tumble-down stone house,⁴² in spite of Father Pratte's best exertions. Soon after, the two Bishops, mitred and clad in their full pontifical robes, came down the steps, were received under a canopy, and preceded by twelve altar-boys, marched to the gate, and turning northwards along the *Rue de l'Eglise*—now Second Street—reached the door of the cathedral—the rickety log-building erected in 1776—and went up to the sanctuary, where a throne had been prepared, whilst the people filled the church to overflowing. Then Bishop Flaget, leading Bishop Du Bourg to the throne, and installing him in his Episcopal chair, congratulated him on his being now in the midst of his beloved children. The sight of the Pastor, now at last at the end of his two thousand

³⁹ Father Blanc, in his narrative confounds here Cahokia and Kaskaskias. What he says of the venerable pastor was written indeed about Father Donatien Olivier by the Ladies of the Sacred Heart who paid a visit to the pastor of Prairie du Rocher (of which Kaskaskias was then an out-mission) early in 1818. This description, in very truth, needs no alterations to fit good old Father Savine, then pastor of Cahokia. All these French pioneer priests were of the same sturdy spiritual stock.

⁴⁰ A ferry was then plying between the two banks of the river; but the notice intimates a private boat was sent for the Bishop's party.

⁴¹ There was one landing at the foot of Market Street, and another farther north, at the foot of what now is Morgan Street. No doubt the Bishop's party came to the Market Street landing, only a short distance from the cathedral.

⁴² "Le palais episcopal . . . ressemble assez à une misérable grange." *Ann. de la Prop. de la Foi*, Vol. i, No. 1, p. 19.



league journey, the view of the flock which he had loved so dearly in the days of their spiritual destitution, and the comforting thought they would henceforth never be in want of religious help, so enraptured the zeal-consumed soul of the speaker, that he could not check tears of bliss and hope. For twenty-four years, the Catholics of St. Louis had known him, from the far-distant day of his coming to Vincennes, his first mission, and they idolized him; but so delicately did he speak to them of their Bishop whom it had been his rôle to herald, that their hearts were completely won to their new pastor.

That this was no mean victory of the eloquence, and still more of the magnetic personality of the Kentucky prelate, Bishop Du Bourg could judge better than anyone else. He had not been, indeed, entirely without misgivings, for he was well aware that the pestilential blast poisoning the Catholic atmosphere in New Orleans had been wafted as far as St. Louis. But this was now past history. Bishop Du Bourg's own winsome personality completed the victory so well won by the eloquent Flaget: "The mere presence of the Bishop," says Father De Andreis, "his kindness, benignity and suavity of manner have dispelled the storm, dissipated in a great measure every prejudice, and captivated all hearts."⁴

Bishop Flaget's mission was now happily completed. On the feast of the Epiphany he preached his farewell sermon, and the next day, in company with Father Badin, he started back for Bardstown by the way of Vincennes. Now at home, Bishop Du Bourg soon was to prove himself, in Upper Louisiana, the efficient instrument of Him "who commands the light to shine out of darkness."

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⁴ Letter to Father Sicardi, February 24, 1818.

MISCELLANY

I.

A CATHOLIC BIBLIOGRAPHY OF HISTORICAL LITERATURE

It would be carrying water into the Mississippi to offer to the readers of the *CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW* any lengthy argument in favor of a Catholic historical literature. The very words: Inquisition, Martin Luther, Henry VIII, Gregory VII, Alexander VI, suggest some of the topics which are made the object of historical attacks upon the Church and her institutions. But even if there were no such assaults, the Catholic portion of educated America would still remain obliged to contribute its share toward the establishment of truth in so important a branch of human knowledge. Besides, as the early periods of Christianity have found their historians who recorded its trials and triumphs, so the Church looks to us for men who will transmit to posterity the endeavors and achievements of our own times.

Though we are very far from possessing that amount of historical literature which would be in proportion to our numerical strength, the number of historical publications on our side is not quite so small as some faint-hearted souls are inclined to believe. Unfortunately most of what we have is too little known, or, to use a commercial term, too little advertised. We neither read nor consult nor buy nor recommend these books as much as they deserve. Of some precious volumes, perhaps, we have never heard. Others are not unknown to us; but since we have not been obliged to use them for some time, they have escaped our memory in the moment when they would be most useful.

For all these reasons a *CATHOLIC LIST OF HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS* is a desideratum. It would serve the beginner as an introduction to this important section of literature, and would appeal not only to those who either teach or study history, but also to the general public. It could be kept upon the study table and at the editorial desk, placed in Catholic and other libraries, and serve even the bookseller in replenishing his stock. Hence a few words on a Catholic Bibliography of historical writings are perhaps not unwelcome to the readers of this *REVIEW*.¹

It is designedly that I put the word "Catholic" before the term "List" and not before "Historical Publications." In our ideal list

¹ This article is more or less along the lines of a communication sent to the Buffalo Convention of the Catholic Educational Association, which is reprinted in the official *Report* (1917) on pp. 192-196.

we should, I think, by no means exclude such *works of non-Catholics* as contain practically no errors. In many sections we have no equivalent to offer. Besides, it is hardly necessary to emphasize a Catholic viewpoint on certain matters, the Peloponnesian War, for instance. But the catalogue as such must be Catholic. Whatever books we admit to it must at least not be anti-Catholic nor such as are likely to endanger the faith of those who will peruse them. But there is no reason why we should not recommend good and useful books by non-Catholics to enable our teachers and students to get the best of everything. Appropriate remarks can warn against isolated misstatements or erroneous tendencies.

As to the *books of Catholic authors*,² however, the list should be as complete as possible. Even books that are out of print should not easily be omitted, as they may be consulted in libraries or acquired second hand. To give an instance, *The Making of Italy*, by The O'-Cleary (an Irish officer in the papal army of 1870) will for a long time remain the classic on this subject, though it is almost impossible to get hold of a copy. In this way attention may be called to some volumes tucked away in a pastor's or family library, which otherwise would be in danger of being thrown upon the rubbish pile.

We have a goodly number of *biographies*, many of which possess great historical value. A class by themselves are the *historical novels*, which often draw a more vivid picture of actual conditions than serious history, and are apt to provoke an appetite for more solid mental food.

Present-day historians have produced one particular kind of books, with which we Catholics have every reason to be satisfied. I refer to the collections and translations of *historical sources* whether original or secondary. Of supreme value are original sources. We want to get the truth and get it if possible at first hand. However, not all of them,

² It may be well to forestall right here an objection often encountered, namely, that fable that Catholic books as a class are inferior to those produced by non-Catholics. They are, it is said, deficient in style, their make-up is poor, and yet the price is comparatively much higher. This may be the case with some of them, but it remains to be proved that it is so with the greater number. *As a class they possess one inestimable advantage*: they are correct in regard to Faith and Morals. This outweighs many a disadvantage and well deserves to be paid for by a higher price. We Catholics have to pay for our religion by maintaining churches and schools, by giving up lucrative positions if they become for us proximate occasions of sin, and by letting alone unlawful means in the pursuit of temporal profit. We must be prepared to make financial sacrifices for correct books as well. It is my personal opinion, however, that generally speaking the volume produced by the Catholic author and publisher is not more expensive than any of those hailing from other sources. At any rate, *we must make the best of what we have*.

can be recommended without restriction. In some of them the documents have not always been selected without bias; others give inaccurate translations; and others embody their errors in introductions and notes.

How to be carried out. Who should take the lead in this matter—the Catholic University, or the Catholic Educational Association or the International Catholic Truth Society, or the United States Catholic Historical Society or the American Catholic Historical Society? I do not care to answer this question. I only wish to remark that better results are likely to be obtained if the task is divided among many workers according to periods or phases of history or the sundry classes of historical literature.

But a beginning must be made. No doubt many of those who are teaching or studying history can compile a catalogue of books on some particular point. It may be that some have already done so. Let them begin by publishing the fruits of their labor in some Catholic magazine or newspaper. Let them not wait for a commander-in-chief to give the signal. Let them not think that possibly they are duplicating labor. Maybe they are, but what of it? The work of compiling is instructive by itself. The compiler can only gain by it and become a better judge of the work of others. Noisy renown the work will not bring; the compiler will not be deluged with letters. Yet like the Arrow and Song in Longfellow's poem his list will land in some place where it will be welcome. It will reach the silent scholar, who has been waiting for something of this sort. Here it will be clipped out and preserved for reference as a labor-saving device. The compiler should, however, not fail to mail it personally to those whom he thinks are interested. As it is understood that such short bibliographies are at the free disposal of other volunteers, they will become more and more consolidated and finally coalesce into one or several larger annotated catalogues.

To make this labor more practical and fruitful, the title, the names of author and publisher, and the year of printing (or copyright) should be as accurately given as possible. Nor should the price be omitted; commercial though this looks, it is useful and will save much trouble to prospective buyers.

There should be as many *notes* as are desirable to characterize the book. Sometimes the title is sufficient for this purpose, though short remarks are nearly always useful. They may be based, best of all, upon the compiler's own observation, or be culled from the preface, or from some review, or may simply consist of a few items of the table of contents. If the book is not unobjectionable, this circumstance must of course be mentioned and some corrective suggestion added.

This method will bring out many details which otherwise might be overlooked. It will at the same time contribute greatly toward stimulating a more general interest in this class of literature. Kindly criticism must be freely offered and will be taken in good part.³

Let me remind the editors of periodical publications that an annotated list of books on any subject would be as good a contribution as many a pretentious article and perform a great service to the cause of Catholicity. Such bibliographies should not be considered as a kind of advertisement, for which the publishers of the books are expected to pay. The spread of good books will strengthen the spirit of religion in general and will in the end redound to the intellectual as well as pecuniary advantage of the Catholic press.

As the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW is dedicated to *American History*, a word concerning the literature of the history of our own country may be in place. Many of our Catholic publications of this kind are not simply literature but participate in the nature of sources. Parishes, districts, dioceses, and states possess printed accounts of the establishment and progress of Catholicity and Catholic institutions. Though with little care, some of them might have been made more useful, still even as they are they cannot be despised. Here belong also the biographies of American prelates, priests and other prominent Catholics. Will not someone—or someones—prepare for us a catalogue of them?

Such books are often found in the libraries of the older clergy; and in case of death of their owner they run the risk of being disposed of by the pound to the rag peddler. A little foresight could secure them for the diocesan seminary or some other ecclesiastical institution where they will be appreciated, preserved, and in due time render valuable service.

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³To make a beginning I have already published, in Preuss' *Fortnightly Review* (July 1, 1917, p. 195ff.) the book list which is appended to my *Ancient History*. It does not claim to be perfect.

II.

THE HIERARCHY IN OUR COLONIAL POSSESSIONS

No sketch of the Catholic Hierarchy would not be complete without a word about the Church in our Colonial possessions.¹

I. PORTO RICO.

The first place among these belongs to Porto Rico. Pope Julius II (Nov. 15, 1504) established the first ecclesiastical province in the New World, which was shortly afterward suppressed. Seven years later (August 8, 1511), the same Pope erected three new dioceses, one of which was in the Island of San Juan, the name now given solely to the chief City of Porto Rico, but which then applied to the whole Island. These new dioceses were made suffragans of the Province of Seville, Spain. The Diocese of Porto Rico (since Feb. 20, 1903) is subject immediately to the Holy See.

The Reverend *Alonso Manso*, Canon of the Cathedral of Salamanca, who had been elected Bishop of Magua, one of the suppressed sees, was transferred to San Juan, of which he took possession two years later in 1513, being the first bishop to reach the New World. There have been fifty occupants since the erection of the see. The first American bishop was the *Most Rev. James H. Blenk* who was appointed June 12, 1899, and became Archbishop of New Orleans April 20, 1906. He died April 20, 1917. The present bishop is the *Right Rev. William A. Jones*, O.S.A., born at Cambridge, N. G., July 21, 1865, consecrated February 24, 1907. The diocese has 129 priests, 93 churches and the Catholic population is placed at 1,000,000.

II. THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

The Islands constitute the Province of Manila. The Diocese of Manila was erected in 1581 and was made an archdiocese in 1585.

¹ Cf. Bishop Corrigan's articles on the *Catholic Hierarchy of the United States*, in the *Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. I, 367; Vol. II, pp. 127, 283; Vol. III, pp. 22, 151. In the last article on *The Hierarchy of the United States*, by an oversight, the diocese of SIOUX CITY, Iowa was omitted from the Province of Dubuque. This Diocese was erected January 15, 1902, by Pope Leo XIII, who detached from the Archdiocese of Dubuque twenty-four counties in the northwestern part of Iowa with an area of 14,518 square miles. The first and present bishop is the Right Reverend Philip J. Garrigan, born January 25, 1840, and ordained June 11, 1870. He was appointed March 21, 1902, and was consecrated May 25, 1902. The Rev. Edmund H. Heelan, Rector of the Sacred Heart Church, Fort Dodge, Iowa, has recently been appointed auxiliary to Bishop Garrigan.

The first American archbishop was the *Most Rev. Jeremiah J. Harty* appointed June 6, 1903. He is now bishop of Omaha, to which he was transferred May 16, 1916. The present archbishop is the *Most Rev. Michael J. O'Doherty*, appointed Bishop of Zamboanga, June 19, 1911, and translated to Manila, September 6, 1916. The Suffragan Sees of Manila are:

1. The Diocese of Cebu erected August 14, 1595. The first American bishop was the *Right Rev. Thomas A. Hendrick* consecrated at Rome, August 23, 1903. He died November 29, 1909. The present bishop is the *Right Rev. Juan P. Gorordo*, consecrated as auxiliary, June 24, 1909, and made Bishop of Cebu April 2, 1910.

2. The diocese of Nueva Segovia, erected August 14, 1595. The first American bishop was the *Right Rev. Denis J. Dougherty* appointed July 10, 1908. He is now Bishop of Buffalo, to which See he was transferred December 5, 1915. The second American bishop was the *Right Rev. James J. Carroll*, consecrated February 14, 1909. His health compelled him to resign. He was made titular Bishop of Metelopolis, became Rector of St. Edward's Parish in Philadelphia, and died April 4, 1913. The present bishop is the *Right Rev. Peter Joseph Hurth*, C.S.C. He was appointed Bishop of Dacca, East Indies, June 26, 1894, titular Bishop of Melopotamus, February 15, 1909, and Bishop of Nueva Segovia January 7, 1913.

3. The Diocese of Nueva Caceres, erected August 15, 1595. The first bishop appointed after American occupation was the *Right Rev. Jorge Barlin Imperial* consecrated June 29, 1906. He died at Rome, September 5, 1909. The present bishop is the *Right Rev. John B. MacGinley*, appointed April 2, 1910.

4. The Diocese of Jaro, erected May 27, 1865. The first American Bishop, who was the fourth occupant of the See was the *Right Rev. Frederick Z. Rooker*, consecrated June 14, 1903. He died in 1907 and was succeeded by Bishop Dougherty the present Bishop of Buffalo. The present bishop is the *Right Rev. Maurice Foley* transferred to this diocese in succession to Bishop Dougherty, September 6, 1916. Pope Pius X, April 10, 1910, erected four new dioceses in the Philippines: Calbayog, Lipa, Tuguegarao and Zamboanga.

5. The first and present bishop of Calbayog is the *Right Rev. Pablo Singzon* appointed April 12, 1910, and consecrated June 12, 1910.

6. The first bishop of Lipa was the *Right Rev. Joseph Petrelli*, who was at the time secretary of the apostolic Delegate Monsignor Agius. He was appointed April 12, 1910, and was consecrated June 12, 1910. He is now titular Archbishop of Nisibis and Apostolic Delegate in the Philippine Islands. The present bishop is the *Right Rev. Alfredo Verzosa*, appointed September 6, 1916.

7. The first bishop of Tuguegarao was the *Right Rev. Maurice P. Foley*, appointed September 10, 1910. He is now Bishop of Jaro. The present bishop is the *Right Rev. James Sancho*, appointed February 5, 1917.

8. The *Right Rev. Charles Warren Currier* was appointed Bishop of Zamboanga, but he declined, and the first bishop was the *Right Rev. Michael J. O'Doherty*, appointed June 19, 1911. He was transferred to Manila, September 6, 1916. The present bishop is the *Right Rev. James McCloskey*, appointed February 5, 1917, and consecrated May 1, 1917.

III. THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS

These comprised a prefecture Apostolic from 1827 to 1840, when they were made a part of the Vicariate Apostolic of Oceania. In 1847 the Vicariate Apostolic of the Hawaiian Islands was established. The present Vicar, the fourth in succession, is the *Right Rev. Libertus Boey-naems*, titular Bishop of Zeugma, appointed April 8, 1903 and consecrated July 25, 1903.

IV. GUAM

The Island of Guam, which is also a possession of the United States, constitutes a Vicariate Apostolic, erected March 1, 1911. The Vicar is the *Right Rev. Joachim Olaiz y Zabalza*, a Capuchin, who is titular Bishop of Docimeo. He was appointed July 20, 1914 and was consecrated November 30, 1914.

V. SAMOA

The United States' possessions in Samoa, with a Catholic population of about 1,000, form a part of the Vicariate Apostolic of the Navigator Islands. The Vicar is the *Right Rev. Peter Broyer*, Marist, titular Bishop of Polemonium, appointed March 30, 1896.

VI. THE VIRGIN ISLANDS

And, finally, the Virgin Islands, which have recently been purchased from Denmark, by the United States, form a part of the Diocese of Roseau, of which the present bishop is the *Right Rev. Philip Schelfhaut*, C.S.S.R. Born in Belgium, September 27, 1850, he was ordained October 18, 1878, and was consecrated, March 16, 1902. The different islands of the Carribean Sea, which constitute the Diocese of Roseau, belonged to the Vicariate Apostolic of Port of Spain up to April 30, 1850, when Pope Pius IX erected an episcopal see at Roseau, the capital of Dominica. The first bishop was the *Right Rev. Michael Monaghan*, consecrated February 16, 1851. He died, August 14,

1855, and was succeeded by the *Right Rev. Michael Vesque*, who died August 10, 1859. The third bishop was the *Right Rev. René Marie Charles Poirier*, C.J.M., who governed the diocese from 1859 to 1878. Then came the *Right Rev. Michael Naughton* from 1880 to July 4, 1900. The diocese comprises the Island of Dominica with 30,000 Catholics; Montserrat with 600; St. Kitts, 1,500. In the smaller islands there are so few Catholics that no priest has ever been resident. The Island of St. Thomas has one parish, one church, three priests and one chapel, and 3,000 Catholics; St. Croix has two parishes, four priests, two churches and one chapel, with 4,100 Catholics. These two last islands are now United States territory. The total Protestant population is about 100,000. With the exception of two parishes served by diocesan priests, the whole diocese is under the care of the Redemptorist Fathers of the Belgian Province and of the Fathers of Mary Immaculate. Quite recently the Belgian Redemptorists have been replaced by Fathers of the American Province.

RIGHT REV. O. B. CORRIGAN, D.D.,
Baltimore, Md.

DOCUMENTS

SELECTED LETTERS FROM THE ROUX CORRESPONDENCE (1833-34)

(Contributed by the Rev. Gilbert J. Garraghan, S.J., of St. Louis University)

The three letters of Father Benedict Roux which are reproduced here are selected from his unpublished correspondence with Bishop Rosati now preserved in the Archives of the Archdiocese of St. Louis. Their historical value may be estimated by the circumstance that they contain the earliest account extant of the exercise of the Catholic ministry in one of the largest and most progressive centres of population in the country—Kansas City, Missouri.

Material for a biographical sketch of Father Benedict Roux is exceedingly scarce. It has been impossible to ascertain accurately the year of his birth nor is anything on record in regard to his career, prior to his coming to America, in 1831. He was one of the five French ecclesiastics who were sent in the course of that year by the Association for the Propagation of the Faith to the Saint Louis Diocese. Father Roux came from the Diocese of Lyons, France. One of his companions, Mr. St. Cyr, a sub-deacon, was sent immediately after his ordination to the priesthood in April, 1833, to Chicago to found the first Catholic parish in that city.¹ The two priests had crossed the Atlantic together and were to become fast friends in their pioneer missionary work in the West. Father St. Cyr may truly be styled the pioneer priest of the church in Chicago and Father Roux possesses the same honor in Kansas City. Attached to the St. Louis Cathedral as assistant-priest in May, 1831, Father Roux set out at once to master the English tongue. His first lessons were received from Bishop Rosati. His purpose in coming to America was to evangelize the Indians. Nothing else, he told Bishop Rosati, would have induced him to come to what was then the Far West. We find him, in 1833, residing with the Jesuit Fathers of St. Charles, Mo., with the Spencer family of Dardenne, Mo., and with the Kelly family of St. Charles, Mo., still endeavoring to acquire a command of the vernacular, in which pursuit he received valuable assistance from his successive hosts, as he informs Bishop Rosati on February 17, 1833.

Early in 1833 Father Roux was in correspondence with Bishop Rosati with a view to securing an appointment as missionary among the Indians. It was his desire to evangelize the Indians, so he assured his ecclesiastical Superior, that had brought him to America and this desire, he added, had been formally approved by the Central Council of the Association for the Propagation of the Faith to whom he had manifested it before his departure from France. A report that the Bishop of St. Louis was about to open a mission among the Osage Indians led Father Roux to offer himself eagerly for the post. But no such mission was established or perhaps even seriously considered. An abor-

¹ For an account of Father St. Cyr's labors in Chicago (1833-37), cf. *The Catholic Church in Chicago*, p. 3, Chicago, 1891; ANDREWS, *History of Chicago*, p. 61.

tive attempt in 1828 on the part of one of the St. Louis diocesan priests, Father Joseph Lutz, to establish himself as resident missionary among the Kaw Indians, very probably deterred Bishop Rosati from promoting a similar venture until better conditions for its success should be at hand. At all events, Bishop Rosati in the fall of 1833 commissioned Father Roux, apparently at his own request, to go to the Missouri frontier, not as an Indian apostle, but as a missionary-priest to the scattered groups of Catholic settlers in that quarter of the St. Louis Diocese. As it turned out, apart from one or two visits to the Kickapoo Indians near Fort Leavenworth, Father Roux's ministry during his stay in Western Missouri was confined exclusively to the whites. He arrived on the site of what is now Kansas City on November 14, 1833. As soon as circumstances permitted, he began to exercise the ministry among the Catholics of the locality, consisting of twelve French or Creole families, and took steps towards the organization of a parish, with a church and presbytery. His stay continued until the end of April, 1835, when he returned to St. Louis on a visit, having previously reported to Bishop Rosati that the extreme poverty of his parishioners made it impossible for them to support a resident pastor. Notwithstanding his expressed desire to be permitted to return to "the mouth of the Kansas River," despite the trying conditions which prevailed there, Father Roux was now assigned to the Immaculate Conception parish of Kaskaskia, Illinois. Here he remained until 1839, the historic old church being razed during his incumbency as pastor to make room for a more modern structure. He was succeeded at Kaskaskia by his early associate and countryman, Father Irenaeus St. Cyr. During the years 1842-1846 Father Roux was one of the assistant priests at the St. Louis Cathedral. His name does not appear in the *Catholic Almanac* for 1847, nor in subsequent issues, either in the lists of the living or in the Necrology. He apparently withdrew from the Diocese of St. Louis in the course of 1846 and returned to France.

The place of distinction that must ever remain to Father Roux in the ecclesiastical history of the West is due to the significant fact that he laid the foundations of Catholicity in one of the largest and most prosperous centers of population in the country, Kansas City, Missouri.² Father Roux was the first *resident* priest of Kansas City. The names of three other priests have found their way into history as having preceded Father Roux in the exercise of the ministry, though in a transient way, in that locality.³ Father Charles de la Croix, parish priest of Florissant, Mo., who visited the Osage Indians in 1821 and again in 1822, is said to have ministered in the course of these missionary journeys to the French settlers at the mouth of the Kansas. It is known that he officiated at the Osage village, situated near Papinsville, Bates Co., Mo., about sixty miles to the south of Kansas City; that he was at the latter place also is vouched for by an apparently well founded tradition, but is not borne out by any documentary evidence which the writer of these notes is acquainted with. Father Charles Van Quickenborne, Indian mission-

² For convenience sake the designation, Kansas City, is used here freely, though historically the Town of Kansas, later Kansas City, came into existence only after Father Roux's time.

³ C. W. WHITNEY, *History of Kansas City*, Vol. i, p. 292.

ary and founder of the Missouri Province of the Society of Jesus, is also said to have visited the locality in question in the course of the missionary trips he made to the Osage Indians in 1827, 1828 and 1830. No verification of this statement is obtainable. The Father's letters descriptive of his Osage excursions of 1827 and 1828, which are published in the *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, T. iii, iv, give no indication that he visited the Catholic settlers at Kawsmouth on these occasions. The first recorded visit of Father Van Quickenborne to this locality occurred in the summer of 1835 (*Annales*, etc., T. ix, 99). Finally, Father Joseph Lutz, the first priest of German birth to be attached to the Diocese of St. Louis, and a resident missionary among the Kaw or Kansas Indians in the summer of 1828, visited the French Catholics at the outlet of the Kansas River on a few occasions during his stay in the west. A contemporary report of his, addressed to Bishop Rosati and containing references to the aforementioned visits, is the earliest document we possess for the history of pioneer Catholicity in Kansas City.⁴ Father Roux's baptisms are the *earliest* recorded for Kansas City. They range from February 23, 1834 to April 25, 1835 and are forty-eight in number, thirty-six of whites, seven of negroes and five of Indians. (A few of the baptisms were performed outside of the Kansas City site, but near the Missouri frontier). Father Roux acquired the property on which was built subsequently to his return to St. Louis, though the contract was let before that date, the *first* Catholic church in Kansas City. This pioneer structure of logs stood at about the intersection of Eleventh and Penn streets, in immediate proximity to the present Cathedral site. Both in a spiritual and a material way, Catholicity in Kansas City goes back for its beginnings to the pastorate of Father Roux.

The sources available for the life of Father Roux are scarce. Printed material on his work in Kansas City is practically non-existent. The following titles supply all the available information on the topic in print: *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, v. 584, 586, 597; *Metropolitan Catholic Calendar* (also *Catholic Almanac*), issues of 1834-1846; *Encyclopaedia of the History of Missouri*, i, article, *Catholic Church in Kansas City*, by Reverend W. J. Dalton; WHITNEY, *History of Kansas City, Missouri*, i, 402; CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, October, 1917, article, *Catholic Church Annals of Kansas City*, by Very Reverend W. Keuenhof, V.G. This article contains a detailed account, not available elsewhere, of the property purchased by Father Roux. As manuscript material, there are the property-deeds in the public *Land Records* of Jackson County, and a transcript of Father Roux's *Baptismal Records* in the Chancery Office of the Diocese of Kansas City which furnish a few data. Father Roux's own letters hitherto unpublished and now resting in the Historical Archives of the Archdiocese of St. Louis are by far the most important manuscript source we possess concerning him and his missions. These letters, forty-three in number, are, with two exceptions only, written in French, and are addressed in every instance but one, to Bishop Rosati. Of the collection, eleven, which are dated *de la Rivière des Kans.*, or *de l'embouchure de la Rivière*

⁴ Cf. *St. Louis Pastoral-Blatt*, September, 1917, p. 129; article— "Abbé Joseph Anton Lutz.

des Kans., constitute a unique record at first hand of Father Roux's experiences as the first resident priest of Kansas City. The text of three of these letters, with accompanying English translation, is subjoined. For permission to publish these interesting documents, acknowledgment is here gratefully made to the Rt. Rev. John J. Tannrath, Chancellor of the Archdiocese of St. Louis.

De l'embouchure de la Rivière des Kans, 24 9^{bre} 1833.

Monseigneur,

J'ai différé jusqu'à présent de vous écrire afin de vous donner quelque chose de précis sur ma mission dans ces parages-ci. Le contenu de cette lettre, je n'en doute pas vous intéressera et réjouira votre cœur. Je suis arrivé le quatre de ce mois à Liberty dans Cley (Clay) County chez Mr. Curtis; lui, Mde. Benoist, ses deux demoiselles et Mr. Riley, un de ses gendres, m'ont accueilli avec le plus grand plaisir; Je leur ai raconté en peu de mots le sujet de ma mission; ils l'ont approuvé avec acclamation, et avec un extérieur qui me promettait leur assistance dans toutes mes entreprises religieuses. Le 5 j'ai laissé Liberty pour aller chez Mr. Hughes, celui qui a eu l'honneur de vous écrire plusieurs fois au sujet d'un établissement de Soeurs pour l'éducation des jeunes demoiselles de sa contrée. Je l'ai trouvé persévérant toujours dans cette bonne intention. Il voudrait que cet établissement se fît sur Clinton County à trente milles de Liberty, au nord de celui de Cley (Clay). Dans ce nouveau comté se trouve Mr. Michel qui possède ainsi que Mr. Hughes une grande étendue de cette terre. L'avantage qu'ils font aux Soeurs n'est point à dédaigner; ils leur allouent une terre de cent soixante acres bien située, bien boisée, enrichie de plusieurs sources, et une maison prête à être habitée; et pour compléter la bonne oeuvre, leur ai-je dit avec gaieté, il faudrait assurer au prêtre au moins une quarantaine d'acres afin qu'il ait de quoi bêcher, cultiver pour fournir un peu à sa subsistance. Les raisons que je leur ai données à ce sujet leur ont paru si justes qu'ils ont condescendu sans peine à ma demande. Nous n'avons qu'une famille catholique dans ce nouveau comté, c'est celle de Mr. Michel. Selon Mr. Hughes beaucoup de familles catholiques se préparent à émigrer du Kentuki pour venir l'habiter le printemps prochain. Le 10 j'ai quitté Mr. Michel et Mr. Hughes et je me suis enretourné à Liberty où nous avons deux familles catholiques, Celle de Mr. Curtis et celle de Mr. Riley, (les deux gendres de Mde. Benoist.) J'aurais bien désiré que l'établissement religieux se fût élevé à Liberty m^{me}, car la population y est très-considérable; on l'évalue à 600, mais les préjugés contre notre religion y sont trop forts; Le temps n'est pas encore venu d'y rien faire de considérable. Le 12 je suis allé à l'Indépendance, Jackson County, à 15 milles de Liberty, au sud de cette petite ville; là j'ai visité les deux familles Roy, les seules catholiques que nous avons dans cet endroit. Nous n'avons pas espérance d'y en avoir plus pour le présent, car les préjugés là contre notre croyance sont aussi forts qu'à Liberty. Cependant, Monseigneur, je ne désespère pas, juvante Deo, après avoir préparé avec soin quelques instructions en anglais, d'y faire quelques fruits; l'ignorance de notre religion dans les habitants de l'une et l'autre ville, est pour ainsi dire crasse. Le 14 j'ai pris congé des deux familles et je suis parti au village français, ou New Ville Poche, à 12 milles de l'Indépendance (Ouest), J'ai fait ma résidence quelques jours chez Mr. Guesseau Chouteau. Je lui ai ouvert toutes mes intentions; aussitôt il a convoqué une assemblée des catholiques de l'endroit, sur les moyens d'avoir une église et d'entretenir un prêtre. J'ai trouvé tout le monde bien disposé et prêt à faire tous les sacrifices raisonnables. On est convenu d'assurer au prêtre 40 acres de terre pour y placer une église, un presbytère, et pour avoir un petit terrain à

cultiver. Je ne doute pas un instant que cet établissement ne réussisse, car MM. Guesseau et Cyprien Chouteau en sont les deux piliers et le prennent très à cœur. Mr. Guesseau s'est chargé de mettre en contribution les bourses de MM. Chouteau de St. Louis et de Mr. Ménard de Kaskakias. Vous voyez que l'assistance de tous ces bons et généreux Messieurs ne nuira point aux vues religieuses que nous nous proposons. Nous espérons avoir cet établissement vers la fin du mois de juin de l'année prochaine et si j'avais à présent mon cher Mr. Bouvet avec moi nous en jouirions avant cette époque. Je veux rendre cette place susceptible de recevoir des religieuses avant la fin de l'année prochaine. Une pareille institution dans ce pays ci produirait dans l'endroit et les environs les fruits les plus merveilleux, les plus avantageux à notre ste. religion; pour cela il faudrait que j'eusse deux religieuses propres à enseigner l'anglais et une autre le français avec les autres branches d'éducation. Si la maison des Dames du Sacré Coeur voulait s'y prêter, vous trouveriez ou à St. Louis ou à la Louisiane tout ce que je désire. Je ne doute pas, Monseigneur, que vous ne fassiez quelques démarches pour seconder mes vues qui tourneront toutes je l'espère à l'avantage de votre diocèse et de la religion. Donc deux nouveaux établissements ou églises nous sont comme assurés l'un dans Jackson County, à deux milles environ au-dessus de la Rivière des Kans, et l'autre dans Clinton County à 30 milles nord de Liberty.

Je n'ai pas encore exercé aucune fonction du ministère. L'occasion ne m'a jamais été favorable. La semaine prochaine je désignerai l'endroit où je commencerai à exercer l'office du prêtre. J'ai déjà dit devant l'assemblée des catholiques que j'ai tenue que je baptiserais d'abord les petits enfants, que j'instruirais ceux qui étaient dans l'âge de raison avant de les baptiser, que je préparerais et ferais faire la 1^{ère}. Communion aux personnes disposées et qui n'avaient pas encore eu ce bonheur, et enfin que je viendrais aux hommes; ces dernières paroles les ont fait sourire.

Je suis ce moment-ci à la trading house de MM. Chouteau; là je suis très bien, nourriture, feu, logement, tout est préparé pour moi avec le plus grand soin. Je ne saurais trop faire à ce sujet l'éloge de Mr. Guesseau Chouteau, de son épouse et de son frère; ils ont pour moi les plus grands égards; mais je ne pense pas y rester longtemps, parce qu'ils sont au milieu des terres sauvages, trop éloignés des catholiques pour que je puisse vaquer facilement à mon ministère. J'ai intention d'aller me fixer au milieu de la congrégation française, pourvu que j'aye du pain de maïs et du lait je suis content. J'aurais eu beaucoup de choses à vous dire, mais le papier me manque. Vous les trouverez dans les lettres de Mr. Borgna et de Mr. Lutz. Vous connaissez, Monseigneur, mon sincère attachement pour vous et mon dévouement pour votre diocèse; daignes agréer les sentiments respectueux de celui qui est et qui se reconnaîtra toujours,

Monseigneur

Votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur

Br. Roux.

N. B. 1^o. Où nous avons le plus de catholiques c'est dans Jackson County et encore sont-ils en petit nombre. Nous n'avons là qu'une douzaine de familles françaises; mais elles m'occuperont pendant quelque temps, car il y a beaucoup d'enfants à baptiser à préparer à la 1^{ère}. Communion; les instructions ne prendront pas peu de mon temps.

N. B. 2^o. Toutes les fois qu'il s'est agi de faire quelque établissement dans votre diocèse vous avez toujours souscrit généreusement pour en faciliter l'érection. Il me semble, Monseigneur, que j'ai quelque droit à vos générosités, puisque nous nous

employons ici à ajouter deux établissements à votre diocèse, lesquels promettent beaucoup pour le religion, soit du côté des catholiques qui se préparent à venir ici en foule, soit du côté des Américains qui ayant la facilité d'avoir des instructions régulières sur notre religion, rentreraient, je n'en doute pas, dans le sein de la véritable église; soit enfin du côté des sauvages qui viendraient par curiosité à notre Eglise et se sentiraient malgré eux, à embrasser notre religion. Les deux établissements se trouvent à la porte des sauvages. Je ne doute pas un instant que vous les encouragiez par des moyens physiques.

N. B. 3°. Le Prophète des Kikapooos a deux fils très gentils, annonçans comme leur père d'heureuses dispositions pour la religion; s'il était possible d'en faire recevoir un aux Barrens pour y faire ses études religieuses, Dieu peut être pourrait l'appeler au sacerdoce; de là quelles grandes conquêtes s'en suivraient pour la religion. J'aurais beaucoup de belles choses à vous dire sur cette nation, les quelles j'ai entendu de mes propres oreilles et vu de mes propres yeux, car j'ai fait dernièrement un voyage d'une petite semaine chez les Pooos et les Kikapooos, j'ai été reçu chez eux comme un ange envoyé du ciel. Le temps ne me permet pas de vous en faire part à présent. Il suffit que je vous dise que ce sont de véritables catholiques de désir, et des catholiques de désir tels que leur vie vous donne une parfaite image de celle des chrétiens de la primitive église. Nous devons prier pour ces deux nations, car elles prient elles-mêmes continuellement pour les Robes noires; afin qu'ils viennent à leur secours pour leur montrer le chemin du Ciel. Ces peuples prient journellement le matin, le soir et avant leurs repas; ils sanctifient le jour du dimanche comme nous et le passent entièrement à la prière. Ils ne jurent point, ne font pas la guerre, ne mentent point, n'ont qu'une femme; ils croient au Ciel, au Purgatoire et à l'Enfer, honorent la Ste. Vierge et les Saints, etc. Je ne finirais pas si je voulais vous raconter tout ce que j'ai vu d'édifiant parmi eux. Veuillez me faire réponse si vous conservez la juridiction sur les Indiens de l'ouest; parce que j'irais de temps en temps les visiter.

(Translation)

From the mouth of the Kansas River^a

November 24, 1833.

Monseigneur,

I have put off writing to you until now in order that I might have something definite to report to you in regard to my mission in these parts. The contents of this letter, I have no doubt, will interest you and gladden your heart. I arrived on the 4th of this month at Liberty, in Clay County, and put up at Mr. Curtis'; together with Madame Benoist, her two daughters, and Mr. Riley, one of her sons-in-law, Mr. Curtis gave me a very hearty welcome. I told them in a few words the object of my mission. They were loud in their approval and from all outward indications, I felt assured of their assistance in all my religious undertakings. On the 5th I left Liberty to go to Mr. Hughes' place. This is the gentleman who has had the honor of writing to you several times in regard to a house of Sisters for the education of the young ladies of his locality. I found him steadily persevering in this good intention.

^a As early as 1821 Francis Gossseau Chouteau, son of Jean Pierre Chouteau and grandson of Laclède, the founder of St. Louis, established an agency of the American Fur Company on the right bank of the Missouri a short distance below the mouth of the Kansas. Other Frenchmen, chiefly traders, trappers and voyageurs, with their families soon joined Chouteau and thus formed the first permanent white settlement on the site of Kansas City. Westport, now included within the corporate limits of Kansas City, was an older settlement than the latter, having been laid out as a town in 1833. Francis Parkman, the historian, who visited the Missouri frontier in 1846, has a pen-picture of Westport in his *Oregon-Trail*, but makes no mention of Kansas City.

He would like this settlement to be in Clinton County, at a place thirty miles from Liberty and to the north of Clay County. In this new county resides Mr. Mi[t]chel,⁶ who, like Mr. Hughes, is the owner of a large tract of land there. The advantages they offer the Sisters are not to be despised. They allow them a piece of land of one hundred and sixty acres, well situated, well wooded, enriched with a number of springs and having on it a house ready for occupancy. To round off the good work it would be necessary, so I told them pleasantly, to guarantee the priest at least some forty acres, so that he may have something to dig and cultivate and thus contribute a little towards his own subsistence. The reasons I advanced in this connection appeared to them so just that they acquiesced without difficulty in my request. We have but a single Catholic family in this new county, Mr. Mi[t]chel's. According to Mr. Hughes many Catholic families are getting ready to emigrate from Kentucky and come to settle in Clinton County next spring. On the 10th I left Mr. Mi[t]chel and Mr. Hughes and returned to Liberty, where we have two Catholic families, those of Mr. Curtis and Mr. Riley (the two sons-in-law of Madame Benoist). I should very much like to see the religious establishment set up right in Liberty, for the population of the place is very considerable. It is estimated at 600; however, prejudice is too strong there against our religion. The time has not come for doing anything important in that place. On the 12th I went to Independence, Jackson County, 15 miles from Liberty and to the south of that little town. There I visited the two Roy families, the only Catholics we have in the place.⁷ We have no hopes of seeing any more for the present, as prejudice against our belief is just as strong there as at Liberty. For all that, Monseigneur, I do not despair, *juvante Deo*, of gathering some fruit there, after I shall have carefully prepared some few instructions in English; ignorance of our religion among the inhabitants of both towns is, so to speak, crass.

On the 14th I bade good-bye to the two families and left for the French Village, New Ville [Vide?] Poche, 12 miles west of Independence.⁸ I have been residing for some days with Mr. Guesseau Chouteau.⁹ I disclosed to him all my intentions. Immediately he called a meeting of the Catholics of the locality to discuss means towards getting a church and supporting a priest. I found everybody well disposed and ready to make all reasonable sacrifices. It was agreed to guarantee the priest 40 acres of land to serve as a site for church and presbytery, besides furnishing a small tract for cultivation. I do not doubt for a moment of the success of this establishment, for the Messrs. Guesseau and Cyprian Chouteau are its two pillars and have it greatly at heart. Mr. Guesseau has engaged to levy on the purses of the Messrs.

⁶ Father Roux subsequently spelt the name as Mitchell. In 1834, a sister of Mr. Mitchell was conducting a private school of some twenty pupils at Liberty, Mo.

⁷ According to Canon O'Hanlon, author of the classic *Lives of the Irish Saints*, who as a young seminarian visited Independence in 1847, Mr. Thomas Davy, a Catholic whom he met there, had been resident in the place since 1824. Cf. O'HANLON, *Life and Scenery in Missouri*, p. 132.

⁸ *New Ville Poche* for *New Vide Poche*. *Vide Poche* (Empty Pocket) was the Creole nickname for Carondelet Village, now within the city limits of St. Louis. New Vide Poche was also an early name for Liberty, Clay Co., Mo. Cf. *Metropolitan Catholic Calendar*, 1834.

⁹ Francis Guesseau (Jesse) Chouteau, grandson of Laclède, the founder of St. Louis, was the oldest of the five children of Jean Pierre Chouteau by the latter's second wife, Brigitte Saucier. He was born in St. Louis, February 27, 1797, but lived the greater part of his life in the place that has since become Kansas City, dying there in 1838. Francis Chouteau married Borenice, daughter of Pierre Menard of Kaskaskia. Madame Chouteau died in Kansas City, Nov. 19, 1888, at the age of eighty-seven years. Cf. BACKWIRTH, *The Creoles of St. Louis*, p. 49; MASON, *Early Chicago and Illinois*, p. 148.

Chouteau of St. Louis and of Mr. Menard of Kaskaskia.¹⁰ You see that the assistance of all these good and generous gentlemen will work no prejudice to the religious aims we have in view. We hope to have this establishment on foot by the end of June of next year and, if only my dear Mr. Bouvet were with me now, we should be enjoying it before that date. I want to get this place in a condition to receive some nuns before the end of next year. Such an institution out here would produce both in the immediate locality and in the neighborhood the most wonderful fruits to the great advantage of our Holy Religion. For this purpose I should need two nuns capable of teaching English and one for French and the other branches of education. If the community of the Ladies of the Sacred Heart would only consent to be party to the plan, you would find either at St. Louis or in Louisiana all the help I am looking for. I do not doubt, Monseigneur, that you will take some steps to second my design, which, so I hope, will redound to the great advantage of your diocese and of religion. So then, two new establishments or churches are as good as assured to us, one in Jackson County about two miles below the mouth of the Kansas River and the other in Clinton County 30 miles north of Liberty.

Up to this I have not exercised any functions of the ministry. No favorable opportunity for doing so has presented itself. Next week I will designate the place where I shall begin to exercise the priestly office. I have already announced at the meeting of the Catholics which I held that I would first baptise the babies, then would instruct those of the age of reason before baptizing them, would next have all well-disposed persons who so far have not enjoyed such happiness make their first Communion, after being prepared thereto, and in the last place would come to the men. These last words made them smile.

I am at present at the trading house of the Messrs. Chouteau, where I find myself quite comfortable.¹¹ Board, fire, lodging, everything is prepared for me with the greatest care. I cannot in this connection speak too highly in praise of Mr. Guesseau Chouteau and of his wife and brother. They show me the highest regard. But I do not expect to remain long with them, as they are right in the Indian country and too far away from the Catholics for me to carry on my ministry with convenience. I intend to go and settle in the midst of the French congregation; provided I have corn-bread and milk I am content. There are many things more I should like to tell you, but paper fails me. You will find them in the letters to Mr. Borgna and Mr. Lutz. You know, Monseigneur, my sincere attachment to you and my devotion to your diocese; deign to accept the respectful sentiments of one who is and will ever regard himself, Monseigneur, as

Your very humble and obedient servant,

Bt. Roux.

(The following postscripts are written around the margins of Father Roux's four-page letter.)

N.B. 1°. It is in Jackson County that we have most of our Catholics; still, their number there is very small. We have here only a dozen French families; but they

¹⁰ Pierre Menard of Kaskaskia, Illinois, a foremost figure in the pioneer history of the state of Illinois and its first Lieutenant-Governor, 1818-1822. Cf. Moses, *Illinois, Historical and Statistical*, I, 289. Menard's statue stands before the east front of the capitol in the ground of the State-house at Springfield.

¹¹ This trading post was apparently the one built by the Chouteau brothers, Francis and Cyprian in 1825 on the south bank of the Kaw in the present Johnson County, Kansas. It stood in Section 13, township 11, range 24, east, about seven miles from the Missouri state-line. The Chouteaus were the most prominent of the early Indian traders in the region around the mouth of the Kaw. For data concerning the various Chouteau trading-houses, cf. *Kansas Historical Collections*, ix, pp. 573-574.

will keep me occupied for sometime, as there are many children to baptize and prepare for first Communion; the instructions will take up not a little of my time.

N.B. 2°. Everytime there has been question of a new establishment in your diocese you have always given a generous contribution towards its erection. It appears to me, Monseigneur, that I have some claim on your generosity, since we are here engaged in adding to your diocese two establishments which promise much for religion, whether as regards the Catholics, who are preparing to flock here in great numbers, or the Americans, who, with an opportunity for having regular instructions on our religion, would no doubt enter the bosom of the true church, or as regards, finally, the Indians, who would come to our church through curiosity and would be drawn in their own despite to embrace our religion. The two establishments are at the very door of the Indian country. I don't doubt for a moment that you will encourage them with material means.

N.B. 3°. The Kickapoo Prophet has two very docile sons, who, like their father, show themselves favorably inclined towards religion. If it were possible to have one of them taken at the Barrans so that he may make his religious studies there, it might be that God would call him to the priesthood. What mighty conquests for religion would then ensue! Concerning that nation I could tell you very many fine things which I have heard with my own ears and seen with my own eyes, for I recently made a trip of one short week to the Poos [Pottowatomies] and Kickapoos. I was received by them as an angel sent from heaven. Time does not permit me to inform you about the affair at present. It is enough to say to you that they are truly Catholics in desire and such Catholics in desire that their life gives you a perfect image of that of the Christians of the primitive church. We ought to pray for these two nations, for they are continually praying themselves for the Black-robcs to come to their assistance and show them the way to Heaven. They pray every day, morning, night and before meals; they sanctify Sunday as we do and spend it entirely in prayer. They do not swear nor wage war nor lie nor have more than one wife; they believe in Heaven, Purgatory and Hell, honor the Blessed Virgin and Saints, etc. I should never finish were I to tell you all the edifying things I saw among them. Kindly answer me as to whether you retain jurisdiction over the Indians of the West, as in that case I would go to visit them from time to time.¹²

De la Rivière des Kans 20 Janvier 1834.

Monseigneur,

J'aurais reçu avec un plaisir indicible même la réponse la plus courte possible à la lettre que je vous ai écrite vers la fin de novembre de l'année qui vient de s'écouler, sans doute qu'elle ne vous sera pas arrivée, ou que vous êtes surchargé d'ouvrage: sans doute que celles que j'avais envoyées à MM. Borgna, Lutz, Bouvet, auront subi le même sort, seront restées en route, car je n'ai rien reçu d'eux. Enfin bref sur ce qui est passé. J'espère que celle-ci sera plus heureuse dans sa marche. Je suis arrivé ici dans une saison nullement propre à me favoriser dans mes entreprises. L'hiver me tient impitoyablement cerné en Mr. Chouteau's Trading house, à dix milles environ de la majeure partie des familles françaises, sans la moindre petite maison pour pouvoir nous y assembler et pour y célébrer les Sts. Mystères; Cependant un Américain, je dois vous le dire, m'a offert plusieurs fois sa maison à ce sujet; Je l'ai acceptée le

¹² The Kickapoo Village was in the immediate neighborhood of Fort Leavenworth, which was built on the right bank of the Missouri about twenty-five miles northwest of the site of Kansas City. Father Charles Van Quickenborne, S.J., opened in 1836 a mission among the Kickapoos, which was maintained only to 1840, when the missionaries were withdrawn owing to drunkenness among the Indians and the consequent poor prospects of fruitful missionary labor among the tribe.

Jour de Noël, mais je n'y ai pas dit la messe à cause des irrévérences que j'appréhendais de la part du peuple Américain *not acquainted at all with the holiest and most sublime action of our Religion*. Là revêtu de ma soutane, de mon surplis et de mon étole, j'ai prêché d'abord en français, car les catholiques des environs s'y étaient rendus avec empressement; ensuite, le croiriez vous, j'ai été assez présomptueux de prêcher en anglais, et de débiter par un sujet vraiment au dessus de ma capacité. Rien ne fait plus horreur, rien n'est plus révoltant que la Religion Catholique lorsqu'elle est mal entendue; au contraire rien n'est plus consolant, saint, sage, sublime que cette même religion lorsqu'elle est bien entendue; telles sont les deux propositions sur les quelles je leur ai parlé. Dieu a bien voulu seconder mes efforts. Ils m'ont tous écouté avec intérêt et avec la plus grande attention. Ils m'ont demandé quand je reprêcherais afin qu'ils pussent assister à nos assemblées, je leur ai répondu que l'hiver étant si rigoureux je ne pouvais pas leur désigner de jour, qu'ils entendraient dire quelques jours d'avance quand aurait lieu une autre assemblée catholique. Depuis ce temps là je ne suis plus retourné chez cet Américain qui m'a si bien reçu quoiqu'il n'appartienne point à notre Religion, Je ne crois pas que je prêche de nouveau chez lui, car comme il est grand amateur de bals, et qu'il a profité de notre assemblée de Noël pour en donner un le soir et le lendemain: Je ne voudrais pas lui fournir l'occasion de faire une chose contre laquelle je suis et serai toujours ouvertement déclaré. De sorte que je n'ai prêché qu'une fois depuis que j'ai quitté St. Louis. Je n'ai encore baptisé, préparé à la 1^{ère} Communion, confessé personne. Je n'ai pas même eu jusqu'à présent le bonheur de dire la messe, soit parce que l'hiver est trop rigoureux et qu'il est impossible de voyager, soit parce que nous n'avons aucune maison pour nous assembler, etc., etc., etc. Laissons passer l'hiver, nous serons peut être plus heureux; ne cherchons pas à faire tout à la fois. *Pluribus intentus minor est ad singula sensus*. On ne transporte jamais en un jour une montagne de place.

Autant que je puis me le rappeler, Monseigneur, je vous marquai dans la première lettre que je vous écrivis, il y a près de trois mois, que les Français avaient intention d'assurer un terrain de 40 acres pour l'Eglise. Plusieurs Américains me témoignèrent leur désir d'entrer dans la coopération d'une oeuvre si avantageuse, me disaient-ils, au bien du pays, et m'observèrent en même temps qu'il faudrait former un Comité pour choisir une terre, un local convenable au but que l'on se proposait savoir d'élever une Eglise et de former deux établissements, l'un de soeurs pour l'éducation des jeunes demoiselles du pays, et l'autre pour les garçons; Aussitôt dit aussitôt fait le Comité est formé, on choisit au lieu de 40, 80 acres de terre. On en aurait passé la vente ou en faveur de vous, Monseigneur, ou à la mienne, avec la seule condition que si l'un ou l'autre de ces établissements ne réussissait pas que le terrain reviendrait à quatre membres désignés du Comité, condition que je n'ai point encore approuvée et que je n'approuverai jamais, car je suis loin de me rendre l'esclave de personne en ce genre là. Cependant si je puis les déterminer à la lever, je me fixerai sur l'endroit choisi. Si j'avais à présent mon Monsieur Bouvet je serais sûr de réussir avec lui seul, sans l'assistance d'aucune autre personne, si non en grand du moins en petit.

Si vous pouviez m'obtenir des Dames du Sacré-Coeur, trois, deux américaines et une française; elles seraient capables de faire ici plus de bien qu'un prêtre, quoiqu'un prêtre trouvera abondamment de l'ouvrage; ou des Soeurs de la Charité s'il n'y a aucune espérance d'avoir des premières; croyez que vous m'obligeriez grandement, si vous pouviez me donner quelque réponse la dessus le première fois que vous m'écrirez. J'en serais bien aise, car je prendrais dès-à présent quelques précautions pour les recevoir au moins un peu convenablement.

Je n'ai encore point reçu d'ordo, mes Gazettes, veuillez charger Mr. Borgna de m'expédier ces articles, et l'assurer de mes amitiés ainsi que MM. Lutz et Toker [Tucker]. Croyez, Monseigneur, que je suis toujours avec la plus parfaite considération.

Votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur

B. ROUX.

P.S. Si toutefois vous ne saviez pas mon adresse la voici

Rev. Benedict Roux

Shawnee Post-office, Jackson County, Mo.

Je suis confus vraiment de vous envoyer une lettre si négligée, mais ma mauvaise encre et un froid insupportable en sont la cause. Je me porte bien.

(Translation)

From the Kansas River, January 20, 1834.

Monseigneur,

I would have received with unspeakable pleasure even the briefest possible answer to the letter I wrote you towards the end of November of the past year. No doubt it must have failed to reach you or else you are overwhelmed with work. No doubt, too, the letters sent to Messrs Borgna, Lutz and Bouvet must have met with the same fate and been stopped on the way; for I have not had a word from those persons. I need not delay on what has taken place. I hope this letter will be more fortunate in reaching its destination. I came here at a season by no means favorable to my plans. The winter holds me pitilessly confined in Mr. Chouteau's Trading-house, about ten miles from the majority of the French families, without the least little house where we can meet and celebrate the Holy Mysteries. However, an American, I must tell you, several times offered me his house for the purpose. I accepted it for Christmas day, but did not say Mass in view of the irreverence I feared on the part of the Americans, "not acquainted at all with the holiest and most sublime action of our Religion." There, vested in my soutane, surplice and stole I preached first in French, for the Catholics of the neighborhood had eagerly gathered at the place; then, would you believe it, I was presumptuous enough to preach in English and to start off with a subject really beyond my capacity. Nothing excites more horror, nothing is more revolting than the Catholic religion, when ill understood; on the contrary, nothing is more consoling, holy, wise and sublime than this same religion when well understood. Such were the two propositions on which I spoke to them. God was indeed pleased to bless my efforts. They all listened to me with interest and with the greatest attention. They asked me when I would preach again, so that they might attend our meetings. I told them that as the winter was so severe, I could not fix on any particular day, but that they would hear a few days in advance when another Catholic meeting was to take place. Since then I have not gone back to the American who received me so kindly, although he does not belong to our religion. I do not think I shall preach any more at his house as he is a great lover of balls and took advantage of our Christmas meeting to give one in the evening and another the day after. I do not care to furnish him an occasion of doing a thing against which I have openly declared and will continue ever so to do. As a consequence, I have preached only once since I left St. Louis. I have baptized nobody, prepared nobody for first Communion, heard nobody's confession. I have not had the happiness even of saying Mass, either because the winter is too severe and it is impossible to travel or because we have no house where we can meet, etc., etc. Only let the winter pass and we shall perhaps

have better luck. Don't let us try to do everything at once. *Pluribus intentus minor est ad singula sensus.* No one ever moved a mountain from its place in a day.

As far as I can recall, Monseigneur, I mentioned in the first letter I wrote to you almost three months ago that the French had the intention of guaranteeing a tract of 40 acres for a church. A number of Americans declared to me their desire of cooperating in a work so advantageous, as they tell me, to the good of the locality, advising me at the same time that it would be necessary to organize a committee to select a piece of land and a site suitable for the object we have in view, which is to build a church and form two establishments, one of Sisters for the education of the young ladies of the locality and the other for the boys. No sooner said than done. A committee has been organized and instead of 40, 80 acres of land have been picked out. They would have made over the deed of sale to you, Monseigneur, or to myself on the sole condition that if one or the other of the two establishments should not succeed, the property would revert to the four designated members of the committee, a condition which I have not yet approved and shall never approve, for I am far from rendering myself the slave of any one in a matter of this kind. However, if I can prevail upon them to waive this condition, I shall settle down on the site selected.¹³ If I only had my Mr. Bouvet now, I should be sure of succeeding with him alone and without anybody else's assistance, if not on a large scale, at least on a small one.¹⁴

If you could get me some Ladies of the Sacred Heart, two Americans and one French, they would be able to do more good here than a priest; although a priest will find plenty of work; or else some Sisters of Charity, if there is no hope of having the first. Believe me, I should be greatly obliged to you could you give me an answer on this subject the next time you write to me. It would put me at ease, for I would at once begin to prepare to give them at least something like a suitable reception.

I have not yet received either Ordo or newspapers; kindly commission Mr. Borgna to forward me these articles, and assure him, as also Messrs. Lutz and Tucker of my kind regards. Believe, Monseigneur, that I am ever with the most perfect consideration,

Your very humble and obedient servant,

B. Roux.

P. S. If you are still without knowledge of my address, here it is

*Rev. Benedict Roux,
Shawnee Post Office, Jackson Co., Mo.*

It is really embarrassing for me to send you so untidy a letter, but bad ink and the insufferable cold are the cause of it. I am feeling well.

¹³ Father Roux's negotiations for a church-site culminated in his purchase from Pierre La Liberté, April 5, 1834, of a tract of forty acres, the consideration being only six dollars. This tract was disposed of by Father Roux October 20, 1838, to Francis Mumblo, for \$700, "except ten acres in a square, on the center of which a log church and a log house are put up." These ten acres, bounded by Eleventh, Twelfth, Broadway and a line one hundred feet west of Jefferson street, were deeded over to Bishop Rosati by Father Roux, January 31, 1839. Cf. CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, October, 1917, p. 331; *Encyclopaedia of the History of Missouri*, i, 540.

¹⁴ Mr. Bouvet, a layman of St. Louis, joined Father Roux at the Kansas River about the middle of 1834. He there discharged the duties of factotum and general lay assistant to the Father, often accompanying the latter on his missionary trips to Clay and Clinton counties.

De la Rivière des Kans, 11 Mars 1834.

Monseigneur,

J'ai reçu le sept de ce mois trois lettres, l'une de vous, l'autre de Mr. Bouvet, et la troisième de Mde. Duchesne. La vôtre et celle de Mr. Bouvet ont grandement réjoui mon cœur, mais celle des Dames du Sacré-Cœur n'a nullement répondu à mon attente. Adressons nous aux bonnes Soeurs de la Charité, elles se confient en Dieu dans les entreprises, et volent au moindre signe au secours de ceux qui sollicitent leur assistance. Votre long silence, Monseigneur, avait déjà fait naître dans mon esprit des idées bien sombres, mais votre agréable et consolante lettre les a entièrement dissipées. Les témoignages d'affection et de confiance que vous m'y montrez sont pour moi un vif encouragement pour resserrer de plus en plus les noeuds d'estime et d'attachement qui m'unissent, non sans gloire, à Votre Grandeur, et pour me sacrifier, s'il le faut, pour l'intérêt de votre diocèse, car j'ai intention de faire le bien afin de m'assurer dans le ciel ce trésor que *neque aerugo neque tinea demolitur, neque fures fodiunt nec furantur*. Trop heureux si Dieu veut se servir de moi comme un instrument pour coopérer au salut de quelques âmes!

Vous désirez, Monseigneur, que je vous donne quelques nouvelles. Je puis en effet vous en communiquer, car j'en ai une certaine provision; Quelques unes, peut-être ne seront pas de votre goût, mais la plupart au moins vous feront plaisir: Je n'ai pas encore eu le bonheur de dire la messe depuis que j'ai quitté St. Louis; croyez que c'est une grande privation pour moi. La raison est que les quatre premiers mois je n'avais pas la moindre petite place décente pour une action aussi auguste, aussi sainte. Mais depuis un mois et demi cette excuse n'est plus, car grâce à la famille Chouteau qui m'a prodigué mille soins, nous avons choisi et arrangé très décemment une maison pour cette fin, à laquelle maison deux autres sont annexées pour servir de presbytère au prêtre. La congrégation catholique les a louées pour un an. En attendant la Providence je l'espère, nous fournira quelques moyens pour exécuter un plan un peu moins resserré. Cette excuse a fait place à une autre, La congrégation catholique se trouvant éloignée de plusieurs milles de notre petite chapelle, Je suis obligé de les attendre souvent jusqu'à midi; et moi-même pour m'y rendre je suis obligé de faire dix grands milles; ma demeure est sur la terre des sauvages, chez Mr. Chouteau. Il est vrai que je pars le samedi du lieu de mon habitation, mais arrivé à mon presbytère je n'y trouve ni déjeuner, ni dîner, ni souper ni feu, un vieux matelas, un drap, deux couvertures, un oreiller rehaussé par un gros rouleau de bois, voilà ma couche. Si je veux manger, il faut que j'aille quêter ma nourriture, souvent à plusieurs milles de là. La faim donne un assaisonnement à tout, quelque grossier que soit le mets. Impossible donc de pouvoir dire la messe n'étant soigné de personne, La santé la plus robuste y faillirait en peu de semaines. Samedi dernier cependant je fis promise à une respectable veuve de me préparer mes repas, lui faisant entendre que la congrégation catholique la défrayerait des dépenses que je lui occasionnerais. Rien de plus juste, car *dignus est operarius cibo suo*. J'espère dire la messe dans quelques jours, mais je ne la dirai publiquement que le jour de Pâques, et alors je continuerai régulièrement tous les dimanches et même tous les jours si je puis avoir ce bonheur; car alors je crois que j'aurai le plaisir d'avoir Mr. Bouvet avec moi. J'ai commencé à tenir nos assemblées le dimanche de la sexagesime, je n'ai point discontinué de les tenir régulièrement tous les dimanches jusqu'à présent. J'ai le plaisir d'y voir beaucoup d'américains qui écoutent avec la plus grande patience mon pauvre anglais; je préche en français et anglais tous les dimanches, Je fais aussi le catéchisme en français et anglais tous les dimanches, Des cantiques dans les deux langues commencent à s'y chanter régulièrement. Le 23

de février je baptisai douze enfans; j'y mis toute la pompe et la solennité possibles, afin d'en inspirer aux Protestans et de les amener à notre Ste. Religion par quelques moyens séduisants. A cet effet je fis décorer ma trop petite chapelle de mon mieux; un très joli petit autel fut élevé avec une élégance mignonne; quatre chandeliers brillans comme de l'or furent allumés pendant toute la cérémonie; la croix que j'ai hérité du défunt Mr. Leclère était placée de manière à frapper avantageusement l'oeil du protestant; un dôme fait avec un goût exquis était dressé au dessus de l'autel. Quatre petits enfans de chœur très proprement habillés m'assistèrent dans cette cérémonie. L'exercice fut ouvert par le chant d'un cantique en français *O Saint Esprit* etc., ensuite par celui d'un cantique en anglais *Spirit Creator of Mankind* etc. Je prêchai en français sur la *nécessité du baptême* et en anglais *On the meaning of the ceremonies of Baptism*. J'avais prêché en anglais le dimanche précédent sur la nécessité de recevoir je baptême pour toute personne, même pour les enfans. Deux semaines après je prêchai en anglais sur les effets du baptême. Les deux sermons étant fini je procédai à l'administration du baptême. Tout le monde américain ne put pas satisfaire sa curiosité, car notre chapelle était pour ainsi dire plus que pleine. Après l'administration du baptême on chanta en français le cantique *Bénissons à Jamais* etc. Et les américains que j'avais formés chantèrent le cantique en anglais *Hail Heavenly Queen* etc. Tout le monde à ce qu'on me dit se retira enchanté et pleinement satisfait. Quoique nous n'ayons ici aucune famille américaine catholique, j'espère qu'avant long-temps si Dieu veut bien bénir mes entreprises, nous en aurons quelques unes; Car plusieurs depuis cette cérémonie veulent se faire baptiser dans la religion catholique; plusieurs se font un plaisir de me prêter leur voix pour exécuter nos chants religieux; plusieurs me demandent des livres catholiques pour se former une idée de notre religion. Que n'ai-je une douzaine ou deux de catéchismes en anglais, l'oeuvre de Dieu serait bien plutôt accélérée. Mais je suis dans l'impossibilité de faire la moindre dépense car je suis condamné pour plusieurs années à ne pas retirer peut-être un cent; toutes les familles françaises, à l'exception de celle de Mr. Chouteau, sont dans un état de détresse qui les rend incapables de pouvoir me supporter. Quand il faut faire peser le fardeau sur un seul, vous le savez, on en est bientôt fatigué. Si l'Association de la propagation de la foi pouvait jeter quelques regards de compassion sur le prêtre de la Rivière des Kans, elle le mettrait à même avec quelques secours pécuniaires, de faire fleurir la religion catholique dans ces contrées-ci, et d'ouvrir la porte à la plus belle mission chez les Indiens, car tous sont très bien en faveur des Robes Noires. Je me propose dans quelque temps de lui écrire à ce sujet; ce sera pour la première fois. Pour vous, Monseigneur, je ne doute pas un instant que vous effectuerez la promesse que vous m'avez faite de vous intéresser spécialement pour cette mission du haut du Missouri. J'ai encore une douzaine d'autres personnes à baptiser. La plupart sont de jeunes gens et de jeunes personnes que j'instruis et prépare—à la fois pour le baptême et pour la 1^{re}. Communion. Je renvoie cette cérémonie à Pâques; j'ai à coeur de la rendre la plus solennelle et la plus pompeuse que je pourrai; nous devons mettre tout en oeuvre pour procurer la plus grande gloire de Dieu. Je m'occupe maintenant des grandes personnes. Je réfléchis, je rumine comment je pourrai les amener à la confession; le pas est très glissant. Pour ne pas exaspérer personne je cherche à mettre en pratique le conseil de notre grand modèle; *Estote prudentes sicut serpentes et simplices sicut columbas*. Plusieurs déjà, à ma satisfaction, se sont présentés au St. tribunal de la pénitence; cependant beaucoup d'hommes resteront en arrière, quoiqu'ils le soient déjà grandement; ne cessons toutefois de semer, planter et arroser, Celui qui est en Haut y donnera l'accroissement, lorsqu'il le jugera à propos.

(Translation)

From the Kansas River, March 11, 1834.

Monseigneur,

I received on the seventh of this month three letters, one from yourself, one from Mr. Bouvet and the third from Madame Duchesne.¹⁵ Your own and Mr. Bouvet's cheered me greatly; but the one from the Ladies of the Sacred Heart in no wise came up to my expectations. Let us address ourselves to the good Sisters of Charity; they trust in God in all their undertakings and fly at the least sign to the relief of those who solicit their aid.¹⁶ Your long silence, Monseigneur, had already started some very gloomy reflections in my soul, but your pleasant and consoling letter has dissipated them entirely. The tokens of affection and confidence in my regard which you manifest therein encourage me greatly to fasten ever tighter the ties of esteem and attachment which bind me not without glory to your Lordship and to sacrifice myself, if need be, for the interests of your diocese; for I cherish the intention to do good so as to assure myself that treasure in heaven which *neque aerugo neque tinea demolitur nec fures fodiunt nec furantur*. I should be only too happy were God to be pleased to employ me as an instrument for coöperating in the salvation of a few souls.

You wish me, Monseigneur, to send you some news. This, in effect, I can do, for I have a certain stock of news on hand. Some of it, perhaps, will not be to your taste, but the bulk of it at least will afford you pleasure. I have not yet had the happiness of saying Mass since I left St. Louis. Believe me, this is a great privation. The reason is that for the first four months I did not have the least little place respectable enough for an action so august and holy. But for the last month and a half this excuse holds no longer, as thanks to the Chouteau family, who lavish a thousand cares on me, we have chosen and arranged very decently a house for this purpose, to which house two others are attached to serve as presbytery for the priest.¹⁷ The Catholic congregation has rented them for a year. Meantime Providence, so I hope, will furnish means to enable us to carry things out on a somewhat less restricted plan. This excuse has given place to another. As the Catholic congregation find themselves at a distance of several miles from our little chapel, I am obliged to wait for them often up to mid-day, while to get to my destination I must myself cover ten long miles. My place of residence is with Mr. Chouteau in the Indian territory. It is true that I leave my lodging place on Saturday; but on reaching my presbytery, I find there neither breakfast, dinner, supper nor fire. An old mattress, a sheet, blankets, a pillow raised on a large wooden support—such is my bed. If I want to eat, I must go in search of food, often several miles away. Hunger gives a seasoning to everything however coarse the dish. It is impossible, then, to say Mass. Not being taken care of by anybody, the most robust health would

¹⁵ Madame Philippine-Rose Duchesne opened the first house of the Ladies of the Sacred Heart in the United States at St. Charles, Mo. in 1818. The cause of her beatification has been introduced.

¹⁶ The Mother Seton Sisters of Charity established in St. Louis since 1828, when they opened Mullanphy Hospital. A tender from Bishop Rosati to Father Roux of some French-speaking Sisters of St. Joseph was declined by the Father, November, 1834, on the ground that the Sisters, not knowing English, could not do the work expected of them, but especially on the ground that no means of material support could be provided for them. Father Roux was disillusioned, recognizing and frankly admitting that his project of a Sisters' school on the Missouri frontier was premature.

¹⁷ Father Roux conducted services in this rented house up to his return to St. Louis in April, 1835. The house is said to have stood near the intersection of Second and Cherry streets. The Chouteau family were not only instrumental in securing the rented church, but defrayed half the expense of erection of the log church built on the property purchased by Father Roux. For a period of three years the first church of Kansas City continued to be designated in the Baptismal Records of the Kikapoo Mission simply as "Chouteau's Church."

fail there in a few weeks. Last Saturday, however, I made a respectable widow promise to prepare my meals, giving her to understand that the Catholic congregation would defray whatever expense I should put her to. Nothing more just, for *dignus est operarius cibo suo*. I hope to say Mass in a few days, but I will not say it in public until Easter day. After that I will keep it up regularly every Sunday and even every day, if I can have this happiness; for I expect by that time I shall have the pleasure of seeing Mr. Bouvet with me.

I began to hold meetings Sexagesima Sunday, and have not failed to have them regularly every Sunday up to the present.¹⁸ I have the pleasure of seeing many Americans present; they listen with the greatest patience to my poor English. I preach in French and English every Sunday. Hymns in the two languages are now beginning to be sung regularly. On February 23, I baptized twelve children, doing it with all the pomp and solemnity possible so as to inspire the Protestants thereby and draw them by such attractions to our Holy Religion.¹⁹ With this end in view I had my chapel, which is quite too small, decorated the best way possible. A very pretty little altar was set up with a touch of dainty elegance, while four chandeliers as bright as gold were lit during the entire ceremony. The crucifix, which I inherited from the late Mr. Leclerc (?), was placed in a position where it would meet the eye of the Protestant with advantage, while a dome made with exquisite taste was raised above the altar. Four little choir-children very suitably attired assisted me at the ceremony. The services opened with the singing of a French hymn, *O Saint Esprit*, etc. Then followed an English hymn, *Spirit, Creator of Mankind*, etc. I preached in French on the necessity of baptism and in English on the meaning of the ceremonies of Baptism. I had preached in English the Sunday before on the necessity of receiving baptism in the case of all persons, even infants. Two weeks later I preached in English on the effects of baptism. The two sermons over, I proceeded to administer Baptism. The Americans present could not all satisfy their curiosity, for our little chapel was, so to speak, more than full. After the administration of Baptism, we sang a French hymn, *Bénissons à jamais*, etc., etc., and the Americans, whom I had trained, sang a hymn in English, *Hail Heavenly Queen*, etc., etc. From what was told me, everybody went away charmed and fully satisfied. Though we have no American Catholic family here, I hope to have some before long, should God be pleased to bless my undertaking; for several persons since that ceremony wish to be baptized in the Catholic religion. Several of them are pleased to help with their voices in the singing of our religious hymns, while others ask me for Catholic books that they may get some idea of our religion. If I only had a dozen or two catechisms in English, God's work would speed along more quickly. But I am in a position where it is impossible to incur even the least expense, seeing that I am reduced to the necessity for many years to come of not collecting even a penny. All the French families, with the exception of Mr. Chouteau's, are in a state of distress which renders them incapable of providing for my support. When the whole burden is placed on the shoulders of a single individual, you know well enough that he will soon grow tired of it. If the Association for the Propagation of the Faith were only to cast a few glances of compassion on the priest of the Kansas River, it could with a little pecuniary aid, put him in a position to make the Catholic Religion

¹⁸ February 2, 1834.

¹⁹ The names of the first four children baptized on this occasion were Martha Roy, Adeline Prudhomme, Martha Lessert and Amelia Roy. On March 15, 1834, Father Roux baptized Elizabeth Boone and on April 19, 1835, Eulalia Boone, both daughters of Daniel Morgan Boone, son of the historic Missouri pioneer, Daniel Boone.

flourish in these parts and open the door to the finest of Indian missions, for all the Indians are in favor of the Black Robes. I propose to write sometime to the Association on this matter; it will be for the first time. As for yourself, Monseigneur, I don't doubt for a moment that you will redeem the pledge you gave me to interest yourself in a special manner in this mission of Upper Missouri. I have still a dozen other persons to baptize. Most of them are young girls and boys, whom I am instructing and preparing for Baptism and First Communion together. This ceremony I defer until Easter. My intention is to give it all the pomp and solemnity that will be possible. We should exert every effort to procure the greater glory of God. I am occupying myself just now with the adults. I reflect, I ponder how I shall be able to bring them to confession; it is very slippery ground. Not to exasperate anybody, I try to put into practice the counsel of our great Model, *estote prudentes sicut serpentes et simplices sicut columbae*. To my great satisfaction several have already presented themselves at the Sacred Tribunal of penance; still, many of the men will continue to be backward in their duties, though they are already very long in that condition. However, let us not cease to sow, plant and water; He who is above will give the increase at the time He will see fit.

(The remainder of this letter, as not dealing with Father Roux's Kansas City Mission, is here omitted.)

The Roux Letters are a typical instance of the great mass of unpublished historical material in the Historical Archives of the Archdiocese of St. Louis. This material consists largely of letters and reports belonging for the most part to the period of Bishop Rosati's incumbency of the See of St. Louis (1826-1843). Written without thought of publication and often with great fullness of detail and graphic power of pen by priests and prelates intimately identified with the pioneer beginnings of Catholicity in the Middle West, these letters constitute a unique and invaluable source of original material for an authentic history of the Catholic Church in that section of the United States. It is gratifying to be able to note that they have already been laid under contribution by Reverend Francis Holweck in the scholarly series of sketches of early Missouri priests now appearing in the pages of the *Saint Louis Pastoral-Blatt* and by Reverend Dr. Souvay in his illuminating firsthand studies on Bishops Du Bourg and Rosati, which have appeared in the *REVIEW*. It is to be hoped that these and other members of the St. Louis Catholic Historical Society will continue to work the rich deposit of documentary material at hand to them in the Historical Archives of the Archdiocese of St. Louis, thus paving the way, through a series of scholarly monographs on special topics, for a thoroughly reliable general history of the Catholic Church in the extensive territory of which St. Louis was the ecclesiastical metropolis through a long and memorable period of years.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Mississippi Valley in British Politics. A Study of the Trade, Land Speculation, and Experiments in Imperialism culminating in the American Revolution by Clarence Walworth Alvord. Cleveland, U. S. A.: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1917. Two vols., pp. 358+396, including maps and bibliography.

In the preface to these fine volumes the author disclaims any purpose of preparing a systematic narrative of the events preceding the American Revolution. That is, he does not intend to enumerate with catalogued completeness the happenings which antedated and occasioned that struggle. So far gone in heresy is Doctor Alvord that he omits the time-honored descriptions of the Boston "massacre" and the Boston tea party. For an account of these incidents in the epic the disappointed reader must consult the pages of the older school histories of the United States. Those who belong to the generation just preceding that of the author's boyhood will miss, at this point, the theatrical speech and tragic mien of that youthful leader who complained to a British officer that his soldier's had wantonly broken down the children's snow-hills. To our young mind it was always much of a mystery how in far-off England the King's ministers could know that a gentle incline slopes down from Beacon Street to the Common and of what possible advantage it could be to put to flight the pleasures of youth. But, after all, was our insight into the springs of history so far inferior to that of many an early chronicler who was persuaded that the muse of research pursued him with a message?

Though Professor Alvord's theme lies to a great extent in the West, he does not intend to write of that romantic section. He modestly claims for his inquiries no greater value than the subordinate merit of assisting later historians to discover the connection between the Mississippi valley and British politics. As will presently appear, he has done far more, for it does not require much skill in the art of divination to foretell that his footprints will be tracked through moor and fell to the main stream of history. He has himself made that discovery.

Correctly assuming that a satisfactory explanation of the

beginnings of our Republic can be gained by only a thorough study of the annals of contemporary England, the author has fixed his attention on the rapid succession of eighteenth century ministries, hoping in those political caldrons, where boiled and bubbled "eye of newt and toe of frog," to perceive in germinal state a governmental policy for the West. In disposing of that section the regulating principle of the government appears to have been identical with the interest of a faction.

"Your people are fools," wrote Frederick the Great to the Marquis d'Argens, "you are going to lose your Canada and Pondicherry to please the Queen of Hungary and the Czarina." The treaty of Paris (1763) proved the truth of the Prince's prophecy, for British arms had won not only Canada and the Coromandel coast but Louisiana. How were the victors going to dispose of the conquered colonies and the dependencies of France? The dozen years that passed before Lexington did not suffice for an answer. In the opinion of Doctor Alvord the hesitant attempts to solve this problem were not unconnected with the American Revolution, which, indeed, in any scientific view is to be regarded as but an event, though a major one, in the development of the constitution of England. Relative to America the situation was as obscure as the house of night and the voices within reported little harmony. The task of the author is to interpret those discrepant sounds. Looking into the future, from the date of the treaty of Paris, he perceives the dim outlines of the Stamp Act, the meeting of the Congress to consider which may be regarded as the beginning of the American state, of the Townshend Acts, and the Quebec Act, the last on the eve of Lexington and Concord. In his view these tentative plans for the organization of the West formed "the warp and woof of British imperial policy."

An epigram of Pitt introduces this valuable work. He declared: "Some are for keeping Canada; some Guadaloupe;" and he inquired, "who will tell me which I shall be hanged for not keeping?" The statesman had before him a legislature composed of persons in search of such merchandise as in vision the Pilgrim beheld at Vanity Fair. There, in the flesh, were men who would purchase "houses, lands, trades, places, honours, preferments, titles, countries, kingdoms, lusts, pleasures, and

delights of all sorts, . . . They that kept the fair, Bunyan is careful to remind his readers, "were the men of this world," the children of wrath.

For England, as the reviewer has stated in a notice of Trevelyan's *American Revolution*, "the conclusion of peace was only less expensive than the conduct of the late campaign, because the approval of a venal Parliament was secured by only the most lavish distribution of public money. The business of bribery was managed without observing even a pretence of secrecy. Members of the House of Commons flocked to the Pay Office, in which a shop had been publicly opened for their purchase. Bank-bills as low as two hundred pounds were exchanged for the promise of a vote, and in a single morning there was issued the sum of £25,000. Thus was effected the chief event of Bute's brief ministry, and to the integrity and virtue of such legislators were committed the great and varied interests of an empire."

Pitt's policy was far from being intricate. His object was so to depress the power of France that she could never again in commerce or in colonizing become a formidable rival of England. But in France was the Duc de Choiseul, who saw not less clearly than Pitt, and who began so to organize the resources of his country that in favorable circumstances he could dismember the proud empire of Britain. Professor Alvord has taken for the subject of his interesting inquiry the trade, the land speculation, and the experiments in imperialism between 1763 and 1775.

In the course of the eighteenth century, says the author, "Whiggism became a necessary attribute of aspirants for political honors." But the history of that era is not, as was formerly believed, to be understood by assuming what did not exist, namely, a rivalry between Whig and Tory. For a generation the arrogance and the genius of Pitt had put an end to party government, but when parties disappeared, factions marked by inconstancy sprang up and by banding together ruled the empire for their own advancement. Of these groups the Old Whigs seem to have been the strongest. The popular estimate of them suffered nothing from the fact that their spokesman was Edmund Burke, a master of universal erudition, a man of lofty patriotism, and one of the greatest writers of English prose.

Another strong faction was made up of the dependents of the Crown. More constant to their principles were the followers of William Pitt, a party which included some of the foremost men in England. Another important unit was that composed of the Scottish representatives, who prospered by the gifts of the Crown, which they unanimously supported. Dr. Alvord describes many other groups. Together these factions embarrassed the early years of the King, though in time he shaped matters more to his liking.

With the background suggested by the preceding paragraphs the author begins his narrative. The value of Prussian assistance to England during the Seven Years' War he fails to emphasize. Even though that contest belongs chiefly to European history the services of Frederick should have been noticed. On this subject the ideas of most Americans, of even many of those who will read Professor Alvord's book, have been formed by the school histories, and these clearly convey the impression that England and her colonies defeated France and her feeble New World settlements. But anything which in Europe gave employment to French soldiers was an undoubted advantage to England. Without British subsidies, indeed, the power of Frederick must have been destroyed, but he repaid that service and had a share in driving France from North America, nor could the aid of Spanish ships and Spanish treasure avert disaster to her arms.

In considering their North American conquests British statesmen regarded as of little value those Northern provinces which produced commodities similar to those of England. As potential rivals, therefore, the flow of population thither was to be discouraged, while the development of the Southern colonies with their non-English staples was to be fostered. But not every faction held these opinions. Franklin as well as his friend Richard Jackson, colonial agent of Pennsylvania, espousing the cause of the King, advised the retention of Canada and asserted that there was no danger of the colonies declaring their independence, for mutual jealousies would retard or altogether prevent separation. When victory was assured, there sprang up between pamphleteers an animated warfare as to whether Canada or Guadaloupe was the more important. While some em-

phasized the worth of Canada, there were others who argued for the retention of Louisiana. Though it is true that Englishmen generally, even intelligent ones, knew little of the physical features or of the resources of their late conquests, the Lords of Trade and Plantations had without doubt received from colonial governors and their deputies much information concerning the trans-Alleghany region, its people, and its products. It is entirely probable that when such papers were received in England they were not often published. A digest of these communications, which is to be found in the Library of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, in Philadelphia, extends to more than a score of beautiful manuscript volumes. It is greatly to be regretted that copies of so valuable a work have not been multiplied.

The moneyed classes, says the author, were keenly interested in the exploitation of the wilderness. They, it appears, had a pecuniary rather than a patriotic interest in the boundless acquisitions of the Seven Years' War. Land speculation and the trade in furs soon became general. The Ohio Company with its immense holdings was early in the field. Before a dozen years had passed the Loyal Company received from North Carolina a grant that in extent was vast. In the course of the war military enthusiasm had been stimulated by the offer to deserving soldiers of generous grants of land. Indeed so keen was competition that rival companies sometimes allied themselves with the Indians. Franklin and others proposed the establishment in the West of two or more barrier colonies, while Samuel Hazard, a Philadelphia merchant, modestly named himself as the lord proprietor of an extensive colony to be settled by Protestants, but death wrecked his plans for the founding of that orthodox settlement. Colonel George Washington championed the cause of his soldiers, who, by a proclamation of Governor Dinwiddie, were promised Western lands. Among the new associations were the Mississippi Company, the New Wales Colony, and Charlottina. Colonel Bouquet would protect the settlements by the establishment of a military frontier. But, on the whole, Englishmen took little interest in those ephemeral projects.

In treating the early Western policy of Great Britain, Professor Alvord says that the wisest legislation could not have avoided the clash between the white man and the Indian. Among

the actors in this historical drama he does not purpose to distribute praise or blame, his plan being merely to explain the motives of those characters who wrangled for a part in the tragedy. Of those vanished actors gold had ruled in many a hireling heart. It appears as if some felon spirit of a distant past had condemned the Indian to lose both his hunting grounds and cornfields. For a season, it is true, he was suffered to live amongst familiar streams and forests only in a little while to resume his journey toward the setting sun in which, perhaps unfeelingly, he read his doom. We do not perfectly agree with Doctor Alvord, for we believe that relations with the Indians could have been more wisely arranged.

Obstacles, apparently insurmountable, confronted ministries in the epoch between 1748 and 1774. Statesmen of that era were compelled amidst mighty forces to tread a winding way. There were "Indian rights, fur-trading companies, frontier settlers, rival land companies, imperial interests, colonial charters" as well as powerful forces inherent in the Western domain. To evoke from such interests anything like harmony required the inspiration of genius. Though uniformity in dealing with the aboriginal races had been recommended by earlier colonial officials, before 1748 no Western policy had been formulated. In that situation the colonies were free to develop different systems. Doubtless under each the Indian suffered.

Men of large fortune, whether in England or the colonies, who had made considerable investments in land east of the mountains did not favor westward expansion. The author gives a list of those who were large holders in East Florida. In extent their tracts ranged from 5,000 to 40,000 acres, the Earls of Beresford and Dartmouth having been among the principal investors. These were naturally opposed to any westward expansion, for in that case their lands situated east of the mountains would be certain to depreciate in value. There was another class whose sense of justice was opposed to allowing frontiersmen to swarm without restraint over lands which had long been the home of the native races. In this view was concerned conscience as well as patriotism, for the empire would be unfavorably affected by Indian wars. Therefore this group advocated conciliation of the natives.

Besides the question of occupying the lands of the Indians there was that concerning trade, a problem bristling with difficulties. Should traffic with the tribes be regulated by colonial or by imperial authority? Attempts at the settlement of this question produced two plans, namely, the imperial and the anti-imperial. Under the existing system the Indians had been defrauded of their lands and cheated in trade. Their better treatment by the French inclined the natives to that people. In what manner this condition could be changed by the colonists had been pointed out to the Lords of Trade at least as early as 1721. But that recommendation appears to have aroused no interest.

Though the colonists were responsible for much of the trouble with the aboriginal races, they made but indifferent exertions to defend themselves from the resentment of their victims, the mother country having been forced to come to their assistance. In such circumstances she was not unreasonable in expecting the colonies to support a commissary general or superintendent of Indian affairs. Her object was to put an end to the encroachment of the French on territory claimed by the English.

British statesmen were more abundantly supplied with information when William Johnson, afterward knighted, was appointed overseer of the northern, and, by the death of the original appointee, John Stuart became overseer of the southern Indians. The report prepared by Wraxall, Johnson's secretary, greatly influenced subsequent policy. It recommended that relative to their complaints concerning lands satisfaction be made the Indians, and that future patents be granted for only such tracts as were bought in the presence of the superintendents.

Pennsylvania promised, by a treaty made in 1758 at Easton, that within its limits no settlements would be made beyond the mountains. Though this example was not without influence, the principle was not yet extended by the ministry to the other colonies. In future settlements the rights of the Indians to their lands were not to be disregarded. Under Lord Halifax the Board of Trade had imperialized the political control of Indian affairs. The purchase of their lands, too, was gradually withdrawn from the colonies and assumed by the Government. But whatever regulations were made during the course of the

war were generally believed to be no more than temporary arrangements.

At that time it was resolved to keep in America a military force to protect the country, especially the new acquisitions, against invasion and from those Indians who were pro-French in sympathy; also to hold in check the new subjects in Canada, Louisiana, and the Floridas. When the government called for a detailed statement of the necessary troops and fortifications, the governor of Montreal suggested that small garrisons be maintained at certain posts and that officers be vested with judicial authority. It was a measure of obvious necessity and evidently it was from this idea that was developed the principle subsequently embodied in the decision to maintain in America a force of ten thousand troops. A sharp eye may here perceive the contour of a cloud "no bigger than a man's hand." Though unconnected with the original suggestion, Welbore Ellis, a commonplace person whose name has been preserved from oblivion by the pen of *Junius*, appears to have had a share in giving it shape, while the support of Pitt, when the matter was before Parliament, seems to have silenced opposition. At that stage there was no thought of oppressing the colonists, for it appears reasonable that they should support the troops intended for their defense, and reasonable it would have been, if, instead of sending soldiers to New York and Boston, small garrisons had been maintained at the former French strongholds and at the chief fur-trading stations, such as Quebec and Detroit.

When the Earl of Bute, probably because of ill health, laid down the cares of office, the strong character in the new ministry was William Petty Fitzmaurice, Earl of Shelburne, a native of Dublin and a descendant of the Lords of Kerry. This statesman is, perhaps, better known as the first Marquess of Lansdowne. To the vigor of youth and a strong ambition may be ascribed the thoroughness with which he examined letters, reports from superintendents of Indian affairs, and communications from colonial governors as well as other officials. The perusal of this mass of information made him on all American questions an undoubted authority. Of the matters demanding his attention three were fundamental, namely, the maintenance of an army, the regulation of the Indian trade, and the possible contribution by the

colonies to the proposed imperial establishment. Action on these questions could be taken only after receiving information which had been requested.

Shelburne, who was not opposed to westward expansion, concluded that the new colonies could be located only where there was no danger of disturbing the rights of the Indians. This limitation described the valley of the St. Lawrence and the Floridas. As to the form of government for such plantations Shelburne did not agree with his colleagues; he was opposed to sinecures as well as patronage and favored political institutions more democratic than the existing ones. He would have the governors of the new colonies elected by the people. His ideas were defeated, however, by the influence, as he believed, of George Grenville, whose ignorance of America had much to do with the subsequent division of the empire. If Shelburne had been consistently supported, the history of the British empire would in all probability have been different from what it is.

The despicable tricks of traders and the arrival through the passes in the Alleghanies of white settlers who encroached on the Indian hunting grounds made it plain to the aborigines that their expulsion had been decreed. This feeling rendered unnecessary any interested explanation by the French, and, before long, Pontiac organized a force which in a few weeks was able to sweep the English from the West. This outbreak convinced the Lords of Trade that they had too long delayed their intended protection of the Indians. When, in October, 1763, a proclamation was finally issued, it quieted the Indians, but operated on the Canadian French with a discrimination that was gross. Yet it was not the result of a tyrannical disposition on the part of the conquerors, but rather of ministerial ignorance of American conditions. Nevertheless, when the blunder was known, it was not corrected for ten years, and during that period the vanquished French grievously suffered from its enforcement.

From the pen of Governor Murray the reader gets a vivid description of the worthies sent out "to rule by land and sea." Long before, in accounting for the inferior character of the clergy on the Irish establishment, Swift gravely explained that men of integrity and virtue had actually set forth from London, but that in crossing Hounslow Heath they were set upon by highway-

men, who exchanged garments with the ecclesiastics and went over to the sister island to assume apostolic functions. With the officers sent to rule the Canadians, however, the case was a little different, for on them the prison shades had fallen before they arrived at that classical resort.

Were Canadian Catholics subject to the same disabilities and penalties as their co-religionists in England? An attorney-general declared that they were not, while the humane Archbishop of York advised in dealing with those new subjects the adoption of a policy that was mild. At that time there was in the minds of many an expectation that kindness would ultimately convert the French settlers to Protestantism.

From their own people the Canadian priests were to receive the customary tithes. It was likewise provided that all orders of monks and nuns were to be abolished, the Jesuits immediately. One would think that the services of the latter would have secured them some indulgence, but it is certain that Englishmen of that era knew far less about Jesuit achievements than did our own historian Parkman, who though he approved of their exploits never could muster the courage to praise them. Rev. Olivier Briand was permitted to travel to Amiens, where he was consecrated Bishop of Quebec. Returning to Canada as "Superintendent of the Clergy," he received a salary of two hundred pounds a year. This restoration of rights by the method of instalment was a measure of justice performed by the Old Whigs, and, as one would expect, had the support of Edmund Burke. The author carefully describes the successive steps by which Canadian Catholics ultimately acquired civil and religious rights.

In his volumes Professor Alvord has represented many characters and described a multitude of facts, but the relation of the latter one to another and their subordination to the whole is skillfully arranged. The events which are discussed are not introduced because of their intrinsic interest, but for the reason that they contribute to the progress of the narrative. To enumerate their separate merits would require the space of a pamphlet. Therefore, in this place, we can make only a few general remarks about the author's scholarly investigation.

In the reviewer's college days the twelfth chapter of Lecky's *History of England During the Eighteenth Century* was recommended

as a good foundation for a study of the causes of the Revolutionary war. But admirable as is the summary by the gifted Irish historian, Doctor Alvord has made many important additions to, and not a few alterations in that familiar outline. Though he perceives the limitations of the Canadians, he has praise for their undoubted virtues. To him the short-comings of the British at home or abroad are not as is "a landscape to a blind man's eye." Legislation concerning religious matters is examined with candor. Without being elegant in style, and at fine writing there is no attempt, the form of this work is admirably adapted to the nature of the inquiry. The composition is everywhere clear, and throughout there are unmistakable evidences of the exercise of care as well as intelligence. In a word, the book is marked by the thoroughness characteristic of all Professor Alvord's work. In the opinion of the present reviewer these volumes form the most important contribution which for many years has been made to the literature on the American Revolution. A most comprehensive bibliography completes this valuable study.

Christopher Columbus in Poetry, History and Art. By Sara Agnes Ryan. Chicago: The Mayer & Miller Co., 1917. Pp. 165.

By the later grammarians the feminine form *authoress*, which served our precise ancestors, has been relegated to the class of outworn words. With other elements of former diction it is soon to be sought in the glossaries which explain archaic terms. Therefore Miss Ryan will be referred to as the author. Her share of this miscellany is not great. Yet from her few and short paragraphs it is clear that she does not worship contemporary specialists who treat the various phases of the eventful era of Columbus. However, it is well to be familiar with the outlines of one's field before deriding the authorities. But Miss Ryan is not writing a monograph, a biography or a history. According to her plan the poets are made to relate the story of the discovery of America. Commencing with the boyhood of Columbus, he is made to proceed man, as the Elizabethans would say, then pilot, cosmographer seaman, admiral, and discoverer.

The usual canons of criticism fail one in attempting to estimate the worth of such an anthology as this, for it has been wisely

asserted that poetry is the antithesis of science, and we are required to class history with the literature of knowledge, whose business is merely to convey information. In her pages the author has brought together a generous quantity of respectable verse, much of which is good poetry. But a few excerpts show that the drowsy muse sometimes ceases to direct the march of the poet's mind. When due allowance has been made for what is inferior, there is left in the volume much excellent poetry. And why not? Were not the writers dealing with a theme of epic grandeur?

Many of the classical fallacies concerning Columbus and his mighty project are to be found in the excerpts assembled by the author. But the work is not on this account to be condemned, for the object of the poet is to entertain his reader. Even though the quotations are quite unreliable as history, many of them are admirable as poetry. In other words, the book is to be read and re-read as pure, not as applied, literature. Lest the reader would think them few, no errors are noticed, and if they are not legion, they are yet enough to suffice for a battalion. These are not errors of Miss Ryan, but mistakes of the poets. But the reviewer desires again to remark that not one of the authors quoted has undertaken a history of the Columbian epoch or a biography of its central figure. As literature the work deserves a place in the library.

Illinois in 1818. By Solon Justus Buck. Illinois Centennial Commission. Springfield, 1917.

This year Illinois celebrates the one hundredth anniversary of its admission into the Union. A commission, appointed by the governor, has outlined a general and comprehensive plan for the centennial observance. Besides the local celebrations throughout the State, a great official celebration in Springfield, and the probable erection of a centennial memorial building, "one of the greatest and certainly the most enduring of the State's observances of the centennial anniversary will be the publication of a centennial memorial history, on a scale not before attempted by a state of the union." The history will consist of the volume hereby presented: *Illinois in 1818*, which is preliminary to the Centennial History, and five other volumes, namely: *Illinois Province and Territory, 1673-1818*; *The Frontier State, 1818-1848*; *The Era of*

Transition, 1848-1870; *The Industrial State*, 1870-1893; *The Modern Commonwealth*, 1893-1918. In all this series of publications two principles will be kept in view. They are intended first to tell the story accurately and in a scientific spirit, while not pretending to be "definitive," they are based on a careful use not only of the familiar printed sources, but also of rare newspapers and a large amount of manuscript material. Secondly, they will be books with sufficient human interest and literary quality to appeal to the intelligent reader. Footnotes and a copious bibliography are intended to help the serious student to pursue his inquiries further.

The present volume, from the pen of Professor Buck, formerly of Illinois, now of Minnesota University, augurs well for the carrying out of this program. It is entertainingly written, accurate throughout, not overburdened with references and it possesses a good index.

Although the story of Illinois is similar in many ways to that of other states in their pioneer days, we always look back with considerable pride upon those first settlers and their privations cheerfully borne because of indomitable faith in the future of the great commonwealth. Perhaps they were truly great because they had so few needs, and those their own ingenuity supplied. Of ready money there was little and little was needed. Many a family lived a whole year without the possession or use of fifty dollars in cash.

There was something wonderfully inspiring and contagious in their distinctly American conception of life and government, which spread rapidly to all squatters, backwoodsmen and farmers who came under its influence. Whether they hailed from the eastern states, from Germany or from England, they adapted themselves quickly and uncomplainingly to their new primitive environment, devoid though it was of all the comforts they had known at home. And although educational facilities were next to nothing, they imbibed at once the ideas of liberty and equality, so boldly proclaimed in the federal constitution, a generation earlier.

This is very evident in the prominence given from the earliest days to the question of slavery in Illinois politics. Although tolerated in practice and legalized under the cloak of the "in-

denture law," opposition to it was strong at all times. When the movement for admission of the Illinois territory into the Union took shape, it became all the more pronounced and fearlessly outspoken. A few pro-slavery men laid great stress on the fact that its legalization in Illinois would tend to increase immigration and foster the rapid development of the state's rich resources, as help was sorely needed for this purpose, and could not be had in any other way. The "sophistry" of this reasoning and the "fanaticism" of its protagonists were roundly denounced in the press. Yet public sentiment was not altogether ripe for the radical step of the abolition of slavery. When the constitution was finally framed, the article on slavery was ambiguously worded. It was seemingly the purpose of the constitutional convention to make Illinois ultimately a free state, and to wipe out the territorial indenture system for the future, but to interfere in no way with existing property rights in slaves or indentured servants. It was fitting that the greatest son of Illinois, half a century later, should cast aside all quibbling about vested rights in human beings and with one stroke of his pen deal the death blow to slavery.

The first settlers within the limits of the present State of Illinois were Frenchmen, mainly from Canada, who, about the beginning of the eighteenth century, established themselves in a number of villages along the American bottom, or along the Mississippi. Besides those living in and about the towns of Cahokia, Prairie du Rocher and Kaskaskia, there were a few on the eastern side of the territory, in what is now Lawrence county, who had crossed over the Wabash from the Vincennes settlement. All these were Catholics. "Each village had its Catholic Church and priest. The church was the great place of gay resort on Sundays, and holidays, and the priest was the adviser and director and companion of all his flock." (p. 91.)

Kaskaskia, which is only a memory today, consisting of a building or two on an island in the Mississippi, was, in 1809, the capital of the new territory of Illinois. It was a place of considerable commercial importance in 1818. Prairie du Rocher, fifteen miles farther up the American bottom, counted forty Catholic families in 1807. Brown's *Western Gazetteer*, in 1817, reported sixty to seventy French families and a Catholic chapel

(p. 77). This is the sum total of information about the Catholic settlers of Illinois in Professor Buck's volume. While expatiating at some length on the religious life of the Methodists and Baptists in pioneer days, he has nothing further to record concerning the French Catholics. He is rather inclined to slight their influence: "The conflict between the two elements, French and American, for the control of the Illinois country, had ended a generation before 1818, and the unprogressive French who remained in the American bottom after that contest was over, understood little of American ideals and took practically no part in the successive territorial governments."

It should not be forgotten however, and perhaps subsequent volumes in the projected "History of Illinois" will do justice to the subject, that the French were of the greatest help to George Rogers Clark in conquering the Illinois country for the American nation. They quickly became his enthusiastic supporters and ready converts to American ideals. After he had taken Kaskaskia by surprise and explained to the frightened inhabitants that if he "could have surety of their zeal and attachment to the American cause, they should immediately enjoy all the privileges of our government and that their property (should be) secured to them," he continues his narrative: "No sooner had they heard this than joy sparkled in their eyes and they fell into transports of joy that really surprised me; as soon as they were a little moderated they told me that they had always been kept in the dark as to the dispute between America and Britain, that they had never heard anything before but what was prejudicial and tended to incense them against the Americans, that they were now convinced that it was a cause they ought to espouse; that they should be happy of an opportunity to convince me of their zeal, and think themselves the happiest people in the world if they were united with the Americans. . . . The priest that had lately come from Canada had made himself a little acquainted with our dispute; contrary to the principle of his brother in Canada, was rather prejudiced in favour of us. He asked if I would give him liberty to perform his duty in his Church. I told him that I had nothing to do with churches more than to defend them from insult. That by the laws of the state his religion had as great privileges as any other. This seemed to complete their happiness. They

returned to their families, and in a few minutes the scene of mourning and distress was turned to an excess of joy, nothing else seen or heard. Adorning the streets with flowers and pavilions of different colours, completing their happiness by singing, etc."

When shortly afterwards Clark got his expeditionary force ready for the march on Vincennes, he found the Kaskaskians true to their promises. And he himself pays tribute to them in the following words: "Mr. Jeboth (Gibault) the Priest, to fully convince me of his attachment offered to undertake to win that Town for me if I would permit him and let a few of them go; they made no doubt of gaining their friends at St. Vincents to my Interest; the Priest told me he would go himself, and gave me to understand, that although he had nothing to do with temporal business, that he would give them such hints in the Spiritual way that would be very conducive to the business. In a few days the Priest, Doctr. Lefont, the Principal, with a few others set out, and a Proclamation I sent, for that purpose, and other instructions in case of success. In a few weeks they returned with intilgence agreeable to my wishes. I now found myself in possession of the whole in a Country where I found I could do more real service than I expected." (Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. viii, George Rogers Clark Papers, pp. 121-123). While Professor Buck shows no intentional bias anywhere, a painstaking Catholic historian would be able to gather very interesting data concerning the part played by Catholics in the winning and the making of the great Illinois commonwealth. This first centennial ought to make the undertaking doubly worth while.

The American Indians North of Mexico. By W. H. Miner. Cambridge: 1917. Pp. x+169.

"There are two reasons" the author writes, "for offering this little volume on the Indians of North America, north of the Mexican border. At present there is not before the public a readable, comprehensive or authentic account of the original inhabitants of the American continent, which may in any way be termed popular. . . . In the second place, it is readily to be remarked that interest in the study, both cultural and descriptive, of this branch of the world's family, is, particularly in America, constantly increasing." With these two purposes in view, the writer gives to the general reader a very handy book

on a subject which has already to its credit a vast bibliography of sources and materials. The work of the Bureau of Ethnology, the Carnegie Institution, the American Museum of National History, and of the American Anthropological Association has been done mainly for scholars in this branch of American history. Of the manuals in existence, Hodge's *Handbook of American Indians* "has done more to present a clear understanding of the first Americans than has any other among present-day ethnologists." The monograph of Professor Farrand—*The Basis of American History (1500–1900)*, is probably the best we possess on the subject. Miner's little work is an introductory sketch to the literature on the American Indians, and his aim throughout has been to encourage the reader to follow the subject at greater length in this literature.

An introductory chapter deals with the physiographic features of the American continent. The descriptions of the mountain ranges, the waterways, the plains and the coastal regions all have their place in any historical deductions to be made on the tribal organization of the Indians. The importance, however, of these general physical conditions may be exaggerated, for we are not yet wholly certain of the causes which influenced the migrations which were so constant. How the land became peopled is a matter of conjecture. The origin of the Indian is still unknown. His language, political institutions, and social customs are not clearly known. Group may be distinguished from group; but so far, only the linguistic classification has proven reliable. Fifty-six or fifty-eight distinct linguistic stocks among the Indians north of Mexico are recognized, and more than one third of that number inhabit the States of Oregon and California. Gallatin's *Synopsis of the Indian Tribes within the United States*, published in 1836, is the first purely scientific treatise on this linguistic grouping, and Powell's *Indian Linguistic Families North of Mexico*, published in 1891, placed this system of study on a permanent scientific basis.

Chapters follow on Indian Sociology, the Plains Indians, the Indians of the South West, and on Indian Mythology. A rather full bibliography follows, and the book is enriched with a map to illustrate the linguistic stocks among the North American Indians.

"Honest Abe," A Study in Integrity Based on the Early Life of Abraham Lincoln. By Alonzo Rothschild. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1917. Pp. 374.

This delightful narrative, which covers that part of Lincoln's career preceding his election to Congress, is the careful work of one who himself toiled upward to success. It is evident that the author was influenced in no slight degree by the example of the great Emancipator and that in this undertaking he was sustained by his affection for his theme. Before examining this excellent book, the reviewer desires to express his regret that the author was not spared to complete his work.

The learned critics may refer to Mr. Rothschild's treatment of his subject as a torso, but it is nothing of the sort, for it tells us just the things that we want to know about one phase of Lincoln's life, which in a sense was quite different from that later part of his career which included his service in the House of Representatives, the celebrated debates with Douglas, his addresses in the East, his election to the Presidency, and his conduct of the Civil War. In other words, the author describes the Lincoln who, after various tentatives, attained to eminence in Illinois and whose fame had just begun to pass the boundaries of his adopted State. The essential traits of character revealed on this smaller theatre marked his maturer years and were evident in his administration of the Presidential office. There was no fundamental change, for the transition from local attorney to national Executive made in him alterations that were hardly perceptible. His head was not turned or his heart hardened by the somewhat unexpected elevation to the highest office in the Republic. He never grew indifferent to distress or spurned the petitions of the poor. In him their short and simple annals always found a sympathetic listener.

The author refers to Lincoln's meagre opportunities for acquiring an education and enumerates the books from which he abstracted the elements of knowledge. In this place should have been mentioned Zachariah Riney, a Catholic teacher who gave the eager youth for half a year the only systematic instruction that he ever received. In any account of Lincoln's boyhood, of which we know all too little, this worthy pedagogue appears to deserve at least a paragraph and should not have been passed

over without remark. The reviewer is unable to explain this omission, for it is not to be assumed that the existence of this Kentucky schoolmaster was unknown to the author. A familiarity with the early history of that Commonwealth shows that not a little of the light of learning was brought thither by Catholic missionaries. In fact, Bardstown was the residence of the first bishop beyond the mountains.

The topics treated by Mr. Rothschild are "Pinching Times," "Truth in Law," "Professional Ethics," "Dollars and Cents," "Honesty in Politics." At this point, when Lincoln was chosen to Congress, the author's work was ended by his death. If any criticism is to be hazarded, it is that to prove facts well established cumulative testimony has been adduced. With fewer illustrations the honesty, the indifference to money, and the general integrity of Lincoln would be regarded as satisfactorily shown. However, Lincoln's admirers do not easily tire of reviewing the evidence. To us the book is interesting because of the somewhat new interpretation of this part of his remarkable career, an interpretation abundantly supported by the facts marshaled by the author.

NOTES AND COMMENT

The value of the annual volumes of the United States Catholic Historical Society's *Historical Records and Studies* can easily be gathered from the Index of the first ten volumes (1899-1917) compiled by Miss Herbermann, and printed in the last issue (Vol. XI, December, 1917). Special attention deserves to be called to a little-known aspect of American Catholic history, namely the *Diplomatic Intercours with the Papacy*, which Mr. Thomas F. Meehan has brought to light in the present volume. "An investigation of the official register of the State Department at Washington," he says, "gives the following list of the diplomatic representatives of the United States at the court of the Pope:

JACOB L. MARTIN, North Carolina, confirmed as Chargé d'affaires, April 7, 1848. Died at post August 26, 1848.

LEWIS CASS, JR., Michigan, Chargé d'affaires, January 5, 1849. Minister Resident, June 29, 1854. Presented credentials as such November 9, 1854. Took leave November 27, 1858.

JOHN P. STOCKTON, New Jersey, Commissioned Minister Resident June 15, 1858. Took leave May 23, 1861.

ALEXANDER W. RANDAL, Wisconsin. Commissioned Minister Resident August 6, 1861. Left post about August 4, 1862.

RICHARD M. BLATCHFORD, New York. Commissioned Minister Resident August 9, 1862. Left post and resigned in United States October 6, 1863.

RUFUS KING, Wisconsin. Commissioned Minister Resident October 7, 1863. Was previously commissioned March 22, 1861, but declined. Left post August, 1867. Resigned in the United States January 1, 1868.

"The temporal power of the Pope having been usurped at this period the legation has since lapsed, but, as can be seen, it existed during the administration of Presidents Polk, Taylor, Fillmore, Pierce, Buchanan, Lincoln and Johnson and immediately subject in its direction to such notable Secretaries of State as James Buchanan, John M. Clayton, Daniel Webster, Edward Everett, William L. Marcy, Lewis Cass, Jeremiah S. Black, and William H. Seward." This is a subject which deserves recognition from American historical writers. Attempts have been made on several occasions to see the diplomatic *cahiers* for these twenty years, but the State Department officials have not seen the necessity of allowing them to be catalogued and analyzed.

Students of the early history of the Americas, a subject which is especially interesting to Catholics, will have every reason to rejoice in the appearance of the first number of *The Hispanic-American Historical Review* which is now in press. This new quarterly in the historical field had its origin in the American Historical Association which perhaps a little over a year ago appointed a committee to look after the details of organization. After lengthy deliberations, a Board of six Editors was chosen, consisting of the following experts: James Alexander Robertson, of the United States Bureau of Domestic and Foreign Commerce; William R. Manning, of the University of Texas; W. S. Robertson, of the University of Illinois; Charles E. Chapman, of the University of California;

I. J. Cox, of the University of Cincinnati; and Julius Klein, of Harvard University; to which were added W. R. Shepherd, of Columbia University, and Herbert E. Bolton, of the University of California, as Advisory Editors. The first of those mentioned, James Alexander Robertson, has had a long career of usefulness, first as the Editor (with Miss Blair of the University of Wisconsin) of the collection of Philippine Documents in fifty-five volumes, and subsequently as Librarian of the Public Library of Manila, and has been chosen as the Managing Editor.

Under his management, the first number of the *Review* is now ready for publication. A glance over its contents will be sufficient to indicate at once its scope and its great probability of success. There is a *Letter from President Wilson*, which is followed by *A New Historical Journal*, from the pen of J. Franklin Jameson, Director of the Department of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington. *The Founding of the Review* is well described by Charles E. Chapman, one of the Board of Editors. Charles W. Hackett, of the University of California, contributes an article on *The Delimitation of Spanish Jurisdiction in North America to 1535*, and Charles H. Cunningham, of the University of Texas, who has recently contributed to the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, writes an article on *The Institutional Background of Spanish America*. Then comes *The Recognition of the Spanish Colonies by the Mother Country* by W. S. Robertson, one of the Board of Editors. This is followed by the usual department of Book Reviews, Notes and Comments, and a Bibliographical section which contains an article in Spanish by J. T. Medina, perhaps the most illustrious bibliographer of the American continent, at present connected with the University of Santiago de Chile. The title of his paper is *Dos obras de Viajeros norte-americanos traducidas al castellano*. This section also contains some bibliographical notes, which will be a regular feature of future issues, by C. K. Jones, of the Library of Congress and the George Washington University. The current number is brought to a close by a list of recent publications, articles as well as printed books.

Dr. Robertson, the managing Editor, to whom the readers of the last number of the REVIEW need no introduction, is certainly to be congratulated upon the contents of this first number and the standard of selection manifest in it presages a merited success. Catholics especially should be interested in this new quarterly, seeing that Hispanic-American history at certain periods is almost synonymous with Catholic missionary history in the Americas. The REVIEW therefore bespeaks a hearty support from Catholics for its new sister, in the matter of subscription and of perusal of its contents and as well in the contribution of articles. The subscription price is \$3.00 a year and the office of the Managing Editor is 1422 Irving Street, N. E., Washington, D. C.

In mentioning the Board of Editors of this new REVIEW, we are reminded of the interesting work upon which one of its Editors, William R. Manning, Professor of Latin-American History in the University of Texas, is now engaged.

In the spring of 1916, Dr. Alejandro Alvarez, the distinguished Chilean publicist, proposed to the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace the publication of American diplomatic correspondence regarding the emancipation of the Latin American countries from the year 1810 to 1830. Pursuant to the Endowment's acceptance of this proposal, Dr. Manning was persuaded to spend a year in Washington in the collection of this correspondence.

To this task he has brought no mean qualifications. As a contributor to *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, *The American Journal of International Law*, *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, and to other scientific periodicals; as the author of the Albert Shaw Lectures on Diplomatic History, delivered in 1913 at the Johns Hopkins University and published in 1916 under the title, *Early Diplomatic Relations between the United States and Mexico*; and as Professor of Diplomatic Relations at the George Washington University and of Latin-American History at the University of Texas, his selection is a just one, for he was a logical man for the task. Owing, however, to the entry of the United States into the present war, the Department of State has found it inexpedient to give him access to its archives at the present time, and he has been collecting material to be found in the published official documents of the United States. There can be no doubt that, when the project has been completed, the work will be of inestimable value to the student of the early history of the United States.

The Carnegie Endowment is also engaged in collecting for publication the views of the Latin American Republics upon the Monroe Doctrine, outlined in President Monroe's message to Congress of December 2, 1823. As a companion volume to this, it is proposed to collect the official papers concerning the doctrine which have been issued from time to time by the Government of the United States, and a collection of the statements of accredited publicists of the United States interpreting, defining and applying the doctrine.

The projects which have just been mentioned are a part of the work of the Endowment's Division of International Law. Its Division of Economics and History has just published a work interesting to the student of Latin-American history, namely, Dana G. Munro's *The Five Republics of Central America*, which is one of a series of studies intended by the Endowment to present the history and economic conditions in the Latin American Republics. The present volume is the result of several months of study on the ground. Dr. Munro travelled by all the usual means of locomotion through the countries he describes, getting his information, as far as possible, at first hand, and from this he has endeavored to correct the false impression of many persons in the United States that Central America is "a land of revolutions, bankrupt governments, and absconding presidents, and a haven for fugitives from justice from more settled countries."

The great difficulties in the way of making a careful study of this subject are due to the absence of trustworthy written material. Historical works are notor-

iously unreliable, although the colonial period is ably treated in two or three books by Central American authors. The development of the community, however, since its separation from Spain has apparently never been adequately treated. Dr. Munro, therefore, is to be felicitated upon performing an extremely useful task in handling this subject under the following topics: *The Country and the People, Central American Political Institutions, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Salvador, Honduras, Costa Rica, The Establishment of a Central American Federation, The Causes of Central American Revolutions, The Washington Conference of 1907, The Intervention of the United States in Nicaragua, Commerce, Central American Public Finance, and The Influence of the United States in Central America*. The volume also contains a good bibliography of the more important historical and descriptive material dealing with Central America and a very good index.

Naturally, one of the first aspects a Catholic would look for in such a work is the author's treatment of the question of religion. In this his judgment seems to be very fair and accurate, although a little more space might have been given to the Church's influence. Acknowledging a low morality, he attributes it to a lack of religious restraints. The Church at one time was very powerful throughout the Isthmus, but after the Declaration of Independence, the Liberal leaders expelled the Archbishop and many of the priests, and suppressed all the convents. And although the people even now are Catholics, at least nominally, the Religious Orders were never revived, except in Guatemala from 1839 to 1871, when they were suppressed again. Many of the women are still very devout, but the men, especially among the upper classes, are for the most part frankly irreligious. The Central American has many good qualities, being good natured, affable, profoundly attached to his friends and to the members of his family, and deeply susceptible to lofty ideals and patriotic impulses. There are a few non-Catholic missionaries from England and the United States, but "Protestantism is so utterly unsuited to the temperament of the people that they have made few converts," in spite of the fact that the Church has lost much of its old-time hold on the people.

For the purpose of testing the accuracy of Dr. Munro's work, Chapters IV and XI which give the history of Nicaragua were selected. Several years ago, when contemplating an educational mission to this republic, an American Catholic student of history had occasion to delve into Nicaraguan history. He interviewed the then Minister of Nicaragua, General Emiliano Chamorro, now president of the Republic, as well as several travellers connected with the Bureau of the Pan-American Republics. And while all were most courteous and desirous of furnishing him with information, none could refer him to a good history of the growth and development of the republic such as has now been furnished by Dr. Munro. The story of Walker's filibustering expeditions was to be found in many places, although Scroggs (*Filibusters and Financiers*. New York, 1916) has made improvement even in this direction, but as for an intimate history of the people of Nicaragua, their origin, their idio-

syncretisms, the reason for their meteoric history, it was nowhere to be found gathered together between the covers of a single book. Consequently, we are inclined to think that if the balance of the Dr. Murno's book is as accurately and as interestingly composed as are his romantic chapters upon Nicaragua, it certainly supplies a long-felt want and makes one eager to see the South American Republics receive similar treatment from similarly capable hands.

Our Country in Story, by the Franciscan Sisters of the Perpetual Adoration of La Crosse, Wis., marks a decided step forward in the field of reading-books in history for our schools. It is intended primarily for the pupils of the fifth and sixth grades of our elementary schools, and the forty odd stories contained in the book tell in a very striking manner many of the more notable events in the history of our country. In these various narratives, we are told in the Foreword, "are portrayed the Catholic missionary, discoverer, explorer, and statesman, bringing out the influence of faith on character and actions." The stories are arranged in admirable order and there is a distinctive charm in the telling which will appeal to many who have long since bade good-bye to the days of the fifth and sixth grades. The book is well illustrated with 117 pictures and is well balanced with maps, questions, and references to further reading. The Index deserves mention, the words being accentuated for easy pronunciation by the child. (The volume is published by Scott, Foresman and Company, of Chicago, and is sold at seventy-two cents.)

The Carnegie Endowment's sister corporation, the Carnegie Institution of Washington, has been very active in publishing guides to the history of the United States in various archives, the historian's "tools," so to speak. It is not believed that Catholics are quite so familiar as they should be with this great work which is being done under the supervision of Dr. J. Franklin Jameson, Director of the Institution's Department of Historical Research. Every Catholic student of history ought to know and use these valuable aids to scientific historical research. So far Guides to American history have appeared for the Government Archives in Washington (Van Tyne and Leland), the Diplomatic Archives of the Department of State, 1789-1840 (McLaughlin), Papers in Washington Archives relating to Territories of the United States (Parker), Canadian Archives (Parker), Manuscript Materials to 1783 in the British Museum, in Minor London Archives, and in the Libraries of Oxford and Cambridge (Andrews and Davenport), Materials to 1783 in the Public Record Office of London (Andrews), Materials since 1783 in London Archives (Paullin and Paxson), Materials in Spanish Archives including those of Simancas, the Archivo Histórico Nacional and Seville (Shepherd), Documents in Spanish Archives which have been printed or of which transcriptions are preserved in American libraries (Robertson), Materials in the principal Archives of Mexico (Bolton), Materials in Cuban Archives (Pérez), Materials in Roman and other Italian Archives (Fish), Materials in German State Archives (Learned), Materials in Swiss and Austrian Archives (Faust), Documents in the *Papeles Pro-*

cedentes de Cuba, deposited in the Archivo General de Indias at Seville (Hill), and Materials in Russian Archives (Golder).

Perhaps the more interesting of these guides from the Catholic point of view are Shepherd's Spanish Archives and Fish's Roman and Other Italian Archives. Nine-tenths of the latter book relates to Archives in Rome. In that city the two collections most abounding in materials for American history, and described in the most detailed manner in this volume, are the Archives of the Vatican and those of the Congregation of the Propaganda. The former embraces the correspondence of the Papal Secretaries of State with the Nuncios of Spain, France and other colonizing countries, and various correspondence with bishops and other ecclesiastics in America. Taken in connection with the Archives of the Propaganda, these Archives not only display with great fullness the ecclesiastical and religious history of early America and of the Catholic portions of the United States, but also cast an extraordinary amount of light upon civil history and administration, especially French and Spanish. Besides the Vatican Archives, the volume embraces the manuscripts in the Vatican Library, in other ecclesiastical collections and in public and private libraries in Rome. The Archives of Naples, Venice, Turin and Florence are likewise included and there is a full index.

With such examples as these as incentives, it is clear that some enterprising Catholic or an American Catholic Historical Association ought to do for the Catholic Church Archives what Allison has done for the Protestant Church Archives in his *Inventory of Unpublished Material for American Religious History in Protestant Church Archives and Other Repositories*, published by the Carnegie Institution in 1911. The only attempt so far in this direction is that carried on some years ago by the American Catholic Historical Society, of Philadelphia, which supported a research-worker at Rome for some time. His transcripts (typewritten) are at the Society's home, 715 Spruce Street, Philadelphia.

A work of particular value and interest to students of the influence of the Catholic Church upon early American history is Davenport's *European Treaties Bearing on the History of the United States and its Dependencies to 1648*, which has just been published by the Carnegie Institution. Everyone knows that the texts, especially the earlier ones, of the European treaties relating to America, are in many cases difficult to obtain. Many of them are in books to which few historical students have access. Some have not been printed at all. Most have been printed with greater or less degrees of inaccuracy and incompleteness. Dr. Davenport, after several years of study in European libraries and archives, as well as in Washington, has assembled in this volume accurate texts of all those treaties or parts of treaties anterior to 1649 which bear in any direct way upon the history of the present United States or its insular dependencies (Porto Rico and the Philippines, so far as the present volume is concerned).

Miss Davenport has also procured and included accurate texts of the papal bulls relating to America, documents which under the international law and practice of their period had a status and force similar to that of treaties. A facsimile and translation of the letters of Pope Alexander VI, concerning the so-called "Line of Demarcation," and of other papal bulls were published by Heywood in 1893 and one of his twenty-five copies is on deposit in the Museum of the Catholic University of America, but Heywood's volume lacks the scientific exactness which Dr. Davenport has brought to bear upon her work.

In her work, documents in any other language than English and French have been accompanied with careful translations. To each document an introduction is prefixed in which the history of its making, a *mise en scène* so to speak, is set forth. These introductions make an approach to a consecutive history of European diplomacy respecting America down to the time of the treaties of Westphalia. Introductions and texts are carefully annotated and bibliographical sections give suitable references to all matters respecting the documents and their history. The work gives ample evidence of the painstaking care and the laborious attention to details which are at once a delight to the reader and a proof of the author's scholarly ability.

Mr. George Dobbin Brown, of the Library of Princeton University, has published an *Essay towards a Bibliography of the published Writings and Addresses of Woodrow Wilson* (1910-1917). It is a continuation of Mr. Clemons' *Essay*, which covers the years 1875-1910. The President's writings have often been the subject of the bibliographer; five other bibliographies, besides the two mentioned, have already been published. All the subjects listed by Mr. Brown are not of equal importance, and the system he has followed—the chronological—leaves much room for improvement. A subject index with cross references would have made this pamphlet of actual value. The writings and addresses are not analyzed, and in many cases the reader has no reference to the publication.

Monday, February 4, 1918, will live long in the history of St. Joseph's Seminary, Dunwoodie, New York, as "Encyclopedia Day." The Saturday previous two hundred and six sets of the special *Dunwoodie Edition* of the *Catholic Encyclopedia* arrived on motor trucks at the Seminary and were distributed among the seminarians. An elaborate programme had been arranged, and addresses were made up by Rev. Philip J. Furlong, in behalf of the student body, by Father Wynne, S. J., Monsignor Chidwick and Bishop Shahan. It means much for an intelligent and enthusiastic love for Church history among the future priests of New York Diocese that this valuable work has been placed in their hands. The clergy of the Diocese participated by creating for the purpose a fund which will enable the Editors of the *Encyclopedia* to supply future students with the work.

An historic document of the highest value appeared in the *Congressional Record* for March 18, 1918—the address of the Hon. Ambrose Kennedy, of Rhode Island, before the House of Representatives, on the Memorial to the "Nuns of the Battle Field." Mr. Kennedy passed in review the work done

by many of the Sisterhoods in the Civil War, and urged the acceptance of the resolution which authorized Congress to permit the members of the Ladies' Auxiliary of the Ancient Order of Hibernians in America to erect at their own expense a fitting memorial in the city of Washington as a tribute to the nuns who displayed courage on the battlefield and in the hospitals. The resolution passed the Senate on the following day, and there can be no longer any reproach that an official reward to these devoted women has never been given. Praise is given by Mr. Kennedy in his address to Mrs. Ellen Ryan Jolly, the President of the Ladies' Auxiliary.

A "Pioneer Priest," writing in the *Catholic Register* of Kansas City, Mo., gives the following evidence for the fact that President Lincoln was born in the Catholic faith:

At every anniversary of President Lincoln's birth, we hear much of his life. His boyish pranks are yearly repeated, but his religion in his youth is seldom mentioned. This can be accounted for by the fact that, in his youth, Lincoln was a Catholic, a member of a Church that takes not into consideration earthly honor, power, or glory, extolls only for virtues that lead to Heaven. While it is true she has on her list of saints, thousands of kings, queens, and others in high station, they are not there because of their accidental positions of power in this world but for the way they served God. Lincoln's father and his stepmother were Catholics. Some dispute the religion of his father, but Father J. M. J. St. Cyr, in whose parish the Lincolns lived, says Thomas Lincoln was a Catholic, and he adds, "I often said Mass in his house and heard the confessions of his children." Father Lefever, who, when stationed at Indian Creek, Monroe County, Mo., had for his parish four counties in Missouri and five in Illinois, always said Mass in the Lincoln home when visiting Clarys Grove, Ill. The Lincolns came to Clarys Grove from Rolling Fork, Ky., when young Abe was born. Father Lefever, afterwards Bishop Lefever of Detroit, was in Paris, France, at the time of Lincoln's assassination. To a reporter for the *Monde* published there, he said, "I am pained to hear of poor Lincoln's death." He declared the affair might not have happened, "had he but taken the advice I gave him when he was a boy living in New Salem, to avoid all places of public amusement during the Holy season of Lent. 'Say your beads, Abe,' I told him. Here, now, he had been killed in a theatre on Good Friday. Poor Abe was a good, kind boy. He used to help me fix a place to say Mass. He once made six chairs and gave them to me. After I left there, I lost track of him. I was told he married a Presbyterian and fell away from the religion of his young days, otherwise he would not have been where he was when assassinated. I hope they will get the murderer." Archbishop Ireland of St. Paul, who was a chaplain in the army, said in the *New York Tablet* in 1869 that "Lincoln never denied his religion, but having joined some society condemned by the Church, he naturally fell away." The late Bishop Hogan of Kansas City wrote exhaustively on the subject many years ago and his writings are still preserved in a scrapbook in the Cathedral residence.

Mr. Thomas F. Meehan, whose article on Cornelius Heeney appears in this issue of the *REVIEW*, writes us as follows: "In the very interesting and valuable

list of early Catholic publications contributed by Mr. William Stetson Merrill to the October number of the *Review* there are three titles (pp. 322-323) relating to New York and Boston which he chances as belonging to his list because of the "Irish" names they bear. This chance does not seem to be well taken. The first cited by Mr. Merrill is a broadside printed in New York, January 23, 1769, in which Thomas Randall denies that "Thomas Smith reflected on the Irish at the last election." In 1769, Catholics were not supposed to exist in New York. The historic John Leary then had his leather shop in what is now Cortland Street and tradition says he used to go to Philadelphia to make his Easter duty. Scoville in his *Old Merchants of New York* says: "A man did not dare to say he was a Catholic in those days." Certainly Thomas Randall did not. He probably was one of those legal pirates, master of the privateer *Fox*, and the incident mentioned was merely a local election row. Walter Bassett quotes the text of the broadside and tells of the election in his *Old Merchants of New York*. Also dated 1769, the second of Mr. Merrill's titles is an "Irishman's Petition to the Commissioner of Excise" and signed by Pat. O'Connor, Blaney O'Shea, Carney Macguire and Lawrence Sweeney. There is nothing Catholic about an excise petition and as for the names attached to it, they are no indication of the faith of these signatories in early New York. Such names are often most misleading for that period. The third citation Mr. Merrill makes is that of the book of Statutes, Constitutions, etc. (Boston, 1774-75) of the Friendly Brothers of St. Patrick. There was nothing Catholic but the Saint's name about this society; it was the convivial organization through which the officers of the English army celebrated St. Patrick's day. Each branch was called a "Knot." In the late John D. Crimmins' *Celebrations of St. Patrick's Day in America*, several notices of these celebrations by the "Knots" in New York are quoted (pp. 27-28). All this does not detract in the least from the many other finds Mr. Merrill's industrious researches have so fortunately made for our list of earliest publications."

Historical scholars throughout the United States, but particularly in the Mississippi Valley, will rejoice in the foundation of the Illinois Catholic Historical Society, with headquarters in Chicago. The honorary presidents are the Archbishops and Bishops of the Province of Chicago. Mr. William J. Onahan, a well-known student in American history, has been elected President. The First Vice-President, through whose inspiration the Society mainly came into existence, is the Very Reverend Frederic Siedenburg, S. J., of Loyola University. Particularly gratifying is the announcement of the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, which is to appear quarterly, beginning with April, 1918.

Dr. Cooper's *Analytical and Critical Bibliography of the Tribes of Tierra del Fuego and Adjacent Territory* has drawn considerable attention to the Catholic Missions of that far-away part of the American continent. The natives inhabiting the southern tip of the American continent fall into two groups: the Onas of Tierra del Fuego Island, closely related to the Patagonians; the Yahgans, Alacaluf, and now probably extinct Chonos of the Magellanic and Chonoan

archipelagos, closely related to the modern Botocudos of eastern Brazil and to the archaic race that first peopled the greater part of southern South America. The Fuegians and Botocudos are culturally the most backward peoples on the American continent. The Yahgans are the southernmost inhabitants of America and of the world. The evangelisation of the Chonos was first undertaken by the Jesuit Fathers Melchor de Venegas and Juan Bautista Ferrufino, in 1600, and continued intermittently until the expulsion of the Jesuits from Chile in 1767. English Protestant missionaries began work among the Yahgans in the 'fifties of the last century; the leading figure among these missionaries was the Rev. Thomas Bridges. For the last quarter century the Salesian Fathers have been actively engaged among the Alacaluf and Onas. Anthropology is particularly indebted to the Rev. Thomas Bridges for his linguistic and cultural studies of the Yahgans, and to the Salesians, particularly Fathers José M. Beauvoir and Maggiorino Borgatello, for their valuable contributions to our knowledge of the languages and customs of the Onas and Alacaluf.

Mr. William S. McLaughlin, a well-known student of Catholic history in the Diocese of New York, writes to us: "In your *Notes and Comment* of the January (1918) issue, page 493, there is a notice on Bishop Bruté's MSS. The following letter would indicate that all the papers of the illustrious Bishop were not sent to New York." He copies it as published by the late Martin I. J. Griffin, in July, 1892.

Dear Sir:

The Most Reverend Archbishop being hindered by his many occupations from answering your letter of the 24th of May, has requested me to write to you in his name.

The Papers of the late B^p Bruté were far from being complete when they came into the Archbishop's hands; they have evidently been examined by some one, who had taken from them many important papers, especially those of an historical nature. When the first arrived here, I examined them myself, in the hope of finding important information upon certain matters, to which I had turned my attention—and discovered nothing worth preserving, tho' during his whole life he had employed more or less time in making researches connected with the history of the Catholic Religion in this part of the world. As however I did not examine them particularly in reference to the Indian Missions, there may be some documents connected with them, that I may have overlooked—and I will take an early opportunity of looking them over again, so that if I discover anything to interest you, I will let you know. The Rev. Mr. Shea of the Society of Jesus, has been for some time engaged upon a History of the Jesuit Missions amongst the Indians—and from his particular fitness for the task, as well as the valuable documents in his possession, I have no doubt that it will prove a valuable addition to the early history of our country. The Most Rev'd Archbishop requests me to convey to you his kind regards.

I remain, with sincere Respect,

Very truly yours,

JAS. H. CAUSTEN, JR., ESQ.,
Washington, D. C.

J. B. BAYLEY,
Secretary.

Mr. McLaughlin calls attention to the fact that the Archives in Baltimore should possess a large collection of the Bruté letters. Archbishop Kenrick, for instance, while Bishop of Philadelphia, was the recipient of many letters from Father Bruté. Over the signature "Vincennes," Bishop Bruté wrote a series of letters in the *Catholic Telegraph* relative to the early missions of the Jesuits, from the Lakes to the Mississippi.

The International Mind in the Teaching of History is the title of an appositely written paper by Mary Sibley Evans, in the March number of the *History Teacher's Magazine*. There are four phases, she points out, in the application of the international mind to historical facts. The first concerns itself with *sectionalism* in our country; the second deals with our *provincialism*, or our attitude towards the stranger within our gates; the third concerns itself with our *attitude towards other nations*; and the fourth concerns itself with our *relations with the past*. Our *sectionalism* is a canker at the heart of that fuller and more compact Americanism which is the patriotic ideal of a statesmanlike love of country. "There are still some of us who classify all Northerners as cold and hard; all Southerners as lazy and inefficient; all Westerners as rough and blustering; all Easterners as luxury-loving and degenerate. . . . Rarely, indeed, does the visitor in the Congressional gallery hear a speech which presents the issues and the interests of the country as a whole. He comes away properly depressed by the sectional spirit which prevails in our national law-making body." The Casualty Lists which are coming back from the front ought to have a permanent effect upon the "tragic and undemocratic" self-betrayal of that type of American who speaks in his sorry provincialism of "Wops" and "Dagoes." If those lists are studied the proud Anglo-Saxon must needs ask himself whether in the American army at present his race, which he considers American par excellence is really represented. There is no doubt that the war will affect profoundly our "international mind" on these first two points, but it is highly questionable whether we are prepared by education and by growth for that broader international spirit which will lead us to see straight and true amid the many national antipathies which made up the world before the war. The last phase can be summed up in a few words; courage to see our own precise part in the great stream of political events since the beginning of our history, the relationship between the great movements of the past with our own development, and "the most crying need for the honesty to admit our own sins and shortcomings." Perhaps the skepticism that has come upon us in our endeavor to learn the truth of the present war may arouse us to *tell the truth* to our children about the American Revolution, the War of 1812, the unrighteousness of our war with Mexico over Texas, the horrors of Reconstruction, the appalling dishonesty of the War with Spain, and the crimes that are being committed right now day by day against the poor. But American education from the lowest rung of its hierarchy to the highest is so saturated with fallacies and lies, especially in the story of its origin and its political growth, that the hope for the international mind seems doomed to disappointment. No true and lasting Love of Country can be created outside the School of Truth.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

III. HISTORICAL COMPOSITION

As an introductory chapter to the *Bibliographia Catholica Americana*, projected in these pages in the initial number of the REVIEW, short papers were planned on three main divisions of historical work: namely, *Historical Research* (Historical Bibliography, Auxiliary Sciences, and Historical Method), *Historical Criticism* (Provenance, and Exegesis), and *Historical Composition*. Strictly speaking, Historical Method, which is a more general term for this series of operations, has but two parts—Analysis and Synthesis.

Langlois-Seignobos, for example, in their *Introduction to the Study of History*, have followed this system. Their volume is divided into three Books. The first Book on *Preliminary Studies* introduces the student to the methods of research for documentary material, and to the auxiliary sciences. The second Book, on the *Analytical Operations*, touches upon the following subjects:

Introduction: GENERAL CONDITIONS OF HISTORICAL KNOWLEDGE.

Section I: EXTERNAL CRITICISM.—I. *Textual Criticism.* II. *Critical Investigation of Authorship.* III. *Critical Classification of Sources.* IV. *Critical Scholarship and Scholars.*

Section II: INTERNAL CRITICISM.—I. *Interpretative Criticism* (Hermeneutics). II. *Negative Internal Criticism of the Good Faith and Accuracy of Authors.* III. *Determination of Particular Facts.*

The third Book, entitled *Synthetic Operations*, contains five chapters on the following topics:

I. *General Conditions of Historical Construction.* II. *The Grouping of Facts.* III. *Constructive Reasoning.* IV. *The Construction of General Formulae.* V. *Exposition.*

The work of Historical Composition may be understood to embrace the whole of these synthetical operations, some of which make up the remote preparations for the final draft, and others of which are of proximate value for the same. The remote preparation starts where the process of analysis leaves off. All analysis properly organized begins under definite and almost rigid limitations.¹ These limitations are generally of time, place, and idea. Placing boundaries to the subject beforehand gives a reasonable restraint upon the research-work, especially on the bibliographical field, and at times a limit to the process of critical interpretation. For beginners in the scientific study of history, limitation is one of the surest safeguards. Historical research familiarizes the student with the general and special knowledge necessary for his subject. Historical criticism supplies him for his work with a mass of isolated facts, which have more or less stood the test of investigation. But the net result of these opera-

¹ "The operations of history are so numerous, from the first discovery of the document to the final formula of the conclusion, they require such minute precautions, so great a variety of natural gifts and acquired habits, that there is no man who can perform by himself all the work on any one point."—LANGLOIS-SEIGNOBOS, *op. cit.*, p. 229.

tions is not history. The facts gathered must go through a process of synthesis, before the real work of historical exposition can be started.

It is this process of synthetic operations which we call the remote preparation. The general conditions of historical composition or construction are based upon the principle that "the mode of construction cannot be regulated by the ideal plan of the science we desire to construct; it depends on the materials we have at our disposal. It would be chimerical to formulate a scheme which the materials would not allow us to carry out; it would be like proposing to construct an Eiffel Tower with building-stones."¹ The process of analysis, when completed, may, indeed, "leave the student of history with a body of disjointed and disconnected facts,"² but it is too much to say as Seignobos has done, that the synthetic operations must necessarily begin with "an incoherent mass of minute facts, with detailed knowledge reduced as it were to a powder." The mind cannot help grouping the facts obtained. The limitations which the student places upon his research, gradually bring into relief in his own mind the natural grouping of time, place and idea; and the overlapping which occurs with any one of these three divisions, already starts the loom of history in motion. It is true that the page will lack the one element which makes history readable, that is, reality, unless the facts found are visioned by the student in their original setting. Imagination plays an important part in combining different elements of fact knowledge, and when all the facts at one's command are thus revived, grouping must be done, very largely again under the influence of imagination. The gaps which occur between facts or between groupings of facts call for something more serious than vision. Logic has to be applied, and historical reasoning brought into action. Little by little, classified groupings emerge with more and more distinctness, and from these groupings a species of general reasoning can be drawn which leads up to formulas or conclusions. Hence, the four stages in the process of historical construction: (1) the visioning of the facts; (2) the grouping of facts; (3) constructive reasoning; (4) the construction of general formulae.

All this, however, does not complete the process. This is what Father Fonck, S. J., in the *Travail Scientifique* (p. 141) calls the *mise en oeuvre des materiaux*. So far, the constructive process merely arranges the *materiaux* for the last stage of historical work; namely, Exposition. "A little thought," says Collins, "will show how frequently this last step is left unfinished; how many there are who seem to be able to produce materials for history but not to write history. Nor is it only a question of the possession and the utilization of a good literary style. Many who have this cannot write history, and many who have it not can yet do so; for from this point of view, as we have said already, style is nothing but the vehicle for the presentation of the work to the world after that work is in effect complete. What is really needed is that the facts should be digested and systematised until they have their right perspective and their right proportion: a perspective and proportion which will depend indeed upon the point of view,

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 211.

² COLLINS, *Study of Ecclesiastical History*, p. 51. London, 1903.

but which, when this is once taken up, have a real existence. Then they must be presented in such a way as to form one whole with a unity of its own, just as the elements of a landscape combine to form one whole, or as the elements of a picture ought to combine to form one whole."⁴

Exposition can be said to demand mainly three things: a *plan*, *sincerity*, and a *power of expression*.

The materials at one's command and the purpose in view will naturally dominate the plan of the work. There must be a well-balanced proportion between the materials and the viewpoint. The viewpoint in historical writing has undergone changes, and historians have not all the same conception of the end aimed at by historical work. Hence the "mode of writing history" is not and has not been a constant one. The three main schools of historiography are the *narrative*, the *didactic*, and the *genetic*. The narrative school of historians has as its aim "to preserve the memory and propagate the knowledge of glorious deeds, or of events which were of importance to a man, a family, or a people."⁵ So much religious history is still written from this standpoint that its value has little that is permanent. This is the easiest kind of history to compose, for the chronological "mode" usually provides a cloak for large gaps in historical facts and in historical reasoning. Most Church Histories are written in the simple narrative style with an occasional skirmish into the didactic. When facts are selected because they are useful in business, in politics, in religion, or in education, or when the search is for precedents to enlighten statesmen or churchmen, for arguments to support a cause or a theory, or for ethical ideals to surprise the world, then we have the so-called didactic conception of history.⁶ Herodotus is called the founder of narrative history; Thucydides, the father of pragmatic or didactic history. "For more than two thousand years after Herodotus and Thucydides," writes Johnson, "the narrative and the didactic types of history seemed to exhaust the possibilities of historical construction. The particular forms which they assumed, the particular kinds of facts which they celebrated, the particular kinds of lessons or precedents which they sought to impress, the particular philosophies which they invoked to explain events were bewildering in their variety, but the general types persisted."⁷ In its narrative and didactic forms, history was considered more as a branch of literature than as a distinct science with its own laws and customs. A change came about the middle of the nineteenth century, when the strict methods of procedure in other sciences were applied to history. This has given rise to the science of historical research, and of historical criticism. It has also brought into being a new type of historical composition—the historical monograph with all its scientific apparatus of notes, references, and *pièces justificatives*. This third school which cannot be said to dominate history writing outside the Universities, is the genetic or development school. Its cornerstone is criticism, and it is this all-ruling fact which keeps it

⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 63-64.

⁵ LANGLOIS-SCHWENK, *op. cit.*, p. 297.

⁶ JOHNSON, *Teaching of History*, p. 17. New York, 1916.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, pp. 22-23.

from becoming popular. "Uncritical histories of the narrative and didactic types are still being produced. There are still those who demand that history shall first of all be literature. There are others, the majority of schoolmasters among them, who demand that history shall first of all be lessons in moral or patriotism, or social service. There are others, and here must be included a large part of the legion described as 'the general reading public,' who demand of history only that it shall be interesting. *To many of these the very idea of scientific history with its destructive criticism, its denial of the right of personal bias, and its sober gray of fact, amounting in many cases to a mere balancing of probabilities without definite conclusions, is somewhat repugnant.*"⁸

Scientific history has called itself too often evolutionary history or history acting under the principles of evolution, and has appeared too often as if guided by some of the false standards of "Higher Criticism," for it to be given the place of honor among those who see in Church history something just as important as the accurate narration of human events. The ecclesiastical historian cannot hold fast to the aim which should be present in his work, if the genetic mode alone be followed. Events are to be related, it is true, with the strictest accuracy possible, and general formulæ or conclusions are only to be drawn in strict conformity with the rules of logic; but beyond this comes the moral lesson for the present and the future. The mere recital of the discovery of America, the story of its colonisation, its birth as a nation, its wars, and its progress, is not American history. There must be running through the pages of the book we put in the hands of our children the living fire of love for their country, of admiration for the great men of the past, of honest appreciation of the shabby side of our history, and above all the spirit of patriotic purpose in the upbuilding of their character as citizens of the land. No less and no more is asked of Church history. Honesty, sincerity, and impartiality must never be absent from the narrative. The lessons drawn from the past must never be exaggerated—*quod nimis probat, nihil probat*. But in every case the facts offered must be substantiated by sources which have stood the test of criticism. History is one of the greatest teachers of truth. It gives *great principles* by which to judge events, and in the light of these principles a triple result is bound to arise: an admiration for the Church that is full of childlike love and loyalty; and assurance of mind that is undismayed however grievous the accusations brought against the Church, even should these accusations be true; and the possession of a clue to the right understanding of problems connected with the Church in the present day. It gives also a *width of outlook and sympathy* that leads to the cultivation of the mind.⁹

The term: power of expression, so far as historical writing is concerned, is not synonymous with rhetoric. It is far better to present a subject with truth, clearness, and precision, unadorned by the art of rhetoric than a well-written essay filled with inaccuracies and faulty conclusions. Rhetoric is not to be despised, but if the style is exact, clear, moderate, in good taste, and elegant, and if the reader realizes that the principal thing which has guided his author is love for the

⁸ Johnson, *op cit.*, p. 27.

⁹ Cf. *The Teaching of Church History in Catholic Girls' Schools*, by a Religious of the Sacred Heart, pp. 10-13. Roshampton (London), 1917.

truth, the work in question is not far from perfection. James F. Rhodes, in his paper *Concerning the Writing of History*,¹⁰ lays stress on originality: "An historian, to make a mark, must show some originality somewhere in his work." The best originality in the field of historical writing, now, as ever in the past, is the originality which seeks the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but what will clarify the truth. In the long dynasty of historians from Herodotus to our own day, very few deserve the *tulit praeemium* for sheer honesty.

¹⁰ *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, Vol. I (1900), pp. 51-65.

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CATHOLIC EXPLORERS AND PIONEERS OF ILLINOIS

I

"After forty leagues on this same route [the Wisconsin], we reached the mouth of our river, and finding ourselves at $42\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ N. we safely entered the Mississippi on the 17th of June (1673) with a joy that I cannot express."¹ First of all white men, Father Marquette, in company with the Sieur Jolliet and five more Frenchmen, discovered the mysterious river. He and his brother missionaries had heard wonderful accounts of it from the Illinois and Sioux tribes who came to trade with the French at the mission of La Pointe du St. Esprit on Lake Superior. The one wish uppermost in his heart for a long time was gratified at last. He had opened up a new empire for Christ and for his countrymen. In accordance with a promise made at the outset of his voyage, he gave the great waterway the name of "River of the Immaculate Conception."²

While the party floated down the gentle current in their two birch bark canoes, Marquette notes attentively all the peculiarities of this renowned stream and sketches them for us in that unadorned style so befitting the rugged primeval scenery. The flora and fauna, the mineral deposits and the fertile prairie—nothing escaped his trained eye. "Proceeding south and southwest, we find ourselves at 41° north, then at 40° and some minutes,

¹ J. G. SHEA, *Discovery and Exploration of the Miss. Valley*, p. 16. Although the Spaniards may have known the river, the most diligent research has failed to bring to light any documents attesting beyond doubt that they explored it to any extent. For a status of the controversy, see: SHEA, *op. cit.*, p. 7; PARKMAN, *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West*, p. 3ff.

² SHEA, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

partly by southeast and partly by southwest, after having advanced more than sixty leagues since entering the river without discovering anything. At last, on the 25th of June we perceived footprints of men by the waterside and a beaten path entering a beautiful prairie. Mr. Jolliet and I followed the little path in silence and having advanced about two leagues, we discovered a village on the banks of the river, and two others on a hill, half a league from the former. Then, indeed, we recommended ourselves to God with all our hearts, and having implored his help, we passed on undiscovered and came so near that we even heard the Indians talking. We then deemed it time to announce ourselves as we did by a cry which we raised with all our strength, and then halted without advancing any further. At this cry the Indians rushed out of their cabins, and having probably recognized us as French, especially seeing a black gown, they deputed four old men to come and speak with us—I spoke to them first and asked them who they were. They answered that they were *Illinois*, and in token of peace they presented their pipes to smoke. They then invited us to their village, where all the tribe awaited us with impatience.”³

At the door of the cabin in which they were to be received stood an old man. When they came near him he paid them this compliment: “How beautiful is the sun, O Frenchman, when thou comest to visit us! All our town awaits thee, and thou shalt enter all our cabins in peace.” He then took them into his, where there was a crowd of people who devoured the strangers with their eyes but kept a profound silence. They heard, however, these words occasionally addressed to them: “Well done, brothers, to visit us.”

At the northern trading posts the *Illinois* had expressly invited Marquette to visit them. Now he was with them in their native habitat. Complacently he goes on to describe his reception, the flowery Indian speeches of welcome, the feasts at which “the master of ceremonies presented a spoonful of sagamity three or four times to my mouth as we would do with a child;” their calumet dance, their language.⁴ And his account is flattering. “To say

³ SHEA, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-22.

⁴ SHEA, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-24.

'Illinois' is in their language to say 'the men,' as if other Indians compared to them were mere beasts. And it must be admitted that they have an air of humanity that we had not remarked in the other nations that we had seen on the way."⁵ The travelers slept in the sachem's cabin, and the next day they took leave of him, promising to pass back through his town in four moons. Marquette added that he would return the next year to stay with them and instruct them in the faith.

Tarrying no longer, the voyagers pursued their course southward as far as the mouth of the Arkansas. By this time there was no longer any doubt that the Mississippi emptied, not into "the Virginia Sea," nor into the "Red Sea" and the Pacific, but into the Gulf of Mexico. The great object of their adventurous trip had been attained. Fearing to fall into the hands of the Spaniards whom they knew not to be far off, they retraced their steps. On the 17th of July they began to reascend the river, which gave them great trouble in stemming its current. But instead of taking their original route to the northward, they left the Mississippi to enter the Illinois river, which greatly shortened their way and brought them with little trouble to the "Lake of the Illinois."⁶ "We had seen nothing like this river for the fertility of the land, its prairies, woods, wild cattle, stags, deer, wild cats, bustards, swans, ducks, parrots, and even beaver; its many little lakes and rivers. That on which we sailed is broad, deep and gentle for 65 leagues . . . We found there an Illinois town called Kaskaskia, composed of seventy-four cabins. They received us well and compelled me to promise to return and instruct them. One of the chiefs of this tribe with the young men escorted us to the Illinois lake, whence at last we returned at the close of September to the bay of the Fetid [Green Bay] whence we had set out in the beginning of June. Had all this voyage caused but the salvation of a single soul, I should deem all my fatigue well repaid. And this I have reason to think, for when I was returning, I passed by the Indians of Peoria. I was

⁵ SHEA, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

⁶ The present Lake Michigan was called by this earlier name, not after the Illinois tribe of Indians who never lived on its shores, but probably because through it lay the direct route to the Illinois villages which Father Marquette was now the first to visit.

three days announcing the faith in all their cabins, after which, as we were embarking, they brought me to the water's edge a dying child which I baptized a little before it expired by an admirable Providence for the salvation of that innocent soul."⁷

The long trip of fully 2,700 miles had overtaxed Marquette's strength and he was detained for a whole year at the mission of St. Francis Xavier, Green Bay. In September, 1674, he had sufficiently recovered to enable him to keep his promise to the Illinois. Having drawn up and sent to his superiors copies of his journal down the Mississippi,⁸ he set out on October 25. Slowly his party advanced by land and by water, frequently arrested by the state of Lake Michigan. On November 23, he was again seized with his old malady, but he pushed on and by December 4, had reached the Chicago river. Intending to portage from there to the Illinois he was forced to winter at the portage, and his journal, published for the first time by Shea,⁹ gives us a vivid glimpse of the explorer's hardihood and the missionary's undaunted courage. Despairing of human remedies, he began a novena to the Blessed Virgin. His strength returned and on the 25th of March, 1675, he set out again on his long interrupted voyage. On the 8th of April he reached the town of the Indians on the Illinois and began his work of evangelization in earnest. On Holy Thursday he said Mass and then again on Easter Sunday, and by these two sacred rites, the first ever offered up to God on the soil of Illinois, he took possession of all that country in the name of Jesus Christ and gave his mission the name of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin.¹⁰ Compelled to leave, he desired to die amid his brethren at Michilimackinac and tried to reach it by following the eastern, to him unknown, shore of Lake Michigan. His strength was spent, and he died in the wilderness on May 18, 1675.¹¹

But his work did not die with him. The white man's labor

⁷ SHEA, *op. cit.*, pp. 51, 52.

⁸ The Sieur Jolliet had already left for Canada with his maps and a detailed log of their trip down the river. But all his papers were lost when he suffered shipwreck on the St. Lawrence. Hence the great historical value attaching to Fr. Marquette's recital, the only one in existence.

⁹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 258ff.

¹⁰ SHEA, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

¹¹ *Op. cit.*, p. xxi.

in Illinois had just begun. Father Allouez soon took up the burden. He embarked about the close of October, 1676, in a canoe with two men to endeavor to go and winter with the Illinois. But the ice stopped him, and it was only in April, 1677, that he reached his destination and found himself a most welcome visitor among the Kaskaskias,¹² the Illinois tribe already visited by Marquette. They had gathered around them seven more tribes from the surrounding territory. He had little time to remain, having come mainly to acquire the necessary information for the establishment of a permanent mission. He baptized thirty-five children and one sick adult, who soon after died with one of the infants "to go and take possession of heaven in the name of the whole nation. And we, too, to take possession of these tribes in the name of Jesus Christ, on the third of May, the feast of the Holy Cross, erected in the midst of the town a cross 25 feet high, chanting the *Vexilla Regis* in the presence of a great number of Illinois of all tribes, of whom I can say in truth that they did not take Jesus Christ Crucified for a folly nor for a scandal; on the contrary, they witnessed the ceremony with great respect and heard all that I said on the mystery with great admiration. The children even went to kiss the cross through devotion and the old earnestly commended me to place it well so that it would not fall."

Leaving the tribes for a short while, he returned in 1678. But it was bruited about that a new explorer was on his way to the Illinois country, a man rather prejudiced against Allouez and whom the latter did not wish to meet. He retired from his mission, visiting it only at intervals up to 1689, the year in which he probably died.¹³

¹² SHEA, *op. cit.*, p. 74 note, judging from the latitude given by Allouez, thinks they must have been established near "Rockfort." Identification of the site would be difficult had not later investigations shown that they must have dwelt near "Rock Fort," the later Fort St. Louis of La Salle or the present "Starved Rock." OSMAN, *Starved Rock*, p. 194. The tribe figures quite largely in subsequent Illinois history, and was, in common with other Indian tribes, of migratory habits. Fr. Membre (SHEA, *op. cit.*, p. 150) in 1680 places them above the river Checagoumement or Chicago. Later on we find them definitely settled on the Mississippi, in southern Illinois, where they gave their name to a village that was for a time the capital of Illinois.

¹³ SHEA, *op. cit.*, p. 70 note.

The much heralded and hardy explorer whom Allouez feared was none other than his countryman, Robert Cavelier de la Salle, to whom Illinois is indebted for its first regularly established colonies of white men.

With him also came other missionaries, the Recollects, to take the place of the Jesuits, whom La Salle unjustly accused of dark intrigues to ruin his projects.¹⁴ At this point a new era opens in the history of Illinois and the whole Mississippi valley. Coureurs de bois, whites and half breeds, had traversed the country back and forth, bent only on profitable trade with the Indians and leaving no records behind them. But now an organized attempt was set on foot, with the support of the home government, to evangelize, civilize and settle the vast western lands for the benefit of France. It speaks volumes for the spirit of daring adventure and enterprise of the French that they should contemplate and carry to conclusion this stupendous enterprise. And circumstances favored them. In the opening of the North American continent the Frenchman had this great advantage over some of his rivals, that he entered the land from the right direction and at a very strategic point. The first important expedition which the French sent out to the New World, that of Jacques Cartier in 1534, brought them at once to the mouth of the St. Lawrence and set them on the most inviting part of the vast interior. As a consequence of this, and of the further fact that by nature the Frenchmen who came to America were of a more roving disposition than the English, their explorations moved much more rapidly. They covered the ground a score of times and had ranged and mapped the country continuously from Labrador to the Gulf of Mexico, before the English yet knew the upper course of the St. James, the Hudson and the Connecticut.¹⁵

La Salle's projects were of truly imperial scope. Armed with letters patent from Louis XIV, king of France, he set out from Fort Frontenac on the St. Lawrence in 1678. Pushing on with iron determination, he was soon on the Niagara river, where his first vessel, the *Griffin*, was launched in August, 1679. He destined it for the Lakes' trade. With him were the Flemish

¹⁴ PAREMAN, *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West*, p. 238 note. For a fine sketch of the explorer's character, see *ibid.*, p. 430.

¹⁵ F. A. Ogg, *The Opening of the Mississippi*, pp. 183-184.

Recollect friars: Louis Hennepin, Gabriel de la Ribourde, Melithon Watteau, Zenobius Membré. Father Hennepin had recently discovered Niagara Falls, the first white man to behold them in all their pristine glory. Greater work was in store for this hardy pioneer. La Salle's company also included the faithful Henry de Tonty who was to distinguish himself on many occasions, besides carpenters, blacksmiths and other tradesmen. On the Illinois river he intended to build another craft for trade on these waters.

Setting out from Michilimackinac, La Salle came down the western shore of the lake and skirted its southern extremity to the St. Joseph river, where Tonty and his party were to join him by descending the eastern shore. They met in November. On December 3, they embarked, thirty-three in all, in eight canoes, and there ascended the St. Joseph. On approaching the site of the present city of South Bend, they looked anxiously on the shore on their right to find the portage leading to the headwaters of the Illinois. With the help of a Mohican Indian in the party it was found, and shouldering their canoes and baggage, they traveled five miles over oozy soil to the Kankakee river. Soon they were once more afloat, and found themselves drifting into the Seignelay or Illinois. The prairies, stretching far and wide, looked bleak and desolate; but they gave evidence of supporting immense herds of buffalo whose skins were to afford La Salle the wherewithal to continue his explorations. Starved Rock, steep and forbidding, towered along the left bank, while on the right was the great Illinois village where Father Marquette had preached in 1675. The camp was lifeless, since the inhabitants had not returned from their winter hunting. La Salle's party was short of food, and at the risk of incurring the wrath of the Indians, they opened their caches of corn, helping themselves to whatever they needed, and leaving presents instead. Thus secured against famine, they set out once more on their downward journey.

On New Year's Day, 1680, they landed and heard Mass said by Father Hennepin, who addressed the men, exhorting them to patience, faith and constancy. On January 5, they reached the long expansion of the river called Pimiteoui or Peoria Lake and leisurely made their way to the site of the present city of Peoria. A trail of smoke betokened the presence of Indians. The shores

approached each other, and the Illinois was once more a river. At 9 o'clock the next morning, doubling a point, La Salle saw about eighty Illinois wigwams on both banks. The Indians were ready to swoop down upon the intruders, but La Salle at the head of a few armed men made a daring sally right in their midst which brought forth the calumet of peace. Food was placed before them, and, as the Illinois code of courtesy enjoined, their entertainers conveyed the morsels with their own hands to the lips of the unenviable victims of their hospitality, while others rubbed their feet with bear's grease. La Salle promised to defend them against their deadly enemies, the Iroquois, if they would allow him to build a post among them and a great wooden canoe to descend the Mississippi to the sea and bring them the goods they wanted and needed. The Illinois were well disposed, but Indian intriguers from other camps appeared during the night to undo his work, and so terrified became some of his men at the risk they faced in the wilderness that they deserted under cover of darkness.¹⁶

La Salle now resolved to leave the Indian camp to fortify himself for the winter in a strong position. About the middle of January a thaw broke up the ice and, together with Hennepin, he set out in a canoe to visit the site he had chosen for his projected fort. It was half a league below the Indian camp, on a knoll 200 yards from the southern bank. On either side was a deep ravine, and in front a marshy tract overflowed at high water. Under his direction his men dug a ditch behind the hill connecting the two ravines and thus completely isolating it. An embankment of earth was thrown up on every side while a palisade twenty-five feet high was planted around the whole. The lodgings of the men were at two of the angles; the house of the friars, Hennepin, Ribourde, Membré, at the third; the forge and magazine at the fourth, and the tents of La Salle and Tonty in the area within. Father Hennepin laments the failure of wine which prevented him from saying Mass, but every morning and evening he gathered the men in his cabin for prayers and preaching, and on Sundays and festivals they chanted vespers. Father Membré usually spent his days in the Indian camp striving to win them to the faith and

¹⁶ PARKMAN, *La Salle*, p. 172.

to overcome the disgust with which their manners and habits inspired him.¹⁷

Such was the first white occupation of the region which now forms the state of Illinois. La Salle christened the new fort Fort Crêvecœur. The name tells of disaster and suffering in the past and was prophetic of the future. But nothing could ever daunt the iron-hearted constancy of the sufferer. The ship he had set out to build at Fort Crêvecœur could not be finished. Of his Niagara vessel, the *Griffin*, he received no tidings. Harassed by anxieties and by his creditors, he resolved on a trip to Montreal in the middle of the winter. He set out, and in sixty-five days he traveled over 1,000 miles, truly "the most arduous trip ever made by Frenchmen in America."¹⁸ Before leaving, he had ordered Father Hennepin to explore the Illinois to the Mississippi,¹⁹ thus to prepare the way for him. Hennepin left Fort Crêvecœur where the hardy and faithful Tonty remained as commander, on February 29, 1680. He arrived at the mouth of the river about March 8. Leaving on March 12, he canoed up the Mississippi, whose northern course he was the first white man to explore, as far as the Falls of St. Anthony. Taken a prisoner by the Sioux on April 11, he underwent great hardships and was in constant danger of his life. Rescued by Duluth in July, 1681, he proceeded to Montreal and to Europe, never to return.²⁰

The vicissitudes of the two other missionary priests in the party are thus detailed by Father Membre: "From our arrival at Fort Crêvecœur on the 14th of January, Father Gabriel, our superior, Father Louis and myself had raised a cabin in which we had established some little regularity, exercising our functions as missionaries to the French of our party and to the Illinois Indians

¹⁷ His narrative is given in SHEA, *op. cit.*, p. 147*ff.* The first impression which the missionaries received on coming in contact with the Illinois was very favorable, as Father Marquette testifies. But on closer acquaintance it underwent a great change: Fr. Membre, in SHEA, p. 15. Unflagging zeal overcame all obstacles and after a few years Christianity found in them submissive subjects. Father Marest, writing in 1712 (SHEA, *op. cit.*, note, p. 25) has nothing but praise for them. The labor and devotion that produced these results can only be imagined.

¹⁸ PARKMAN, p. 189.

¹⁹ SHEA, pp. 107*ff.*

²⁰ Fr. Hennepin published a twofold account of his explorations and adventures; one in 1684 and one in 1697. The latter was also published in England in 1699. He has been mercilessly attacked and exposed by all historians for his untruthfulness and dishonest literary methods. SHEA, pp. 99*ff.*; PARKMAN, pp. 242*ff.*

who came in crowds. As by the end of February, I already knew a part of their language, because I spent the whole of the day in the Indian camp which was but half a league off, our father superior appointed me to follow them when they were about to return to their village. A chief named Oumahouha had adopted me as his son in the Indian fashion, and Mr. de la Salle had made him presents to take care of me. Father Gabriel resolved to stay at the fort with the Sieur de Tonty and the workmen. This had also been the request of the Sieur de la Salle, who hoped that by his credit and the apparent confidence of the people in him he would be able to keep them in order. But God permitted that the good intentions in which the Sieur de la Salle left them should not last long."²¹

Indeed, shortly after La Salle's and Hennepin's departure nearly all the men at Fort Crèvecoeur mutinied and deserted, plundering the magazine and throwing into the river all the arms, goods and stores which they could not carry off. The space of three months saw the beginning and the end of the first white colony in Illinois.²²

²¹ SHEA, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

²² PARKMAN, *op. cit.*, p. 199, says they destroyed the fort. But Fr. Membré makes no mention of this when relating the incident of their desertion, and later on he expressly states that they found it intact on their return; SHEA, p. 166. Fort Crèvecoeur, however, seems to have played no further rôle of importance in Illinois history. In the later letters of missionaries mention is made several times of "the fort." In his edition of the *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, Dr. Thwaites notes that "Fort Crèvecoeur" is meant: Vol. lxiv, pp. 161, 201, 203; also Vol. lxvi, p. 287, in a letter of Fr. Marest, November, 1712. But the description of Fr. Marest makes it clear that he means "Fort St. Louis" built by La Salle and Tonty farther to the north in December, 1682. Fr. Marest tells us that he came by way of the St. Joseph river, portaging from there to the Kankakee: "The Peoria savages came some leagues to meet me. When I drew near the village, the greater part of the men ascended to the Fort which is placed upon a rock on the bank of the river." That can be true only of Fort St. Louis. Father Marest also mentions that he gathered the Indians together in the chapel "outside the fort." There was a chapel outside of Fort St. Louis, but there was none at Fort Crèvecoeur. OSMAN, *Starved Rock*, p. 139. Confusion with regard to these two forts of La Salle seems to have originated very early. Franquelin's famous map of 1684 shows in detail the "Colonie du Sieur de la Salle," but only Fort St. Louis is indicated thereon. (PARKMAN, *op. cit.*, p. 315.) His map of 1688 shows also Fort Crèvecoeur. Popples' map, undated, in the British Museum, made about the year 1700, shows Fort St. Louis and Fort Crèvecoeur at the same place. An old French Official Map, in the British Museum, dated 1718, has: Fort Louis, appelé cy devant Fort Crèvecoeur. On Tillman's map, 1688, only Fort de Crèvecoeur is given. Copies of these maps may be found in: J. F. STEWARD, *Lost Maramech and Earliest Chicago*, 1903.

Father Ribourde and Henry de Tonty followed Father Membré to the great Illinois village, where in September, 1680, took place one of the fiercest dramas of savage warfare ever witnessed on Illinois territory. The bloodthirsty Iroquois, instigated by Dutch and English traders in the east who wished them to get a monopoly in the western fur country, wreaked an awful vengeance on the Illinois, destroying all they found and venting even their insatiable fury on the interred bodies of the tribe's dead.²² Seeing themselves abandoned by the terror-stricken and fleeing Illinois, Tonty, the two fathers and their handful of men, "left alone, exposed to the fury of a savage and victorious enemy, were not long in resolving to retreat." They began their march on September 18, without provisions, food or anything, in a wretched bark canoe, which, breaking the next day, compelled them to land about noon to repair it. "Father Gabriel, seeing the place of our landing fit for walking in the prairies and hills with little groves as if planted by hand, retired to say his breviary while we were working at the canoe all the rest of that day. We were full eight leagues from the village ascending the river. Toward evening I went to look for the father, seeing that he did not return; all our party did the same. We fired repeatedly to direct him, but in vain." He had been murdered by some roving Kickapoo braves, who carried off his scalp. On September 19, 1680, the first martyr of the faith was killed on Illinois soil, and Father Membré pays him a simple but fitting and heartfelt tribute.²⁴ The little party of white men fled as fast as circumstances permitted. "I made shoes for my companions and myself of Father Gabriel's cloak," notes Father Membré,²⁵ and they supported the remnant of a languishing life by potatoes and garlick and other roots that they found by scraping the ground with their fingers. After thirty-four days of starvation they arrived at Green Bay, where the Jesuits received them kindly and kept them through the winter.

La Salle had returned in the meantime, found the great Illinois village in ruins and gone north to spend the winter on the St. Joseph. In the spring he traveled to Mackinack, where Membré joined him, and together they traveled to Fort Fron-

²² See details in SHEA, *op. cit.*, *Membré's Narrative*, pp. 154ff; also PARKMAN, p. 217.

²⁴ SHEA, pp. 158-159.

²⁵ SHEA, p. 159.

tenac. Thence they set out shortly, La Salle more determined than ever to explore the Mississippi to the gulf. On November 3, 1681, they were once more on the St. Joseph river, a party of fifty-four persons, including ten Indian squaws and three children. Membré and Tonty were detached with some men to skirt Lake Dauphin (Michigan), to go to "the divine river, called by the Indians, Checagou,"²⁶ to make necessary arrangements for the voyage. Once more they were on Illinois soil where so many disappointments had fallen to their lot. On December 27, they made a portage to the Illinois river with the help of sleighs. They had to drag their canoes and baggage 80 leagues on the river ice. Traversing the great Illinois town, they found it empty, the inhabitants having gone to winter 30 leagues lower down on Lake Pimiteoui (Peoria), where Fort Crêvecœur was found in good state. From here on they found navigation open. Embarking in their canoes, they reached the mouth of the river on February 6. The floating ice on the Mississippi kept them at this place until February 13, when they set out again, reaching the Gulf at last on April 9, 1682. "With all possible solemnity," relates Father Membré, the only one of the original band of missionaries to share to the end in the glorious quest, "we performed the ceremony of planting the cross and raising the arms of France. After we had chanted the hymn of the Church: *Vexilla Regis*, and the *Te Deum*, the Sieur de la Salle, in the name of His Majesty, took possession of that river, of all the rivers that enter it, and all the country watered by them."²⁷ A truly imperial domain, christened Louisiana and containing about a million and a quarter square miles! Yet Louis XIV, when the matter had been reported to him, wrote to Fontainebleau, his governor in Canada: "I am convinced that the discovery of the Sieur de la Salle is very useless, and that such enterprises ought to be prevented in the future, as they tend only to debauch the inhabitants by the hope of gain, and to diminish the revenue from beaver skins!"²⁸

²⁶ PARKMAN, p. 167, note, says that the "Kankakee" was called also the "divine river" and that the name was applied at times to the whole course of the Illinois. Membré (SHEA, p. 166) expressly states that the name "divine river" was given to a stream called by the Indians "Checagou." The origin and meaning of the French name, *Rivière de la Divine*, has thus far not been accounted for.

²⁷ SHEA, p. 174.

²⁸ OGG, *op. cit.*, p. 324.

La Salle had found the much desired outlet for his ambitious colonial enterprise that was to center in the Illinois country. Thither he intended to return at once since food was very scarce. Father Membré graphically describes their plight: "We were out of provision and food and found only some dried meat at the mouth (of the river) which we took to appease our hunger; but soon after, perceiving it to be *human flesh*, we left the rest to our Indians. *It was very good and delicate!*"²⁹

The day after the solemn "prise de possession," on April 10, they began to remount the river, living only on potatoes and crocodiles (alligators). La Salle was taken dangerously ill 100 leagues below the mouth of the Illinois river, and Father Membré attended him. Tonty in the meanwhile was despatched to the Illinois to set everything in order there for a new colony. At the end of July, La Salle was once more able to travel by slow journeys, and at the end of September, 1682, he was back on the St. Joseph river. A report reached him that the Iroquois were once more on the warpath, and he hastened to rejoin Tonty on the Illinois, on the site of the great town wiped out by them shortly before. Starved Rock was chosen as the easiest place to fortify against the inroads of the savages and there in the month of December, La Salle and Tonty began to intrench themselves, calling it Fort St. Louis. The trees were cut down and the timber used for storehouses and dwellings and a chapel, while the whole was encircled with palisades. On the open prairie stretching on all sides, a concourse of Indians of all tribes soon gathered, and La Salle, in a report to the Minister of the Marine, puts their number at 4,000 warriors or about 20,000 souls. A small number of whites received grants of land to cultivate around the fort, and the colony was prosperous in a short time. Trouble, however, was again pursuing La Salle. His friend and supporter, Count Frontenac, had been removed as governor of Canada, and De la Barre, his bitter opponent, appointed instead. Leaving Tonty in command of Fort St. Louis, La Salle decided to go to Quebec and to France, while De la Barre sent the Chevalier de Baugis to seize the colony and take possession of the fort.

La Salle was never to return to the Illinois country for which

²⁹ SHEA, p. 175.

he had done so much. He obtained permission from the king to equip an expedition to reach the Mississippi from the Gulf. He was determined to establish a direct all-water trade route between his Illinois colony and France that would enable him to avoid forever his Canadian persecutors and rivals. The expedition failed miserably and La Salle was assassinated in 1687.³⁰

Henry de Tonty, forcibly ejected from Fort St. Louis of the Illinois, had no sooner heard of La Salle's plight in Texas than he left his fortified rock in February 13, 1686, to go to his rescue. He failed to find him at the mouth of the Mississippi and returned to the Illinois. On September 14, 1686, the remnant of La Salle's unhappy expeditionary party reached Fort St. Louis and repaired to the chapel to sing a fervent *Te Deum* in thanksgiving for their preservation.³¹ There were two priests in the party, Father Cavelier, a Sulpitian and La Salle's brother, and Father Anastase Douay, a Recollect. The Jesuit, Father Allouez, was lying ill at the fort. By common agreement of the survivors, the death of La Salle had been concealed from everyone for fear that it might cause a relaxation of discipline, and Father Allouez, supposing, as did all the others, that he was on his way to Fort St. Louis, was deeply agitated and left a week later very precipitately and for the second time to avoid a meeting with him. The survivors intended to return to Quebec in all haste, and made their way across country to Chicago. They were unable to go any farther because of severe storms and returned to Fort St. Louis in October. They wintered there and set out again on March 21, 1687, reaching Chicago on March 29. They arrived in France early in October. Abbé Cavelier made a report of the expedition to the minister, Seignelay, and addressed to the king a memorial on the importance of keeping possession of the Illinois country. La Salle's far-seeing mind had not deceived him, and he knew the importance of the Illinois country if France was to retain the immense colonial domain that had become French by right of discovery. But the rulers at Versailles, lacking his

³⁰ PARKMAN, p. 459.

³¹ Thus Joutel's account. Father Anastasius Douay, whose account of the adventurous trip is printed by SHEA, p. 224, as written originally by Father Christian Le Clerc, states that they went to "Fort Crèvecoeur." But this is undoubtedly a mistake, as there is no trace of any white colony left at Fort Crèvecoeur after it had been abandoned by La Salle: see note 22 above.

knowledge, relaxed their hold. And the death of La Salle closes the first and most brilliant chapter in the history of the exploration, christianization and civilization of Illinois. It is a history full of deeds of daring by Frenchmen and Catholics, missionaries and laymen alike.

The well-nigh inexhaustible resources of the country had barely been touched. The colony at Fort St. Louis was big with promises for a bright future. When its builder and guiding genius passed away, it held its own only for a short while. The injustice done to Tonty by his forcible ejection was repaired, and a royal decree made him co-proprietor of the fort with La Forest, La Salle's lieutenant. Once more he set out from there in December, 1688, on hearing of La Salle's death, to go to the rescue of his Texas colony, but he found that the few Frenchmen left there had been massacred by the Indians. Tonty was forced to retrace his steps, and reached his post on the Illinois in September, 1689. He is one of the great figures in French-American history, although no biography has ever been written to do justice to his merits. He kept on trading at his Fort of St. Louis until in 1702 a royal order sent him to reside on the Mississippi. The establishment on the Illinois was to be discontinued. Tonty joined d'Iberville in lower Louisiana. But Fort St. Louis was too valuable a center to be entirely abandoned, and the French reoccupied it again. In 1718, a number of them were living there, chiefly traders. In 1721, however, it was once more deserted, and Father Charlevoix, passing the spot, saw only the remains of its palisades. Its history of well-nigh forty years, however, had put the white man in permanent control of Illinois. And while French influence waned in the north, it had been quietly growing farther down to the south, along the eastern bank of the Mississippi, until it became a decisive factor in bringing the whole of the Illinois territory into the American Union.

II

The scene of history now shifts to the "American Bottom," a strip of land in southwestern Illinois, extending from opposite the mouth of the Missouri for about 100 miles to the point where the Kaskaskia river formerly emptied its waters into the Mississippi.²²

²² A good description of the country is given by Prof. Alvord in *Ill. Hist. Collections*, Vol. ii., pp. 23ff.

The great fertility of the land soon attracted the white settlers, but not until the Catholic missionary had preceded and shown the way. There Father Pierre François Pinet³³ came to preach to the Indians shortly before 1700. He was born in Perigueux, France, November 11, 1660. He came to Canada as a Jesuit in 1694, and to Illinois in 1696, founding the mission of the Guardian Angel at Chicago among the Miami bands located there. But the mission was broken up the following year when Father Pinet left. One or two years later he returned to Illinois and went to the Tamaroas, an Illinois tribe on the Mississippi not far from the mouth of the Missouri in what was later known as the "American Bottom." There Father Gravier saw him in 1700 "performing in peace all the duties of a missionary."³⁴ The Cahokia tribe of Illinois Indians joined the Tamaroas, and the settlement became known later on as the village of Cahokia, still in existence.³⁵

Shortly afterward the Kaskaskia tribe decided to remove from their old home on the Illinois, near Starved Rock. There Father Gravier had ministered to them and to other tribes that had gathered around Fort St. Louis, notably the Peorias, since March, 1684. The mission bore the title of the Immaculate Conception. About 1,700 of the tribe decided to settle near d'Iberville, Louisiana, but Father Gravier succeeded in dissuading them, and induced them to locate in the southern part of the "American Bottom." There the new mission of Kaskaskia was begun, again under the title of the Immaculate Conception.³⁶

³³ THWAITES, *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. lxiv, p. 278

³⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. lxv, p. 103.

³⁵ By letters patent of May, 1699, St. Vallier deprived the Jesuits of this mission, bestowing it upon priests sent out by the "Séminaire des Missions Étrangères" of Quebec. This proceeding was strongly opposed by the Jesuits and they did not consent to the change until 1701. Meanwhile Father Pinet remained with the Tamaroas until probably the spring of 1702 and then labored among the Kaskaskias. He died in Cahokia in 1704. The priests of the "Séminaire" remained in charge of the mission until the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1763-64, when they also left.

³⁶ A great deal of confusion has been caused among historians by this migration of the Kaskaskias. The missionaries themselves, in their letters, are sometimes rather indefinite as to the exact location of the tribe, simply inscribing them: "From the Mission of the Immaculate Conception of the Kaskaskias." *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. lxv, p. 264; Vol. lxvi, p. 245. F. A. Ogg, *op. cit.*, p. 188, mistakenly ascribes the founding of the new Kaskaskia to Father Pinet. The first baptism entered in the register of the Kaskaskia mission—and it must then have been at the old location near Fort St. Louis or Starved Rock, judging from the date—is from the hand of

A French trading post was soon established. A white settlement grew up here as at Cahokia around the missions. Inter-marriages with the Indians took place. Kaskaskia seems to have grown the more rapidly since it provided an excellent place of deposit and exchange, and from a mission station it speedily became not only the most important intermediate point in the traffic of the French up and down the river, but also the metropolis of the Bottom.

Between the most southern and the most northern villages other and smaller white settlements sprang up: Prairie du Rocher, Fort Chartres, St. Philippe and Grand Ruisseau. And these whites did not drive out the aborigines: "Near the French villages were the homes of the children of the prairie, together with some blacks from the south. The French always dwelt in peace with the American Indians, the management of whom they understood far better than the Anglo-Saxons."³⁷ Various writers, especially British officers and later French travelers, have at times passed very severe judgments upon these French settlers. However, "the first class has always been noted for its incapacity to appreciate the good characteristics of a civilization different from its own."³⁸ As for the depreciating remarks of some French travelers, they visited the region after the best French elements had crossed the river to the Spanish side with the beginning of the British regime in Illinois (1765). The picture framed in the mind after reading their records of Kaskaskia and Cahokia is not that of "the most debased ignorant and superstitious of humanity," but rather the reverse.

Most of these French settlers came from Canada, and with it

Father Gravier: In the year 1695, March 20th, I, Jacques Gravier, of the Society of Jesus, baptised Pierre Aco, newly-born of P. Michael Aco. Godfather was De Hautchy; Godmother, Maria Aramipinchicoue. OSMAN, *Starved Rock*, p. 141, note. The record is interesting because the father, Michael Aco, was one of the companions of La Salle, and later of Father Hennepin when he discovered the upper Mississippi. The mother, an Indian, was the daughter of the head chief of the Peorias. She was a fervent Catholic and was instrumental in converting her husband, whose lack of faith was already obvious to Father Hennepin. She also helped Fr. Gravier very much in the conversion of her tribe although her father was strongly opposed to Christianity. The difficulties Fr. Gravier had to contend with are detailed at length in his letter: *Relations*, Vol. lxiv, pp. 158-237.

³⁷ *Ill. Hist. Coll.*, Vol. ii, p. 16.

³⁸ ALVORD in *Ill. Hist. Coll.*, Vol. ii, p. 21.

they retained constant communication through trade and exchange of messages on family affairs. Only a small number had come directly from France either through Canada or Louisiana. The majority, known as the "habitants," came from the lower class and were ignorant and illiterate. They were voyageurs and coureurs de bois, hardy, self-sufficient, reckless of their lives and inured to hardship and danger. Even among them there were found men of unusual type, such as Nicolet and Duluth and the physician who treated Father Marquette during his illness at Chicago, men born to roam the wilderness and to be the advance guard of civilization in unknown regions. The care-free lives of the voyageurs rather inclined them to disorderliness. "Yet their pleasures and vices were of a far milder type than those of their counterparts, the American backwoodsmen. The French always retained a certain respect for law and constituted authority. In their petty quarrels with each other, the Frenchmen saw no disgrace in seeking from the court a reparation of honor instead of ending them with the brutal fights common among the Americans."³⁹

It is due to their onesidedness that French and English travelers have so mercilessly condemned the Illinois French settlers. The picture of their village society would be incomplete if limited to the coureurs de bois and voyageurs. For it was never wholly vulgarized and depraved owing to the presence of many persons from the better class of France and Canada—the gentry, as Clarke called them. Accustomed to greater refinements of life than those afforded by the log cabin, they surrounded themselves with such elegancies as might be brought from Canada or elsewhere. Perhaps the most unbiased picture of these French-American groups is that given by the missionaries who spent their lives among them, and it presents the lights and shadows in their true perspective.⁴⁰

These members of the gentry lived far more elegantly than the American backwoodsmen and were their superiors in culture. Their houses were commodious, and life was made easy for them by a large retinue of slaves. In social intercourse they were pleasant, their hospitality was proverbial, and their courtesy to

³⁹ *Ill. Hist. Coll.*, Vol. ii, p. 29.

⁴⁰ *Ill. Hist. Coll.*, Vol. x, pp. 91, 92, 93.

strangers constant. True, they long maintained the distinction between themselves and the more ignorant classes, and the democracy of the American frontier was not established among them. But this aloofness helped to preserve among them an element of refinement and elegance, however simple, which was always lacking in the more virile if less romantic communities of the American frontier.⁴¹

By far the largest number of these settlers were Catholics, faithful to their religion and zealous of their rights and privileges.⁴² In the management of the church property the villagers were associated with the priest through the vestrymen, who were elected for this purpose from among the most prominent men of the communities. The church was the center of the religious life of the settlement, as well as of its civic and social life. The people looked forward to the church festivals and occasional public processions as important events in their monotonous village life. At the church door the assemblies of the people met; there the auction of property was held. It was after the service that the Sunday dance took place to which came the men and maidens, and which the priest also graced by his presence. The Cahokia church was in ruins in 1778, but was rebuilt in the next few years. In Kaskaskia, however, "there was a huge old pile, extremely

⁴¹ *Ill. Hist. Coll.*, Vol. ii, p. 21. For further details about their homes, land tenure, etc., see pp. 21-22.

⁴² Some French Huguenots were found amongst them in later years, although they seem to have had no religious organization of their own. Among them was Jean Girault, born in London of Huguenot parents in 1755. The Cahokia records make mention of him in 1779. He resided there holding important military commissions in civil and military life. (*Ill. Hist. Coll.*, Vol. ii, pp. 20-21.) There was also Charles Gratiot, born in Switzerland of French Huguenot parents in 1753. He went to Canada and in 1777 he was in Cahokia where he was elected a justice of the court. He moved to St. Louis in 1781 where he became wealthy and prominent. *Ibid.*, p. 4. There were others besides, brought there by the English and American occupations; for we find Father de la Valinière accusing Father de St. Pierre of having unlawfully married Mr. Reith, a Catholic, and Miss Camp, a Protestant, at Cahokia, in 1787. *Am. Cath. Hist. Researches*, 1906, pp. 221-225. Although Catholics were predominant in the French settlements, it is apparent that no discrimination was made among the settlers on account of religion, and that all dwelt in peace together. The Cahokia records also have evidence of Irishmen being settled there before 1776. There was "Richard McCarty," an Irishman from Connecticut, married in Montreal, who wrote to his wife in French. He was captain of militia, and had a mill in Cahokia. Mention also is made in a court order of "Dominique O'flanagan." *Ill. Hist. Coll.*, Vol. ii, p. 2.

awkward and ungainly, with its projecting eaves, its walls of hewn timber, perpendicularly planted and the interstices stuffed with mortar; with its quaint old-fashioned spire, and its dark storm-beaten casements."⁴⁵ The church was 104 feet long by 44 feet wide, and had been built by the Jesuits in 1753 largely through the personal sacrifices of the missionaries themselves. As the people were devoted to their religion, the priest exercised great influence over them. However indifferent and debauched the voyageurs and coureurs de bois might sometimes become through their life in the wilderness, they were easily brought by a vigorous priest to acknowledge their dependence upon religion. At the moment of death they always sought the consolations of the Church, and left by will money for the saying of Masses. The radical thought of France may have penetrated to some extent to the Illinois settlements, but in only one instance is there evidence of it: Louis Viviat, as the Kaskaskia Court Records attest, requested in his will that "no pomp and no ceremony mark his burial and that no payment be made for Masses for the dead since the deity is not mercenary, nor is heaven to be bought."⁴⁶ The unsettled conditions that followed upon the wresting of the Illinois territory from English control also brought disorder and a condition bordering on civil and religious anarchy. Fr. de St. Pierre, writing from Kaskaskia to Fr. Paget at Detroit, on February 18, 1786, alludes to this sad state of affairs: "Truly when I find the entire region so changed and filled with the worst of men, who fear neither God nor the law, I am altogether determined to leave at the first opportunity."⁴⁷

The settlements had then fallen on evil days, but during the French and English regimes there was a constant succession of pastors.⁴⁸ Under their fostering care the Indian missions had grown into prosperous communities when a sudden blow fell on them.⁴⁹ In pursuance of orders from France the Jesuits were to be expelled from the whole Louisiana territory, of which Illinois

⁴⁵ SHEA, quoted in *Ill. Hist. Coll.*, Vol. ii, p. 24.

⁴⁶ *Ill. Hist. Coll.*, Vol. ii, p. 24. Louis Viviat was a rich and prominent French trader. He also became a strong supporter of the British against American interests. *Ibid.*, Vol. v, p. 7, note.

⁴⁷ *Am. Cath. Hist. Researches*, 1906, p. 236.

⁴⁸ See the list for Cahokia in *The Fortnightly Review*, Vol. xx, p. 323.

⁴⁹ THWAITES, *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. lxx, pp. 212ff; *Ill. Hist. Coll.*, Vol. x, pp. 62ff.

was a part. The news reached New Orleans in 1762, but no proceedings were begun until after the treaty of peace with England the following year. The Jesuits were then cited before the Superior Council and condemned. A special courier was sent from New Orleans to Illinois to notify the Jesuits established there of their expulsion. The decree of condemnation was read to Father Watrin, the superior at Kaskaskia. The spirited narrative of this whole iniquitous proceeding, perhaps from the pen of Father Watrin himself, sets forth the bad faith and hypocrisy of its promoters. Three main reasons were assigned for their banishment: they had not taken care of their missions; they had thought only of making their estates valuable; they were usurpers of the Vicariate General of New Orleans. To argue was useless and to resist still more so.

Father Watrin was handed a copy of the decree just read to him and then made to leave his room at once while the seal was put upon it. The same was done with the other missionaries in the house.⁴⁸ There was left one hall where they could remain together although with great inconvenience, but even this favor was refused them. Driven from their house, the missionaries found quarters as best they could. The superior, sixty-seven years old, departed on foot to find a lodging a long league away with a confrère of his, Father Meurin,⁴⁹ a missionary to the savages; and the French who met him on the road showed their open displeasure at seeing the persecution begin with him. As soon as the savages learned that he had arrived among them, they came to show to him and to Father Meurin the share which they took in their distress. The other missionaries were crowded together in a house for a month. They were permitted to take their clothes and books, and the food found in their residence was allowed for their support. Finally it came to making the inventory. Time was necessary to collect and put in order the furniture of a large house, the chattels of an important estate and the cattle scattered in the fields and woods. "Besides," tersely remarks the writer of this narrative, "there was reason for not hurrying too much; the longer the delays, the better they paid

⁴⁸ A picture of it is given in *Ill. Hist. Coll.*, Vol. i, p. 463.

⁴⁹ The mission of the Indians was situated at a distance of one and a quarter leagues from the village. *Ill. Hist. Coll.*, Vol. x, p. 68.

those employed in that task." The inhabitants, not knowing whether they would have a pastor in the future, sent two petitions to the commandant to have Father Aubert retained in that capacity, but to no avail. Everything being now ready, a sale was held at the church door at the close of High Mass, and the Jesuit property went to the highest bidder, Paul Jussiaume, who seems to have acted for Jean Baptiste Bauvais, the latter becoming the actual owner of the land and buildings.⁶⁰ Vandalism ran riot in the chapel of the house: the steps of the altar were thrown down; the sacred vessels and pictures were taken away; the ornaments were given to negroes known for their evil lives; a large crucifix from the altar and the candelabra were found in a house whose reputation was not good.

When the sentence had thus been carried out with a vengeance, the missionaries were put on a boat and after twenty-seven days arrived in New Orleans, bound for France. But one of them was determined to make a supreme effort. Touched to the quick by the piteous pleas of the Indians, and knowing besides "in what danger the Illinois neophytes were of soon forgetting religion if they remained long without missionaries," Father Meurin, although sickly for years, insisted with so much determination that he be allowed to return to his former field of labor, that permission was granted him together with a promise that a pension of 600 livres would be asked for him at court. When his confrères embarked for France he returned to Illinois, but did not take up his residence at his former mission, preferring to reside on the western bank of the river, then under the Spanish flag, in the village of St. Genevieve. He, however, visited the various

⁶⁰ The Cahokia priests, being Sulpitians sent out by the Séminaire des Missions Étrangères of Quebec, were not included in the decree of expulsion. But the superior in charge, Father Forget, on hearing of the decree against the Jesuits, sold all he could and retired. (*Ill. Hist. Coll.*, Vol. xi, p. 323; Gage to Conway, June 24, 1766.) On May 3, 1767, Father Boiret wrote from Quebec to Father Meurin complaining that Father Forget sold in 1763 all their property, movable and immovable, belonging to the Holy Family mission at Cahokia, while the inhabitants made opposition to the execution of this irregular sale. He shows that Father Forget, claiming to act in the name of the Séminaire des Missions Étrangères at Paris, had no authority to do so since the Séminaire of Quebec to which the mission and goods in question belonged, was independent of the Paris institution. He asks Father Meurin to help him to get this mission on its feet again, promising to send priests as soon as possible. (*Ill. Hist. Coll.*, Vol. xi, p. 365.)

Illinois settlements regularly, being now the only priest left to attend the widely scattered settlements.

On March 23, 1767, he wrote from the "Rectory of the Immaculate Conception at Kaskaskia, English colony, diocese of Quebec, at the Illinois"⁵¹ to Bishop Briand, the new incumbent of that see. He details at length the deplorable condition in which he finds himself and begs the bishop to send priests to administer the parishes of the Immaculate Conception at Kaskaskia, of St. Joseph at Prairie du Rocher, of the Holy Family at Cahokia. Besides these Illinois missions he attends the parish of St. Genevieve, his residence, and the newly founded village of St. Louis, some thirty miles to the north. The absence of priests had quickly worked havoc among the wilderness settlements and he complains of disorder, of churches in disrepair, and of the opposition of a few parishioners "who say openly that I have no title to the parish, which they would not have dared to in the time of the Messrs. Sterling and Farmer, English commanders who gave me their fullest protection."

Shortly after Father Meurin's return the political status of the inhabitants had been changed, and their communities suffered considerably because of it. In October, 1765, the Illinois country passed from French to British control. The proclamation to this effect issued by General Th. Gage, commander-in-chief of the army, contained an important clause, granting the French the right of the free exercise of the Roman Catholic religion in the same manner as in Canada. It provided, moreover, that all the inhabitants of Illinois who had been subjects of the king of France might, if they desired, sell their estates and retire with their effects to Louisiana. No restraint would be placed on their emigration except for debt or on account of criminal processes. Both concessions, aimed at winning and retaining the French, failed to do so. The wealth of the country soon became considerably impaired under the British occupation because of the exodus of a large number of French families. The best and most influential among them, taking their cattle, grain and effects across the ferries at Cahokia and Kaskaskia, found homes in St. Louis and St. Genevieve on the Spanish side.⁵² Probably a large

⁵¹ *Ill. Hist. Coll.*, Vol. xi, p. 521 ff.

⁵² *Ill. Hist. Coll.*, Vol. x., p. 23.

part of these left in the hope that in Louisiana they might enjoy their ancient laws and privileges to a larger extent. Gordon, an English traveler who passed through the country shortly afterward, bears eloquent witness to the desolation in his "Journal"⁵³ under date of August 19, 1766. The English authorities themselves were deeply concerned over the depopulation. Sterling, writing to Gage under date of December 25, 1765, says: "The inhabitants (of Kaskaskia and Cahokia) complain very much for want of priests. There is but one now remains, the rest either having died or gone away, and he stays on the other side (of the river—Father Meurin) . . . The priest might be of great use to us if he was brought over to this side, which I make no doubt might be effectuated, provided his former appointments were allowed to him, which were 600 livres per annum from the king as priest to the Indians."⁵⁴ And Gage, writing to Conway under date of June 24, 1766, transmits to him a lengthy document relative to the "Effects of the Jesuits" (*Quelques Traits sur la Mission des Jésuites aux Illinois*).⁵⁵ He frankly disapproves of the procedure of the French in expelling the Jesuits and selling their property, the more so since this sale took place after the conclusion of the treaty with Great Britain which ceded the Illinois territory to the British crown. He intends to have the property restored as far as possible, and concludes: "The inhabitants are demanding and soliciting for a priest, and if they get none go over to the Spanish side of the river, a circumstance that would at present be very prejudicial to our interest."⁵⁶ But priests were very difficult to get, and for some time Father Meurin remained the only one to minister to the Catholics of the Illinois territory. Bishop Briand made him Vicar General, and writing to him on August 7, 1767, he promises to send him one or two priests in the spring of the following year.⁵⁷ On May 9, 1767, Father Meurin had asked that at least four priests be sent to attend the various missions, but the Bishop was obviously unable to grant his request for that many helpers.

⁵³ *Ill. Hist. Coll.*, Vol. xi, p. 299.

⁵⁴ *Ill. Hist. Coll.*, Vol. xi, p. 124.

⁵⁵ *Ill. Hist. Coll.*, Vol. xi, p. 326.

⁵⁶ *Ill. Hist. Coll.*, Vol. xi, p. 323.

⁵⁷ *Ill. Hist. Coll.*, Vol. xi, p. 587.

In 1768, however, Father Pierre Gibault arrived from Canada, and his name figures prominently and honorably in the subsequent history of Illinois. The British regime was of short duration and marked by no events of importance. No attempt was made to develop the resources of the country, and the settlements already in existence kept on steadily declining. Then came the revolution on the Atlantic seaboard, and the various colonies, now formed into an independent nation, endeavored to push their boundaries westward to the Mississippi. The widely scattered white settlements west of the Alleghenies suffered much from the depredations of Indian war parties, who were encouraged by the English authorities to harass them. Lieutenant Governor Hamilton even paid the Indians in goods for the scalps of whites they brought in.⁵⁸ The incursions of the savages, assisted by the Tories, upon the frontiers of New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia and Kentucky were almost continuous during the spring and summer of 1778. George Rogers Clark had successfully led the Virginia militia in several retaliatory expeditions against the Indians. But he became gradually aware that, as long as the British held control in the French villages of the Illinois, these would be rallying points for the Indian war parties sent out against the Kentucky posts. He saw that the surest defense against these forays would be to capture these posts and win the friendship of the French.⁵⁹ Governor Patrick Henry favored the plan which was to be carried out secretly whilst ostensibly designed as a defense for Kentucky. Overcoming all obstacles by his dauntless courage, Clark traveled down the Ohio and then across country with his little army. The English were altogether unaware of his coming and he entered Kaskaskia and took it by surprise on the night of July 4, 1778. It was well known to him that the inhabitants were not very strongly attached to the British. The next morning, therefore, after assuring Father Gibault, the pastor⁶⁰ "who was rather prejudiced in favor of us," Clark writes, that his people would not be molested in any way because of their religion, they all gladly took the "Oath of alle-

⁵⁸ *Ill. Hist. Coll.*, Vol. v, p. 37, note 3.

⁵⁹ *Ill. Hist. Coll.*, Vol. v, p. 42.

⁶⁰ *Ill. Hist. Coll.*, Vol. v, p. 121. Father Gibault was now the only priest in Illinois, Father Meurin having died in 1777 at Prairie du Rocher. Cf. *The Beginnings of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction in St. Louis (1764-1776)*, by Rev. J. J. Conway, S.J., in the Missouri Historical Society's *Publications*, No. 14, St. Louis, 1897.

giance to America." The other French settlements in the American Bottom were soon won over. There remained only Post St. Vincent in Indiana, from which Clark wished by all means to expel the English, "for without the possession of that post all our views would have been blasted."⁶¹ Clark sent for Father Gibault, knowing that "he was inclined to the American interest previous to our arrival in the country. . . . In answer to all my queries he informed me that it was not worth my while to cause any military preparation to be made at the Falls (of the Ohio) for the attack of St. Vincent, although the place was strong and a great number of Indians in the neighborhood . . . that he expected that when the inhabitants were fully acquainted with what had passed at the Illinois and the present happiness of their friends and made fully acquainted with the nature of the war, that their sentiments would greatly change . . . that if it was agreeable to me, he would take this business on himself and had no doubt of his being able to bring that place over to the American interest without my being at the trouble of marching troops against it; that his business being altogether spiritual he wished that another person might be charged with the temporal part of the embassy, but he would privately direct the whole, and he named Doctor Lafont as his associate."⁶² They set out on their patriotic journey, and Clark further reports: "Mr. Gibault and party arrived safe and after their spending a day or two in explaining matters to the people, they universally acceded to the proposal . . . and went in a body to the church where the oath of allegiance was administered to them in the most solemn manner . . . and the American flag displayed."

Vincennes was retaken by the English and the following year Clark set out with an armed expedition to reconquer it: "We were conducted out of the town by the inhabitants and Mr. Gibault the priest, who after a very suitable discourse to the purpose, gave us all absolution. And we set out on a forlorn hope indeed."⁶³ But this "forlorn hope" issued in a brilliant victory over the English forces, and gained for America the per-

⁶¹ *Ill. Hist. Coll.*, Vol. v, p. 239.

⁶² *Ill. Hist. Coll.*, Vol. v, p. 237-238.

⁶³ *Ill. Hist. Coll.*, Vol. v., p. 139.

manent control of the Northwest.⁴⁴ But from that moment on Father Gibault was looked upon as a "Rebel" by the English authorities, as well as by his ecclesiastical superiors in Canada. Accusations of every nature, none of which were ever in any way substantiated, were brought against him. In his report to Lord George Sackville, secretary of state for the colonies, Lieutenant Governor Hamilton, who was captured by Clark at the surrender of Vincennes, penned this philippic: "One of the deserters at Vincennes was brother to Gibault the priest, who had been an active agent for the rebels and whose vicious and immoral conduct was sufficient to do infinite mischief in a country where ignorance and bigotry give full scope to the depravity of a licentious ecclesiastic. This wretch it was who absolved the French inhabitants from their allegiance to the King of Great Britain. To enumerate the vices of the inhabitants would be to give a long catalogue, but to assert that they are not in possession of a single virtue is no more than truth, and justice require; still the most eminently vicious and scandalous was the reverend Monsieur Gibault."⁴⁵

Some years later, May 28, 1788, Father Gibault wrote to his superior, the Bishop of Quebec,⁴⁶ asking to be recalled "because of my age of fifty-one years, the need I have of being better sheltered after so many hardships which inevitably accompany so many journeys and long trips." He found that he had been accused of various misdemeanors, the gravest of which obviously was that "he had been active for the American Republic." The Bishop of Quebec was adamant and in a letter to Bishop Carroll,

⁴⁴ Clark refers twice, at great length, to the important rôle played by Father Gibault; in his "Letter to George Mason, November 19, 1779" (*Ill. Hist. Coll.*, Vol. v., pp. 121ff) and in his "Memoir," *ibid.*, p. 237ff. Virginia realized the great debt she owed him and in a "Letter of Instructions to Clark from the Virginia Council, December 12, 1778" (*ibid.*, pp. 78ff) we read: "Upon a fair presumption that the people about Detroit have similar inclinations with those of Illinois and Wabash, I think it possible that they may be brought to expel their British masters and become fellow-citizens of a free state. I recommend this to your serious consideration and to consult with some confidential person on the subject. Perhaps Mr. Gibault the priest (to whom this country owes many thanks for his zeal and services) may promote this affair." And Patrick Henry, writing to Clark on December 15, 1778 (*ibid.*, p. 87), says: "I beg you will present my compliments to Mr. Gibault and Doctor Lafont and thank them for me for their good services for the state."

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 184.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 585.

dated October 3, 1788,⁴⁷ he wrote: "Complaints of different kinds, especially of treason towards the government, caused my predecessors to entertain some antipathy towards him, so much so that I propose to give him no employment for the future. That would be easier for you to do." Matters were amicably adjusted between him and his new Bishop and he continued to serve the French Catholics now in Vincennes, then in St. Genevieve, visiting the Illinois country as opportunity offered. For the high hopes raised among the French by the American occupation had not materialized. Notwithstanding repeated appeals from the inhabitants, Congress was dilatory in giving the country a stable civil government. Factions arose as the turbulent years went on without bringing relief, and the population of the American Bottom kept on steadily declining. The period of greatest emigration occurred between 1787 and 1790 when anarchy reached its climax and the Spaniards on the other side of the river were holding out the greatest inducements. A census list of Kaskaskia for the year 1790 shows only forty-four heads of families, a decrease of 779 in the French population of the village since 1783. The picture of Kaskaskia in 1790 as described by its people in a petition to Major Hamtranck⁴⁸ is one of utter misery and despair: "Our horses, horned cattle and corn are stolen and destroyed without the power of making any effective resistance. Our houses are in ruins and decay; our lands are uncultivated; debtors abscond and absconding; our little common destroyed. We are apprehensive of a dearth of corn and our best prospects are misery and distress, or, what is more probably, an untimely death by the hand of savages. We are well convinced that all these misfortunes have befallen us for want of some superior or commanding authority, for ever since the cession of this territory to Congress we have been neglected as an abandoned people to encounter all the difficulties that are always attendant upon anarchy and confusion. Neither did we know from authority until latterly to what power we were subject. The greater part of our citizens have left the country on this account to reside in

⁴⁷ *Ill. Hist. Coll.*, Vol. v, p. 586-590.

⁴⁸ He was Commandant at Post Vincennes and a Canadian Catholic who had served in the Revolution as captain in the Fifth New York Regiment. *Am. Cath. Hist. Rev.*, 1906, p. 236.

the Spanish dominions; others are now following and we are fearful, nay certain, that without your assistance the small remainder will be obliged to follow their example."⁶⁶ The picture was only too true. But fortunately the more energetic families who moved across the Mississippi into territory that was for a few more years to remain under Spanish dominion, were not lost forever to the American commonwealth.

On the soil of Illinois, however, they have left their impress for all time to come, and history can never forget what these French Catholic explorers and pioneers have wrought there. From the days of Marquette and Allouez and La Salle and Tonty and Hennepin down to Father Gibault they carried on their work of discovery and civilization against the greatest odds. Illinois and America owe to them a debt of patriotic gratitude. And in this centenary year of Illinois statehood, when it is proposed to erect a centennial memorial building, nothing could be more fitting than that in it a statue should be erected or some other suitable commemoration should be made of that staunch French-American most deserving of recognition—Father Pierre Gibault.

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⁶⁶ *Ill Hist. Coll.*, Vol. ii, p. cli.

DIOCESAN ORGANIZATION IN SPANISH COLONIES

In the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW for July, 1916 (Vol. ii, No. 2), I traced the growth of diocesan organization in the Spanish Colonies up to the establishment of the parish of St. Augustine in 1565. In the present article I propose to give a summary of the relations that were maintained between that parish and its bishops to the year 1819, when Florida's becoming a part of the American Union severed the connection with the Spanish-American hierarchy. The following division will be observed: I. Episcopal Visitations from the Diocese of Santiago, 1565-1783. II. From the Diocese of Havana, 1787-1794, and from the Diocese of Louisiana and the Floridas, 1794-1819. III. Synodal and Episcopal Legislation specially affecting Florida.

It is well to remember that this parish was established as such from the very beginning without having ever been a mission station, and that its purpose was to serve the white inhabitants, the Indians being looked after by the Fathers in other parts of the Peninsula.

I. EPISCOPAL VISITATIONS OF THE FIRST PERIOD

(1565-1783)

In the article referred to above I wrote: "Florida is said to have been made (ecclesiastically) independent of Cuba and a bishop (Juan Suarez) appointed, in 1527." I gave the statement for what it was worth, but I have since come to suspect that it is worth nothing. It rests altogether on a single piece of evidence, and that from a source not altogether trustworthy, viz., the *Ensayo Cronologico para la Historia de la Florida* of Barcía, published under the anagram of "Don Gabriel de Cardenas y Cano" at Madrid in 1723. Here Father Suarez is called a bishop but no other writer so entitles him nor is his name to be found in any list of Spanish-American bishops. We shall have occasion to refer again to the inaccuracy of this work, in connection with the Visitation of 1720. For that matter, we stumble over another unsupported statement of the *Ensayo* at the very outset, for we read there that an Episcopal Visitation was made of the parish of St. Augustine in 1595, whereas every other writer mentions as the first that of 1606.

1. BY BISHOP CABEZAS DE ALTAMIRANO (1606)

We must not conclude that Florida was neglected simply because so long a time went by before a bishop came over to inspect it. There was in Cuba itself a good deal of work for even the most zealous prelate, and the danger of travel then in that part of the world was great enough to go far in excusing the long absences of the bishops. The City of Havana was destroyed twice in the sixteenth century, the hostile fleets of France and England were an almost constant menace to Spanish shipping and the West Indian Islands were nests for pirates of all nations. The very man we are speaking of had, shortly before arriving in Florida, been captured by pirates while he was travelling through Cuba and held for ransom. More than ordinary courage was required in such circumstances to embark, as he did hardly more than a year later, for Florida. His visitation seems to have been thorough, and serves to throw light on the labors of the clergy; for large numbers came forward to receive Confirmation, among them being some candidates for Orders. This is the first time, as far as we know, that Confirmation was administered within the present territory of the United States (Continental).

2. BY FATHER LUIS JERONIMO DE ORE (1616)

This friar, a Franciscan and a native of Peru, was engaged in missionary work in Cuba when the Bishop, Almendarez de Toledo, requested him to go to Florida as the representative of the Ordinary to inspect and report on the state of religion there. The Bishop found it impossible to go in person because of the somewhat strained relations then existing between himself and the civil authorities. Whether the choice of a Franciscan was by accident or design is not known, but it was at any rate fortunate, for the Franciscans in Florida claimed that by virtue of a royal *cedula* of 1595 they were exempt from the jurisdiction of anyone except the Bishop of Santiago himself or an official of their own Order. The unpleasant incidents to which this claim gave rise later were in the present instance obviated by the fact that the representative of the Bishop was a Franciscan. Their case seems to have rested also on certain concessions of Pope Adrian VI in 1522. By him they were empowered to elect in their American missions their own Superior every three years, who

would enjoy the full authority of the Minister-General, with episcopal jurisdiction over the houses of his Order and the right to exercise all episcopal functions except Ordination. The individual friars were empowered to exercise papal authority when they judged it necessary for the conversion of the Indians. These privileges held where there was no bishop or where the bishop could not be reached without a journey of two days. And a confirmation and extension by Pope Paul III in 1535 rendered the Friars in the missions of Spanish America almost independent of episcopal jurisdiction.

The Visitor arrived at St. Augustine on November 13, 1616, and found the parish in excellent condition as to temporalities. The material necessities seem always to have been well supplied, due doubtless to the fact that the church in St. Augustine was the sole recipient of the tithes collected in that part of the diocese, the Missions obtaining their support from other sources. But the provision for spiritual needs was imperfect, due to the want of a Bishop; and the consequent rarity of Confirmation and Ordination. In 1655, a strong petition was made by the governor to the king (Philip IV) to make Florida a diocese, or at least a Vicariate. There was some discussion, and the prelates immediately interested, the Bishop of Santiago and the Archbishop of Santo Domingo, were consulted, as well as the Council of the Indies, but there the matter rested for a long time. Not until 1709 was an Auxiliary consecrated, and in the whole course of her history under Spain, Florida succeeded in securing but three.

3. BY FATHER JUAN PIZARRO (1673)

At first the Bishop (Calderon), being unable to make a Visitation in person, adopted the simple and obvious expedient of deputing the resident parish priest, Francisco de Sotolongo. But the Franciscans objected, as they were jealous of their rights, so the appointment had to be cancelled and in place of Father de Sotolongo the Bishop sent a Franciscan, Father Juan Moreno Pizarro. The report he submitted showed the necessity of a resident bishop, chiefly to encourage Ordinations. Florida, like the rest of Spanish America, began to produce vocations early in her history, and the number would probably have been greater but for her separation from the rest of the Spanish

territory and the necessity of going over to Cuba to be ordained. Such a journey was a serious consideration in those days, when the buccaneers played a rôle similar to that of the submarine today. Consequently the next Visitation occurred the very next year.

4. BY BISHOP CALDERON (1674)

This was the most thorough inspection the Church in Florida experienced in all the Spanish portion of her career, and it is not astonishing when we consider the character of the man who made it. He was the most energetic prelate who ever ruled the Diocese of Santiago, and he found abundant opportunity for the exercise of his zeal in this outlying part of his diocese. Coming under the escort of Spanish war-vessels, he landed in St. Augustine on the twenty-third of August, 1674, and spent the following eight months journeying through the length and breadth of this extensive territory. Nothing escaped him; he penetrated even into what is now South Carolina, seeing with his own eyes every church and religious establishment of any kind, administering Confirmation to more than thirteen thousand persons, conferring Minor Orders (for the first time in the United States), distributing in alms over eleven thousand dollars at a time when his revenue from Florida was about four hundred, establishing new mission centers and issuing some important legislation. So energetic and determined was he that an attempt was actually made to poison him. New life was infused into the Church, but to sustain it without a resident bishop was impossible, and some years were still to pass before that happy consummation was to be realized.

5. BY FATHER JUAN FERRO MACHADO (1688)

When Bishop Diego Evelino de Compostela was appointed to the See of Santiago in 1687, he was expressly commanded by the King to go to Florida as soon as he could be spared from Cuba. Finding on his arrival that it would probably be a long time before he could do this, he sent as his representative a Cuban priest, Father Machado, who bore personally the expenses of the journey. But again the Franciscans objected: Father Machado was neither a bishop nor a Franciscan, therefore they would not permit him to inspect their houses. All he could do was to make a formal Visitation of the parish church of St. Augustine, on February 20,

1688; he was not suffered to make any official inspection of the Missions; and one of the Franciscans even went so far as to publish a book in which he denied that Florida was under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Santiago at all—a position utterly impossible to maintain but not to be wondered at in the present instance, since the author was that Father Ayeta who was so ready to take up arms against bishops. On at least three other occasions we find him attacking what he considered episcopal pretensions, viz., at Puebla, Guadalajara and Quito. Happily the bishop was less narrow and did not suffer this incident to disturb his relations with the Friars. He continued on friendly terms with them and to send some of their number into Florida from time to time.

6. BY FATHER PONCE DE LEON (1704)

Though Bishop Compostela reigned long over the Diocese of Santiago he never succeeded in carrying out the command of the King to visit the Peninsula of Florida, and died without setting foot in that part of his diocese. And as the Visitation by Father Machado amounted to so little in consequence of the Franciscan opposition, it scarcely deserves to be included in the list. The same might be said of the next, were it not for the important results it had a few years after. Father de Leon came in 1704 and what he saw convinced him (as it had convinced everyone else) that Florida needed a bishop of her own. Of course the region was not in the position to be created a separate diocese but it called for a good deal more attention than the Bishop of Santiago could give it. Of the six Visitations held up to this time, a period of nearly a century and a half, only two had been by the Ordinary himself; and this was now presented so strongly that the Bishop of Santiago was instructed to choose an Auxiliary to reside permanently in Florida. The choice fell on a priest of Havana, Dionisio Rezinó, who was consecrated at Merida in Yucatán in 1709, as Bishop of Adramyttium. It is interesting to note that of the three Auxiliaries of Florida two held this titular see, and that it was afterwards the titular see of Cardinal Gibbons from 1868 to 1872.

7. BY BISHOP REZINÓ (1710)

The new bishop lost no time in coming to his field of work, but the bright hopes of those solicitous for the welfare of the Florida

church were not to be realized. For, after travelling over a small part of the territory and administering Confirmation a few times he returned to Havana (probably on account of ill health) and died there the next year. Here again we have an instance of Barcía's inaccuracy. He tells of a visit to Florida by Bishop Rezinò in 1721, though the Bishop had been buried in Havana ten years before. Perhaps he is really referring to the Visitation made in 1720.

8. BY FATHER ROMERO Y MONTAÑEZ (1720)

He came at the command of Bishop Valdez and had a rather unsatisfactory report to make. The Parish Priest, Father Pedro Lorenzo de Acevedo (not to be confused with the earlier missionary de Acevedo in New Mexico) was growing old and had been neglecting some of his duties, particularly the keeping of the parochial registers. It was found necessary to replace him, though he remained in St. Augustine until his death fifteen years later.

9. BY BISHOP TEJADA (1735-45)

Another long period elapsed before the next Auxiliary appeared, in the person of one of the most remarkable of the Spanish-American bishops of that time, Francisco de San Buenaventura Martínez de Tejada Díez de Velasco. Appointed Auxiliary to the Bishop of Santiago for the Peninsula of Florida he was consecrated in 1735 Bishop of Tricca (Trikala) *i. p. i.*, and came immediately to Florida remaining there ten years, when he was transferred to the See of Yucatán. (Later, in 1752, he was transferred to Guadalajara, and died there in 1760. As Bishop of Guadalajara he ruled over what is now Texas, so that he will appear again in the treatment of diocesan organization in the Southwest.) This first period of his episcopal activity, though perhaps not so well known as those that followed, is no whit less remarkable, the work he did in Florida showing what could be accomplished by an active bishop free to devote his whole energy to that struggling flock. For zeal had begun to flag and it is possible that some of the missions would have died out had he not been there to keep them alive. Certainly there would have been little, if any, education in Florida but for him, since the only school there was the one he maintained. We may even say

without exaggeration that the preservation of Spanish civil rule was partly owing to him; for when the English attacked St. Augustine in 1739, their defeat was due in great measure to the courage he inspired in the defenders. His departure six years after this was regretted by everybody in Florida as a misfortune. It was during his administration that a special mission was established for the negro slaves escaping into Florida from the English Colonies, and many of them became Catholics.

10. BY BISHOP PONCE Y CARASCO (1751-55)

On the departure of Bishop Tejada a sad lustrum supervened for Florida. The constant menace of the English in the north had a disastrous effect on the Indian Missions; it would appear that there was little Christianity left in the region between St. Augustine and the new English colony of Georgia. The new Auxiliary, consecrated in 1751 Bishop of Adramyttium *i. p. i.* (the titular see of Bishop Rezinò), came that same year to Florida but could do almost nothing outside the City of St. Augustine. When he left in 1755, Florida was in a poor way indeed. Still worse days were in store for the Church there, for Spain's hold was weakening and was soon to relax entirely. Bishop Ponce would be the last Prelate in Florida under the Santiago régime but for an accident of war that brought about a visit from the Ordinary himself.

11. BY BISHOP MORELL DE SANTA CRUZ (1763)

The Bishop of Santiago was in Havana when the English captured that city in 1762 and was carried off by them to Charleston. After a short detention he was sent to St. Augustine and improved the opportunity to inspect what was left of the parish and the missions. Over six hundred persons were confirmed and his preaching rendered his stay a sort of "mission" in the modern parochial sense; but his good work was cut short when it had hardly begun, by the Treaty of Paris in 1763. In return for Havana, Spain ceded Florida to England and the Bishop returned to Cuba, dying there in 1768.

The treaty by which England became possessed of Florida explicitly safeguarded the religious rights of the inhabitants.

Full freedom to practise the Catholic worship was accorded, the Bishop of Santiago was recognized as their ecclesiastical ruler, and church property was not to be taken without just compensation. But this last clause was violated almost from the beginning, so that the Spanish Catholics, who at first intended to stay on, were practically forced out, the English refusing them a church to worship in. In consequence of this gross injustice, diocesan authority almost ceased, though the King continued to appoint priests for Florida during this period. Strange to say, however, the English were themselves the instrument of a revival of Catholicity during their rule, in an interesting and curious episode. In 1767, an English physician named Turnbull from South Carolina (father of Robert Turnbull of Charleston, prominent in the 'thirties of last century as a leader of the Nullification Party) came to the district now called New Smyrna with a colony of about fifteen hundred Greeks, Italians and Minorcans, and settled them there to cultivate indigo. The Governor of the Province became a partner in the enterprise and between them these two men reduced the poor laborers to slavery, though fine promises had been made in the beginning. In 1776 they were released and allowed to come to St. Augustine. Most of them were Catholics and the Bishop allowed the priests who came with them to erect a church at Mosquito Inlet, a place about seventy miles south of St. Augustine. Here they worshipped until their removal to St. Augustine where the Governor (not the one who had been a partner in the original scheme) gave them a quarter of the city for themselves. But as all the churches had been taken they were compelled to worship in their own homes. When Florida was restored to Spain in 1783 they formed a large portion of the population. From the fact that the "Greeks" were Roman Catholics it may be conjectured that they came from the region about Patras, largely inhabited at the present time by descendants of the Italians of the days of Genoese occupation. The Roman Catholic church in Patras is still known as "the Italian Church" and Italian is the language of the parishioners. On the other hand, "New Smyrna" would suggest Asia Minor as their place of origin.

II. EPISCOPAL VISITATIONS OF THE SECOND PERIOD (1783-1819)

In 1783 Florida was restored to Spain and remained under her rule until 1819, when it was purchased by the United States. The record of this period is naturally very brief. Shortly after Spain resumed possession the Diocese of Santiago was divided (1787) and the Peninsula became part of the new Diocese of Havana. The following year it was visited by Bishop Cirillo Sieni (perhaps better known as Cirillo de Barcelona), who had been already active in Louisiana since 1772 as Vicar General for that region and Florida, with the title of Bishop of Tricca (Trikala). At a later date (1791) we find him at Pensacola. But his career in Florida seems to have been no more peaceful than it was anywhere else, and ultimately he was ordered by the King to return to his native province of Catalonia in Spain. It is uncertain whether he ever arrived there, and the time and place of his death are not known. But his administration is interesting as affording an idea of the changes that had come over the province during its subjection to British rule. The English language had become so common that when the Spanish Government undertook the restoration of the Catholic Religion on the recovery of Florida in 1783, the King was obliged to secure the services of men able to speak both English and Spanish. This accounts for such names as Hassett, McCaffrey, Crosby, O'Reilly and Wallis on the parish registers. These were Irishmen who had studied in Spain at the Irish College in Salamanca, and their readiness to accept a charge in distant Florida, thereby relinquishing all hope of ever seeing their own land again, is evidence of pure and disinterested zeal. The Irish were numerous among the laity as well, the regiment at St. Augustine being officered and to a large extent manned by them; and altogether the complexion of the church was considerably different from what it had been in the old days. In fact, the Spaniards must have been considerably outnumbered if we reckon the New Smyrna settlers, whose descendants are still to be found in Florida. Of course the priests we have mentioned came out as appointees of the Government, the King paying their passage and providing their salary (\$350 a year). Their labors would make edifying reading but are somewhat outside our scope; apparently Bishop Sieni was pleased with them since the only

objection he made to their manner of administration was to their custom of making the entries of baptisms and marriages in Latin and ordered that the entries be made in Spanish, which was done.

In 1793 occurred another change in the ecclesiastical status of Florida. So many complaints had been made of the sad condition of religion there and in Louisiana that the King (Charles IV) determined to separate these regions and to erect them into a new diocese. This was accomplished in 1793 or 1794 (the Bull is not to be had, so the exact date cannot be given) and the See, known as "Louisiana and the Floridas," was bestowed upon Father Luis Peñalver de Cardenas, a priest of Havana who had long enjoyed the confidence of the Bishops in Cuba and had actually been proposed for the diocese of Havana when that See was erected in 1789. He proved to be a man of extraordinary zeal and clearness of vision, as may be gathered from the lengthy though somewhat pessimistic reports he issued. But on only one occasion did he succeed in making a Visitation of Florida, and beyond the bare fact little is known. After his transfer to Guatemala in 1801, the diocese was administered by Father Hassett, one of the Irish priests, until the new bishop should arrive. The man selected was a Franciscan, Father Porro y Peinado, but even before this Spain had promised (October 1, 1800) to transfer Louisiana to the French and since it was only a question of time when the actual cession would be made the Spanish Government went no further with the appointment of a Bishop for Louisiana and Father Porro was ultimately sent to the See of Tarragona in Spain. The French ownership of the Mississippi Valley (which was never real, as they at once sold it to the United States) left Florida again under Havana but there is no episcopal visitation to record for these closing years of Spanish rule. Perhaps the rather tiresome wranglings between Spain and the United States over the eastern boundary of Louisiana and the question of "East" and "West" Florida had something to do with this. As time went on it became increasingly evident that this portion of Spain's dominions was to share the fate of Louisiana; indeed, at one stage of the negotiations American troops actually occupied a part of the Peninsula, and the transfer was ultimately effected in 1819 (February 22).

By the political change its ecclesiastical status was again affected. Bishop Du Bourg of New Orleans assumed control and in order to ensure the regularity of administration he issued faculties to the priests then in Florida. But the Bishop of Havana caused a little trouble. At first he refused to recognize any alteration that had not been notified to him through the King of Spain and the Patriarch of the Indies; then he recalled his priests and requested Bishop England of Charleston to take charge of Florida, still not acknowledging any jurisdiction of Bishop Du Bourg. If this mode of acting is anything more than pettiness, it serves to attest how deeply rooted in the Spanish mind was the idea of state control of the Church. But any doubts as to jurisdiction were set at rest when, on November 5, 1826, the Right Reverend Michael Portier landed at Mobile as Bishop of Oleno and Vicar Apostolic of Alabama and the Floridas. On that day the Spanish era of the ecclesiastical history of Florida was closed.

III. SYNODAL AND EPISCOPAL LEGISLATION SPECIALLY AFFECTING FLORIDA

Of the Provincial and Diocesan Synods held during the period from 1518 to 1819, Florida figures prominently in but one, that, namely, held in Santiago under Bishop Juan García de Palacios in June, 1684. Before this the Provincial Council of Santo Domingo in 1621, under Archbishop Almendarez, obtained in Florida, but the only special reference to the Peninsula is to the effect that after collecting statistics regarding Easter Communions, the priests of Florida were to convey them in person to the Ordinary, taking the first ship for Cuba. The general regulations adopted in 1684 follow closely those of Santo Domingo; but the latter is notable as having devoted a special section to the affairs of the Church in Florida. As the text is far too long to reproduce in its entirety here, we shall present a summary, along with some explanatory comment. The statutes are not intended directly for the Parish of St. Augustine which, as a canonically erected parish, was subject to the regular diocesan legislation; they relate rather to the Indian Missions. But the side lights cast on the general religious life make them pertinent to the present study.

The second section is at first amusing, for it forbids the

Indians to play ball, but the mystery is dissolved when we recall that the prohibited game was in reality a sort of superstitious rite kept over from pagan days. There is a prohibition of keeping married Indians in St. Augustine away from their wives, an abuse which at times led to serious disorder. This is but one out of many instances that will readily occur to the student of Spanish-American history, of how the Church was hampered in her work of evangelizing the native races by the selfishness of the Spanish settlers. Having brought the poor Indians into the city, the whites kept them there at work away from their families at the Mission Stations, to their moral and physical hurt. Sometimes they were forced to labor even on Sundays and Holy Days and thus prevented from hearing Mass. These abuses the parish priest is ordered to correct in his capacity of religious superior of the Spaniards, since he had no direct jurisdiction over the Indians. A distinction was made between Indians and Spaniards in the matter of Holy Days of Obligation, the number for the former being put at thirteen, whereas the latter were still required to observe thirty-eight, as put down in the Provincial Council of Santo Domingo in 1622. Readers at all familiar with Spanish and Spanish-American customs will not regard these numbers as unduly large. In Mexico, for example, by the middle of the seventeenth century, the Holy Days had come to average two a week, though not all were "Days of Obligation"; and in 1644 the Audiencia sent a special petition to King Philip IV to reduce the number. But we must not be led astray in this matter by mere numbers. The church authorities were reasonable in their demands. Not only did they relieve the Indians of the duty of hearing Mass on most of the days when the Spaniards were supposed to go, but the Spanish settlers themselves enjoyed considerable mitigation in this regard. Those who lived from three to nine miles from a church or chapel were required to hear Mass only once in a fortnight, those at a greater distance might come less often, while those whose homes were sixty leagues away were not asked to come more frequently than once a year. Beside the smaller number of Holy Days, the Indians were also exempted from fasting except on the Fridays in Lent, Holy Saturday and the Vigil of Christmas. The necessity for the Religious to receive faculties from the Ordinary of Santiago was re-affirmed

at this time, and these Religious were strictly forbidden to minister to any but the Indians of their Missions.

This is the only instance we know of strictly synodal legislation, but at least two of the bishops promulgated special regulations that are not without interest. When Bishop Calderon made his memorable Visitation in 1674-75, he was so displeased with the way the Indians, by being forced to work on Sundays and Holy Days, were suffered to remain in almost complete ignorance of Christian Doctrine, that he solemnly published an edict that the Franciscans who could speak the native tongues were to teach Catechism in them every Sunday and Holy Day, and to these classes masters were to send their Indian servants. The penalty for violation was excommunication and (in case the offender was a master) a fine. Moreover, he commanded that at the High Mass in the parish church every Sunday the people were to be reminded of his having forbidden the forced labor of Indians on Sundays and Holy Days.

When Bishop Peñalver came to Louisiana in 1795 one of his first thoughts was to hold a diocesan synod, but the paucity of priests and the enormous distances many of them would have to travel made it too difficult, so he was perforce contented with issuing a series of instructions which were to hold until the synod could be convened. In the circumstances he was chary of making any considerable alterations in the laws already enacted and in consequence the letter he issued on this occasion amounts to little more than an exhortation to pastoral zeal. Florida is especially mentioned twice: First (paragraph 34), in connection with the duty of the Vicar of St. Augustine regarding the marriage of strangers, and second (paragraph 54), regarding the conversion of the Indians, which work is in this instance entrusted to the parish priest. The command, issued by Bishop Sieni seven or eight years before, that the registers be kept in Spanish, is repeated (paragraph 38); and there is a reference to the Right of Sanctuary which calls for a few words. The passage reads: "When any criminal takes refuge in a church they are to permit him to be taken under a sworn guarantee (*caución juratoria*), reporting all to us, that if the crime is one of those excepted or that requires decision, when the question of immunity comes up, we

can decide what is legal with law and reference to Canon Law, and the Royal Order given at Pardo, March 15, 1787." It is curious to find this ancient custom thus surviving with explicit regulation more than a century after the famous difficulty about this very point between Pope Innocent XI and Louis XIV. That it was something beyond a quaint relic is seen from an incident in the days of Bishop Tejada (1735-45). The Governor, Moral, had been superseded but he refused to give up his post and for a time even kept his successor, Justiz, from landing. Gradually, however, his supporters abandoned him, and, finding his position dangerous, he fled to the Franciscan Convent in St. Augustine and claimed the Right of Sanctuary. This claim was allowed by the new Governor, who refrained from arresting him until the Bishop had formally suspended the right, whereupon Moral gave himself up and was sent to Spain for trial.

By way of appendix and to round out the treatment of the subject we may insert here a few words on the other American possessions in this region before passing to the Southwest. These are Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands. Strictly speaking these districts do not belong to our present study, since Puerto Rico, though a separate diocese, is not in the American hierarchical system but is immediately subject to the Holy See; and the Virgin Islands are a part of the diocese of Roseau, the capital of the (British) island of Dominica. For these reasons a detailed account is not called for.

Puerto Rico.—This island, named by the natives Boriquen, was visited by Columbus on his second voyage on November 16, 1493, and named San Juan. For some years no settlement was attempted; in fact, the only time it was even visited was in 1498 and then by accident, when Vincenzo Yañez Pinzon was driven by storm to take refuge in the harbor of Aguada. In 1505, he obtained from Ferdinand a commission to colonize the island but failed through lack of assistance, so that the credit for establishing Spanish rule must go to the famous Ponce de Leon, at that time Governor of the eastern portion of Española. Having explored the island in 1508, he returned the following year and established a settlement at Caparra (the modern Pueblo Viejo), which served for a capital until 1519. Some priests were with him, but as this

was two years before the permanent establishment of dioceses in the West Indies, they must be considered as under the jurisdiction of Seville. As already narrated, one of the Sees established by Pope Julius II in 1511 was San Juan de Puerto Rico, and this included substantially the same territory that it includes today. The civil changes effected in 1519, including the transfer of the capital to San Juan, brought in their train certain ecclesiastical alterations, among others the extension of the diocesan territory to about half of the Lesser Antilles. Further extensions (in 1541 and 1588) gave the diocese the rest of this group and a considerable portion of what is now Venezuela; but the loss by Spain of these islands and the erection of the diocese of Guayana in Venezuela (1791) left to San Juan only Puerto Rico and the adjacent small islands of Vieques and Culebra. This territory passed to the United States by the Treaty of Paris in 1898.

At its foundation San Juan was a suffragan of Seville and so continued until San Domingo was elevated to the rank of an archdiocese in 1545, when San Juan was included in the new province. The Province of Santiago de Cuba, established in 1804, included Puerto Rico, and this arrangement lasted even after Puerto Rico had become American; for it was only in 1903 that Pope Pius X (by the Brief "Actum praeclare" of February 20) severed it from Santiago and made it immediately subject to the Holy See. The representative of Rome is the Apostolic Delegate to Cuba, not the Delegate to the United States.

The Virgin Islands.—These, the latest acquisition of the United States, were under the jurisdiction of Puerto Rico until the diocese of Guayana in Venezuela (a suffragan of Caracas) was formed in 1791, of which the Virgin Islands formed part. Despite political changes they continued to be subject to the Venezuelan bishop until 1820 when, at the request of the English Governor of Trinidad, the Catholics of the British possessions in those parts were withdrawn from the jurisdiction of Guayana and the Vicariate Apostolic of Port of Spain was formed. Geographical considerations led to the inclusion of the Danish West Indies (as they were known then) in this Vicariate until the Diocese of Roseau (capital of the British island of Dominica) was established as the suffragan of Port of Spain in 1850. Since

then the Bishop of Roseau has been the ecclesiastical ruler of the Virgin Islands, though the fact that they are now American and are much closer to Puerto Rico may lead to a further change.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

In addition to the bibliography given under the preceding article (CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, July, 1916, p. 146) we must include for the period here treated the Parish Registers of St. Augustine, which naturally assume the first importance. Though not published in *extenso* extracts have appeared, chiefly in Shea's *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*. Dr. Shea also drew largely on the *Noticias Relativas a la Iglesia Parroquial de San Augustin* (in MS.). I had hoped to add here information from certain unpublished sources in Florida but my efforts to obtain these have not been successful. I have spoken in the text of the article of Barcia's *Ensayo Cronologico para la Historia General de la Florida* (Madrid, 1723). Though of considerable value this work sometimes misleads by faulty chronology. An English translation was included in French's *Historical Collections of Louisiana* published in New York in 1846-53. The *Constituciones Synodales de la Iglesia de Cuba* were published at Santiago in 1682, and there is a second edition (without date). Of course this does not include the decrees of the Synod of 1684; they will be found published in a separate volume at Havana in 1842 (*Synodo Dioecesano que de Orden de S. M. celebro el Ilustrisimo Señor Doctor Don Juan García de Palacios . . . Reimpreso por Orden del . . . Segundo Obispo de la Habana: Habana, Imprento del Gobierno*). The part relating to Florida was printed in *The United States Catholic Historical Magazine*, Vol. i, pp. 287, *et seq.* In the same volume, p. 418, *et seq.*, will be found the *Instruccion para el Gobierno de los Parrocos de la Diocesi de la Luisiana* of Bishop Peñalver y Cardenas, with an English translation. I may add that the usual biographical dictionaries will be found of little, if any, assistance.

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NEW NETHERLAND INTOLERANCE

I

Henry Vignaud prints on the title page of his remarkable *Histoire Critique de la Grande Entreprise de Christophe Colomb* a wise saying of Herbert Spencer: "Demonstration fails to change established opinions." One would hardly expect proof of the saying in the official organ designed for the enlightenment of the school population of a great State. This is precisely what has been done by the University of the State of New York in its *Bulletin to the Schools*, October 15, 1915, which on that date lends itself to the dissemination of views that contravene the demonstrated truth. The University wishes to insist upon the history of the State in the schools of the State, and so reprints the views, that "Doctor Williams has restated for the benefit of the teachers and children of the State" at a recent meeting of the New York State Historical Association. In the cause of truth, exception must be taken to the last two of the first three paragraphs of the quotation from Dr. Williams, in which there are more historical errors than there are sentences.

"New York," he says, "was the only colony in which perfect religious liberty was to be had. This was always the case in our State except for a very short time under the rule of the strong, autocratic, masterful, and bigoted Stuyvesant, and he was not sustained in his acts either by the inhabitants of the colony or by the home government. The religious freedom established in New Netherland by Minuit and maintained ever since except for the brief period just mentioned made New York cosmopolitan, and New York City from the first has been 'a melting pot' of races.

"The New England Puritans came to this country to seek religious liberty for themselves, but not to allow it to others. The Dutch in New York granted it to every one. They had had it at home."

No historian today questions the importance of a correct view of the European background of our colonial history. The religious conditions of the mother country furnish the key to the right understanding of religion in New Netherland more than happens to be the case with almost any other colony. Yet

American historiography had persistently avoided clearness of definition on this fundamental point until the appearance of the doctoral dissertation, "Religion in New Netherland," offered by the writer to the University of Louvain.¹ Even then demonstration failed to change established opinion in the mind of my critic in the *American Historical Review* who was certainly ranked amongst the most judicious historians of the State of New York. The reply to my critic met with no rejoinder, but the hope expressed in its final sentence, that the demonstrated truth would at last now make its way into American historical literature,² is made vain, at least for an important section of the country, if all the school intelligence of the State of New York is to accept as truth the errors of Dr. Williams.

A list of the oppressive religious ordinances promulgated in the mother country establishes the fact that the Dutch had not religious liberty at home before or during the colonization of New Netherland. Typical is the placard promulgated by the States-General on the very eve of this colonization, Feb. 26, 1622, at the repeated request of the Ministers of the Dutch Reformed Church.³ It prohibited Jesuits, religious of either sex, and foreign priests to reside permanently or temporarily in the Republic, under the penalty of being arrested as enemies of the State. A second offence on their part entailed punishment for disturbance of the public peace. Their hosts in the land were subject to a fine of one hundred pounds Flemish for the first offence, double the sum for the second offence, and to the penalty of corporal punishment and banishment for the third offence. Priests previously authorized to reside in the Republic were bound to report their names and places of residence to the local magistrates if they wished to continue in the enjoyment of this privilege. All correspondence with foreign ecclesiastics was prohibited to the subjects of the Republic, and letters of this kind were to be surrendered to the

¹ *American Historical Review*, October, 1911, p. 192, acknowledges "Religion in New Netherland" to be "the first serious attempt at interpretation of the religious development of the province of New Netherland in the light of modern research in the field of religious history of the mother country."

² *American Historical Review*, April, 1912, p. 683.

³ WILTENS-SCHELTUS, *Kerkelyck Placaatboek*, Vol. i, pp. 544-554. "Jegens de Pausgesinde Geestelijckhey, Conventiculen, Schoolen, Collecten, Kloppen, Voogden, ende compositien der Officieren."

magistrates on their receipt under a fine of fifty pounds for every infraction of the law. Catholic ceremonies were interdicted not only in the churches but also in private houses. The master of the house was subject to a fine of two hundred florins, each person present to a fine of twenty-five florins, and the officiating priest to the penalty of banishment. The priests who preached disobedience to *these laws* were to be prosecuted for sedition and subjected to corporal punishment, "even to death," according to the gravity of the offence. Attendance at foreign Jesuit schools was forbidden, and parents were ordered to recall their children from such places under a fine of one hundred florins for each month of delay. The congregations of devout women, "klopjes," were to be dissolved at once. Protestant orphans were not to be confided to Catholic guardians, but to the care of the magistrate, if they had no near relation of the Reformed Faith. Collections for all sorts of Catholic purposes were absolutely interdicted. Finally the judges were commanded to execute the provisions of this ordinance without any relaxation, and they were threatened with the loss of their positions and with arbitrary punishment if they accepted a bribe from the delinquents. This was not an exceptional bit of legislation, but typical of ordinances adopted and more or less enforced from the promulgation of the first general placard against Catholics, December 20, 1581, and at intervals thereafter, even throughout the period of Dutch domination in New Netherland. This very placard of February 26, 1622, was renewed in 1624, 1629, and 1641. In fact, the States-General showed no willingness to abandon this policy of religious oppression. When a relaxation of the ordinances against Catholics was requested by Count d'Avaux, March 13, 1644, the States-General protested against this presumptuous intervention of a stranger in the internal affairs of the Republic. A resolution was then passed in the States-General to complete the penal legislation against Catholics on the specious plea that impunity to the propagation of "Catholic superstitions" and to the introduction of the papist hierarchy entailed undeniable dangers to public safety.⁴ The clergy of the Reformed Church did not cease to

⁴ Archives du Royaume à la Haye, Resolutie van H. H. M. de Staten generaal der Vereenigde Nederlanden, 1644, fo. 117 sq. in HUBERT, *Les Pays-Bas et la République des Provinces Unies. La Question Religieuse*, p. 81 ff.

clamor for more drastic measures against "popish idolatry, superstition, and hierarchy," etc., and they did not fail to receive some satisfaction from the government, though not always all that they desired.⁵

The oppressive measures of the States-General were often anticipated and even reinforced by the penal legislation of the provincial States, and even of the town councils. For instance; the States of Holland, March 12, 1591, placed a fine of three hundred florins on attendance at the Universities of Louvain, Dôle, and Douay, where instruction was contrary "to the true religion" and hostile to the Fatherland.⁶ July 1, 1594, the same States placed a fine of one hundred pounds upon persons recurring to the ministry of a priest for the baptism of their children or for the celebration of marriage. A fine of fifty pounds was also placed on the witnesses and a fine of four hundred pounds on the persons instigating the act. The same penalties were decreed for attendance at papist conventicles.⁷

The Dutch Republic was evidently aiming at forcing a gradual extinction of Catholicity by a system of harassing measures that the magistrates, it is true, at times only held as a scourge over the heads of the Catholics, and which the Catholics at times were able to escape through the venality of the Dutch officials, subject to the national Dutch passion of the period-greed for money, as Fruin puts it.⁸ Yet Fruin declares: "In our Republic the Catholic enjoyed, I repeat it, full freedom of conscience."⁹ No more telling criticism can be found of this statement than the words of Dr. Knappert, which are a good summary, besides, of the religious policy of the Dutch Republic as revealed in its oppressive placards: "Also with us there was no place as yet for absolute freedom of conscience, and measured by our concept of the present day, Catholics had certainly no freedom . . . According to modern standards the policy was certainly oppressive. Although

⁵ Cf. HUBERT, *op. cit.*, *passim*. KNUTTTEL, *De toestand der Nederl. Katholieken ten tijde der Republiek*. DR. L. KNAPPERT, *De Verdraagsaamheid in de Republiek der Vereenigde Nederlanden*. Tijdspiegel, 1907.

⁶ WILFENS-SCHULTUS, *Kerkelyck Placaatboek*, Vol. i, p. 524.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 528.

⁸ FRUIN, *De Wederopleving van het Katholicisme*, pp. 41-45.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 36. Fruin still has many followers in this opinion.

different in various provinces, severer at one time than at another, it amounts, however, to this: Catholics had no equal rights before the law, could hold no public offices; they were personally unmolested in their religious convictions, but the common, public exercise of worship was not granted them, no Mass, no confirmation, no participation in pilgrimages; their sons could not study at foreign Catholic universities; their marriages had to be contracted before the Schout and Schepens, yes, in the Common Lands, for a time, even before the Reformed Preacher; here and there their children were even forced to attend the Reformed school, and their priests, as soon as they appeared in public, were punished with banishment and confiscation of their goods."¹⁰ It is demonstrated, therefore, that the Dutch did not have religious liberty at home, and consequently there is no temptation to jump to the conclusion that the Dutch in New Netherland granted it to every one.

With this much established, the short notice given to "Religion in New Netherland" in the *English Historical Review* appears all the more surprising, although it is valuable as a manifestation of a school of criticism that has a footing in what one is otherwise prone to believe a judicious circle of historians. "The main purpose of the book seems to be to prove that the Dutch in the New World, as in the Old, were by no means the enlightened, tolerant people that they are generally represented. Mr. Zwierlein as a *Roman Catholic* may be suspected of some bias; but his conclusions are based on a very large amount of documentary material."¹¹ The author had only one purpose in view. "Nam quis nescit primam esse historiae legem, ne quid falsi dicere audeat? deinde ne quid veri non audeat? ne qua suspicio sit gratiae in scribendo? ne qua simultas? Haec scilicet funda-

¹⁰ KNAPPERT, *De Verdraagzaamheid in de Republiek der Vereenigde Nederlanden*, p. 248. Other dissenters besides Catholics were subject to persecution. Cf., e. g., BRANDT, *Hist. d. Reformatie*, Vol. ii, p. 14 ff., for placard directed not only against Catholics but also Anabaptists by States of Groningen. On persecution of more liberal party amongst Dutch Reformed, Arminians or Remonstrants, after Synod of Dordrecht; cf. BLOK, *A History of the People of the Netherlands*, Vol. iii, p. 483 ff., and oppressive placards in WILTENS-SCHULTUS, *Kerkelyk Placaatboek*.

¹¹ *English Historical Review*, October, 1910 (Vol. xxv), p. 821. [The italics are ours.] This principle of historical criticism has not found a place in books of historical method, but it is found often in historical reviews.

menta nota sunt omnibus."¹² It is peculiar that the European critic has no difficulty apparently in accepting the truth regarding the Dutch in Europe, but questions it in case of the Dutch in America, while the American critic accepts without trouble as true the account of religious persecution by the Dutch in America, but questions the truth in regard to the Dutch in Europe.

Almost from the very beginning the Dutch Reformed Church appears as the established church of New Netherland. While no mention is made of religion in the charter of the West India Company,¹³ or in the subsequent agreement between the managers and the principal adventurers,¹⁴ the matter was soon brought to the attention of its general executive board, the College of the XIX, by a deputation of the Consistory of Amsterdam, which was instructed, August 20, 1623, to recommend the furthering of church service on sea as well as on land.¹⁵ The College of the XIX thanked the Consistory for its solicitude and declared readiness to act accordingly, although there could be no thought of the establishment of a seminary for young students as had been suggested, before the affairs of the Company were better ordered and settled.¹⁶ The Directors of the West India Company then agreed to grant a salary to those whom they accepted as fit persons on the recommendation of the Church as long as they were in the country, in order to have them work the better.¹⁷ Accordingly Bastiaen Jansz. Krol was commissioned at the end of 1623 to sail to New Netherland to exercise there the office of Comforter of the Sick, for which he had been presented to the West India Company by the Consistory of Amsterdam.¹⁸ In the fall of 1624, he was authorized to baptize and marry, functions not generally allowed Comforters of the Sick, but the concession was necessary as the number of inhabitants was too small for a minister to be sent there

¹² CICERO, *De Orat.*, Vol. ii, p. 15.

¹³ Cf. Charter in O'CALLAGHAN, *History of New Netherland*, Vol. i, p. 399 ff. VAN RENSSELAER-BOWIER MSS., edited by A. S. VAN LAER, gives a revised version of the charter.

¹⁴ Cf., Agreement in O'CALLAGHAN, *op. cit.*, Vol. i, p. 408 ff.

¹⁵ Protocollen van den Kerkeraad van Amsterdam V, fol. 129 in ECKHOF, *Bastiaen Jansz. Krol. Bijlagen*, p. XX ff.

¹⁶ Protoc. V, fol. 131, *ibid.*, p. XXI.

¹⁷ Protoc. V, fol. 138, September 28, 1623; *ibid.*, p. XXI ff.

¹⁸ Protoc. V, fol. 157, December 7, 1623, *ibid.*, p. XXII.

as requested by them.¹⁹ Although still another Comforter of the Sick was sent them in the Spring of 1626 in the person of Jan Hughens,²⁰ the people had not the consolation of receiving a minister till the Spring of 1628, when Rev. Jonas Michaelius landed in New Netherland the 7th of April. He soon organized a consistory, consisting of himself, the Director General Peter Minuit, Jan Hughens, the latter's brother-in-law and the Company's storekeeper, and Jans Krol. The Consistory of Amsterdam still had the immediate supervision over this colonial church, to the support of whose minister the Directors of the Company were "indebted . . . for as much as the value of a free table."²¹ Thus the Dutch Reformed Church was as much the established Church in the colony as in the mother country.

When the Company in 1629 granted to its members, who might plant colonies in New Netherland, a charter of privileges and exemptions, guaranteeing feudal rights to such patroons, including also liberal privileges for private persons in the United Provinces, who should settle there, it was most natural, under these circumstances, to insert the twenty-seventh article: "*The Patroons and colonists shall in particular, and in the speediest manner, endeavor to find out ways and means, whereby they may support a Minister and schoolmaster, that thus the service of God and zeal for religion may not grow cool and be neglected among them, and they shall from the first procure a Comforter of the Sick there.*"²² Thus the maintenance of the ministry of the Reformed Church was made obligatory on the part of the patroons and colonists. Precisely at the time of the negotiation of this charter, the West India Company was anxious to appear in the light of the champion of the Dutch national cause and faith, as the directors feared the successful conclusion of a truce with Spain to the great

¹⁹ Protoc. V., fol. 231, November 14, 1624, and November 21, 1624, *ibid.*, p. XXIII.

²⁰ Protoc. V., fol. 336, April 2, 1626, *ibid.*

²¹ JAMESON, *Narratives of New Netherland*, pp. 122-133.

²² *Col. Docs.*, N. Y., Vol. ii, pp. 551-7. *Laws and Ordinances of New Netherland*, p. 9. The provision of the charter was not a piece of legislation adopted in particular for New Netherland, but is also found in the draft of the conditions for colonies in general by the College of the XIX, June 12, 1627 and November 22, 1628. Cf. Extract from Dutch Archives, U. S. Commission on Boundary between Venezuela and British Guiana, Vol. ii, pp. 52, 63.

detriment of the interests of the Company, whose members, according to their remonstrance, had "most at heart the maintenance of the Reformed Religion and the liberties of our beloved Fatherland."²³ Minuit's administration as Director General, therefore, saw the establishment of a fully organized Reformed Church, subsidized by the West India Company, which then imposed on new patroons and colonists the obligation of supporting the Reformed Church service.²⁴ The documents furnish the evidence of this, but not of the establishment of religious freedom in New Netherland by Peter Minuit.

The privileged position of the Dutch Reformed Church in New Netherland was not in any way menaced till a change in the colonial policy of the West India Company, in the fall of 1638, abolished the monopoly of the fur trade, opened to free competition also the other internal trade of New Netherland to colonists of the Province, and extended these privileges, not only to the inhabitants of the United Provinces, but also to their allies and friends who might be inclined to sail thither to engage in the cultivation of the land.²⁵ The States-General, under whose pressure the change had been effected, hoped thus for an increase of the population of the Province to avert all danger of its loss through foreign invasion. Conditions resulting from this change of colonial policy made a new charter necessary, which the States-General did not cease to demand from the Company. At the same time the patroons made an unsuccessful attempt to obtain greater independence from the Company and a greater restriction of private enterprise in the colony. This was the burden of the New Project of colonization which they submitted to the States-General.²⁶ The West India Company itself also submitted a draft of articles and conditions which were to regulate the future colonization and trade of New Netherland. The directors recognized the importance of establishing the proper order of public worship in the first commencement and planting of the population according to the practice established by the govern-

²³ West India Co.'s Consideration on a truce with Spain, November 16, 1629. *Col. Docs., N. Y.*, Vol. i, pp. 40-2.

²⁴ Cf. result in the only successful patroonship established, *Rensselaerswyck*, in F. J. ZWIERLEIN, *Religion in New Netherland*, p. 73.

²⁵ O'CALLAGHAN, *History of New Netherland*, Vol. i, 200-3.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. i, p. 198.

ment of the Netherlands. Although religion was to be taught and preached in the Province of New Netherland "according to the confession and formularies of unity . . . publicly accepted in the respective churches" of the fatherland, no person was thereby to be "in any wise constrained or aggrieved in his conscience," but every person was to be "free to live in peace and all decorum, provided he take care not to frequent forbidden assemblies or conventicles, much less collect or get up any such; and further abstain from all public scandals and offences which the magistrate is charged to prevent by all fitting reproofs and admonitions, and, if necessary, to advise the Company from time to time of what may occur there herein, so that confusion and misunderstanding may be timely obviated and prevented." The Company then defined the religious duties of the inhabitants still more in detail. Every inhabitant was bound not only to fulfill his civic duties, but also to attend faithfully to any religious charge that he might receive in the churches, without any claim to a recompense. Further, each inhabitant and householder was to bear such tax and public charge as would be considered proper for the maintenance of preachers, Comforters of the Sick, schoolmasters, and similar necessary officers.²⁷

This charter with the New Project was sent to the Chamber of the West India Company, which was to consider the entire case of New Netherland with the deputies of the States-General.²⁸ However, no definite results were obtained till the States-General threatened to grant a charter independent of the Company, if the Directors failed to submit one for approval and ratification.²⁹ Finally, on July 19, 1640, the new charter of Freedoms and Exemptions was promulgated, of which "all good inhabitants of the Netherlands and all others inclined to plant any colonies in New Netherland" might take advantage. The phraseology of this revised charter in regard to religion is much less liberal in tone than the articles that had been proposed before by the Company. The subjection of the Church to the civil authority, which is expressed in all Confessions of the Reformed Churches, also found its expression in this charter. It reserved to the

²⁷ Cf. Arts. 6 and 8, *Col. Docs., N. Y.*, Vol. i, p. 112.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

²⁹ Proceedings of States-General, May 31, 1640, *Col. Docs., N. Y.*, Vol. i, p. 118.

Company the founding of churches, and to the Governor and Council the cognizance of all cases of religion.³⁰ The decree renewing the establishment of the Dutch Reformed Church in a negative form emphasizes the hostile spirit of the new constitution of the country toward dissent: "*And no other religion shall be publicly admitted in New Netherland except the Reformed, as it is at present preached and practiced by public authority in the United Netherlands: and for this purpose the Company shall provide and maintain good and suitable preachers, schoolmasters, and comforters of the sick.*"³¹

The charter with this clause was promulgated seven years before the arrival in the country of Peter Stuyvesant as Director General, when that important office was held by his predecessor, William Kieft. This express denial of religious liberty did not, however, prevent New Amsterdam from becoming "a melting pot of races," since the charter occasioned the immigration of many foreigners into the colony because of other advantages. This also caused an increase of dissent, against which this clause seems to have been intended for the purpose of strengthening the position of the Dutch Reformed Church in its exclusive privilege as the established Colonial Church. Both the cosmopolitan character of New Amsterdam and the lack of religious freedom were noticed by Father Jogues in the days of William Kieft: "On this Island of Manhate and its environs there may well be four or five hundred men of different sects and nations. The Director General told me that there were persons there of eighteen different languages." Although the Dutch were very generous in their treatment of Father Jogues and later of other Jesuit missionaries,³² they were evidently bent on impressing him with the idea that dissenters from the established religion were only present on the sufferance of the local authorities, as he had been informed, in all likelihood, by the Director General himself that the colony had "orders to admit none but Calvinists." It may be that Father Jogues misunderstood the matter, and that the orders referred to by his informant were nothing else than the clause of the charter prohibiting dissenting

³⁰ Cf. two last Arts. of *Freedom and Exemptions*, *ibid.*, p. 123.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² Cf. ZWIERLEIN, *Religion in New Netherland*, pp. 276-316.

worship. However, the Jesuit had observed that there were, "besides Calvinists in the colony, Catholics, English, Puritans, Lutherans, Anabaptists, here called Mnistes, etc."²³ Ten years later, after the arrival of Stuyvesant, the diversity of religious opinion is still more emphasized in the remonstrance which Domine Megapolensis sent to the Classis of Amsterdam as a protest against the admission of Jews into the Province of New Netherland. "For as we have here Papists, Menonites, and Lutherans among the Dutch; also many Puritans or Independents, and many atheists, and various servants of Baal among the English under this government who conceal themselves under the name of Christians; it would create still greater confusion, if the obstinate and immoveable Jews came to settle here."²⁴

While it was a matter of life and death for the colony of New Netherland to resist the encroachments of New England governments, Kieft seems to have welcomed the occasion to treat with some families from Lynn and Ipswich for their settlement under Dutch jurisdiction in 1641. The Director General no doubt thought that settlements of Englishmen, bound by an oath of allegiance to the States-General and to the West India Company, would prove a good barrier to further encroachments of New England governments. The English were, therefore, permitted to settle in Dutch territory on equal terms with the other colonists of the Province²⁵ in accordance with the provisions of the charter of 1640, which became the basis of all future grants from the Dutch to the English. This guaranteed them practically "the very same liberties, both ecclesiastical and civil, which they enjoyed in the Massachusetts."²⁶ They were not granted, as some historians seem to think, freedom of religion, but freedom of *their* religion. The pronoun is essential and saves the "fair terms" to the English from being a violation of the colonial charter just promulgated by the West India Company. Both the Dutch and the New England English felt that their religion

²³ *Doc. Hist., N. Y.*, Vol. iv, p. 15; *Jes. Rel.*, Vol. ix.

²⁴ *Ecd. Recs., N. Y.*, Vol. i, p. 336.

²⁵ *Col. Docs., N. Y.*, Vol. i, p. 181; Vol. xiii, p. 8.

²⁶ *Winthrop's Journal*, Vol. ii, p. 35 (ed. *Original Narratives of Early American History*).

did not differ "in fundamentals." The consciousness of the "close union and congruity of the divine service of the two nations" found expression even in the year in which these fair terms were offered to the English of Ipswich and Lynn. The Reverend Mr. Hugh Peters of Salem, who was sent to England to negotiate with Parliament in regard to New England affairs, was also instructed to go, if possible, to the Netherlands to treat with the West India Company for a peaceable neighborhood with its colony of New Netherland. According to the fifth article of the propositions which he was to submit to the Company in the name of Massachusetts and Connecticut, he was to request "that the company, knowing that the English in America amount to about fifty thousand souls, may be pleased to inform us in what manner we can be employed in advancing the great work there, being of the same religion with themselves."⁷⁷ This feeling of solidarity in religion was also manifested by the Dutch in the Netherlands. When the Dutch heard that the Westminster Assembly "had agreed upon a certain plan of church government, practically the same in most points as that of the Reformed Church of this country, and had laid the same before the Parliament of England . . . for approval," they experienced great gladness and singular "satisfaction" in "the assurance that between the English Church and our Church there should be effected a similar form of government."⁷⁸ Even the triumph of Independency over Presbyterianism in England did not change this friendly feeling of the Dutch toward the English Puritans. Upon the Restoration, the States-General of the United Provinces permitted "all Christian people of tender conscience in England and elsewhere, oppressed, full liberty to erect a colony in the West Indies between New England and Virginia in America . . . on the conditions and privileges granted by the committees of the respective chambers representing the Assembly of the XIX . . . Therefore, if any of the English, *good Christians* . . . shall be rationally disposed to transport themselves to the said place under the conduct of the United States (they) shall have full liberty to live in the fear of the Lord."⁷⁹ Thus both English

⁷⁷ *Col. Docs.*, N. Y., Vol. ii, p. 150.

⁷⁸ *Synods of North and South Holland, Eccl. Records*, N. Y., Vol. i, p. 192.

⁷⁹ *Doc. Hist.*, N. Y., Vol. iii, pp. 37-39.

Congregationalists and English Presbyterians found a welcome in New Netherland, although the authorities, civil and ecclesiastical, of the Province naturally favored the latter, whose agreement with the Reformed Church was not limited to "fundamentals," but also extended to church polity in detail.

Early in 1642, the Reverend Francis Doughty, Presbyterian minister, as agent for some English residing at Rhode Island, at Cohannock, and other places, negotiated with the Director General and Council a patent for a settlement at Mespeth on Long Island that they might "according to the *Dutch Reformation* enjoy freedom of conscience."⁴⁰ Kieft readily granted Doughty and his associates freedom of conscience *according to the Dutch Reformation* in the clause of the Mespeth patent, which gave them power "to exercise the *Reformed* Christian Religion and church discipline which they profess."⁴¹ In the autumn of the same year, John Throghmorton, asked Kieft for permission to settle under his jurisdiction with thirty-five families and to live in peace, "provided they be allowed to enjoy the same privileges as other subjects and to freely exercise *their* religion." The following summer, the patent was issued for the territory that he and his companions had occupied, but it makes no mention of religion.⁴² In the Spring of 1644, another English colony of Presbyterians settled on Long Island under the Dutch jurisdiction. They had sent a committee there in 1643 to purchase lands from the Indians. Early in the following year, the English were settled "in the great plain, which is called Hempstead, where Mr. Fordham, an English minister, had the rule."⁴³ The reference to Mr. Fordham very likely is due to his civil position in the new settlement, as the ministerial office was not then exercised by him, but by Richard Denton, who is later described by the Dutch ministers of New Amsterdam as "sound in the faith, of a friendly disposition, and beloved by all."⁴⁴ It is not strange, therefore, that the settlement of Hempstead received a patent

⁴⁰ *Col. Docs., N. Y.*, Vol. i, pp. 424-31.

⁴¹ *Book of Patents GG*, p. 49; *RIKER, Annals of Newtown*, p. 413; *O'CALLAGHAN, History of New Netherland*, Vol. i, p. 425.

⁴² *Col. Docs., N. Y.*, Vol. xiii, p. 10.

⁴³ *Broad Advice, N. Y. Hist. Soc. Col.*, 2d Ser., Vol. iii, p. 257 (1857). In 1642 Lechford speaks of him as a minister out of office.

⁴⁴ *Ecd. Records, N. Y.*, Vol. i, p. 410.

with the same religious provisions as were contained in the patent of Mespath. Thus the settlers received full power and authority "to exercise the *Reformed* religion, which they profess, with the ecclesiastical discipline thereunto belonging."⁴⁵ On the termination of the disastrous Indian war in 1645, two more English settlements on Long Island succeeded in obtaining a charter. This was evidently formulated by the patentees to avoid a recurrence of New England persecution, to which they had been subjected prior to their removal to New Netherland. At this time Kieft was ready to make any possible concession that would attract new settlers and retain in the country the old inhabitants, for there was no hope for the improvement of the Dutch Province without an increase of its population seriously reduced in the Indian war. The settlers of these towns apparently were not considered within the pale of the Reformed Church, and so the Director General was not in a position to grant them the exercise of the Reformed Religion, which alone could be publicly practiced according to the constitutional charter of the Freedoms and Exemptions of 1640. Consequently all that he could do, was to grant them "Liberty of Conscience," which was further defined as freedom from "molestacon or disturbance from any Magistrate or Magistrates, or any other Ecclesiastical Minister, that may extend jurisdiction over them." A precedent for this concession was found in "the Customs and manner of Holland." The settlers of the town of Flushing were the first to receive this concession in their charter. A few months later Gravesend received a charter with the same provision.⁴⁶

Peter Stuyvesant's religious policy towards English settlements of this kind under Dutch jurisdiction was neither more nor less liberal than that of his predecessor, for the simple reason that the conduct of both in the matter was regulated by the charter of 1640. Thus in 1652, some New England settlers with some individuals from Hempstead obtained permission from Stuyvesant to plant a new colony in the vicinity of the old settlement on land not yet occupied, which was, therefore, commonly

⁴⁵ Patent, November 16, 1644, printed in THOMPSON, *History of Long Island*, Vol. ii, p. 5.

⁴⁶ Laws and Ordinances of New Netherland, *New York Dead Book*, Vol. ii, p. 178; WALLER, *History of Flushing*; Appendix, *Doc. Hist., N. Y.*, Vol. i, p. 411.

known as Newtown, although its official name was Middelburg. The patent granted them the free exercise of *their* Protestant religion.⁴⁷ Some of the inhabitants were Presbyterians, but the great majority of them were Independents.⁴⁸ In 1655, a settlement of English in Westchester was brought under Dutch jurisdiction and called by the Dutch Ostdorp. The inhabitants were Independents, and so there was no reason to disturb their religious worship.⁴⁹ There was likewise no interference with the religion of Jamaica, settled in 1656 mostly from Hempstead and called by the Dutch Rustdorp, as long as it was a question of the Reformed worship.⁵⁰ Most significant, however, are the long negotiations for the establishment of a settlement between some prospective New Haven settlers and Peter Stuyvesant, which illustrate most clearly the New Netherland attitude towards the "New England Way." The demands of the English are well put in their proposal, dated November 8, 1661, at Milford, N. E. They were evidently bent on transferring all their civil and ecclesiastical institutions to the projected settlement. The newly planted church or churches of the English were "to enjoy all such powers, privileges and liberties in the Congregational way as they have enjoyed in New England . . . without any disturbance, impediment or impositions of any other forms, orders or customs." They insisted that this approval of their churches be acknowledged by some public testimony upon record.⁵¹ Thus far they had asked for nothing that had not already been conceded to others in the Dutch Province, because there was "no difference in the fundamental points of the worship of God betwixt (the Dutch churches) and the churches of New England as only in the Rueling of the same."⁵² The church polity of the former was Presbyterian, while that of the latter was Congregational. However now the Provincial government was asked not only to allow a corporate existence to individual churches, but also to allow these English churches planted under the Dutch government "to consociate together for mutual helpfulness," to call a Synod and

⁴⁷ RIKER, *Annals of Newtown*, p. 40.

⁴⁸ *Ecc. Recs.*, N. Y., Vol. i, p. 396.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*; cf. *Doc. Hist.*, N. Y., Vol. iii, p. 557.

⁵⁰ Cf. ZWIERLEIN, *Religion in New Netherland*, p. 176.

⁵¹ *Col. Docs.*, N. Y., Vol. xiii, p. 208.

⁵² Stuyvesant to Milford, November 28, 1661, *Col. Docs.*, N. Y., Vol. xiii, p. 210.

establish "by common consent such orders according to scripture as may be requisite for the suppressing of haiesies, schismes and false worships and for the establishment of truth with peace." Stuyvesant was willing to make all possible concessions, again advertng to the fact "that there is noe at the least differency in the fundamentall points of religion, the differency in churches orders and governments so small that wee doe not stick at it, therefore have left and leave still to the freedome off your owne consciences."⁵³ He even granted them full liberty to plant churches in the Congregational way and to organize them into a Synod.⁵⁴ The projected settlement, however, was not realized until after the English conquest of New Netherland, at Milford, soon changed to Newark.⁵⁵

II

The rise of organized dissent within New Netherland was a by-product of the immigration resulting from the concessions of the charter of the Freedoms and Exemptions of 1640. Yet it contained the prohibition of the public worship of any other religion than the Reformed. The issue, however, was not raised till the administration of Stuyvesant when efforts were made for the first time to organize dissenting worship, especially by Lutherans and Quakers. Both consequently found themselves exposed to persecution,⁵⁶ which extended also to Jews for fear that they also might be tempted to do the same. Of course there were also economic reasons that inspired the repression of the Jews.⁵⁷ No one disputes the fact of these persecutions, but there is considerable unwillingness to have any one else than Stuyvesant share the responsibility for the same. Nevertheless it was the clergy of the Reformed Church at New Amsterdam that petitioned for the intervention of Stuyvesant when "inhabitants and unqualified persons ventured to hold conventicles and gatherings and assumed to teach the Gospel" in Newtown. The ministers feared that this bad example would find imitation and result in quarrels, confusion, and disorders in Church and com-

⁵³ Same to same, March 11, 1662, *ibid.*, p. 216.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 281.

⁵⁵ Cf. FISKE, *Dutch and Quaker Colonies in America*, Vol. ii, pp. 12-15.

⁵⁶ ZWIERLEIN, *Religion in New Netherland*, pp. 187-246.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 247-265.

monalty.⁴⁸ They could rely upon the Director General's good offices in the matter, as they had already obtained, in answer to their remonstrance against the petition of the Lutherans for the public exercise of the Unaltered Augsburg Confession, the assurance that "he would rather relinquish his office than grant permission in this matter, since it is contrary to the first article of his commission, which was confirmed by him with an oath, not to permit any other than the Reformed Doctrine."⁴⁹ Stuyvesant now expressed his decision to have placards issued against those persons, who, without either ecclesiastical or secular authority, acted as teachers in interpreting and expounding God's Holy Word. Stuyvesant also felt that this was a violation of the political and ecclesiastical rules of the fatherland, and an occasion for an outbreak of heresy and schism. Consequently all such conventicles, both public and private, were prohibited under heavy penalties in the ordinance of February 1, 1656.⁵⁰

Although the ordinance legislated for the repression of the freedom of religious worship in conventicles not within the pale of the Reformed Church, the Director General and Council were careful to include the more liberal provisions of the "Articles" that had been presented by John de Laet in the name of the West India Company to the States General for their approval. They did not "hereby intend to force the conscience of any to the prejudice of formerly given patents." This can only refer to the patents of Flushing and Gravesend, which grant "Liberty of conscience according to the Custome and manner of Holland, without molestacon or disturbance from any Magistrate or Magistrates, or any other ecclesiastical minister, that may extend jurisdiccon over them." Stuyvesant's interpretation of this liberty of conscience did not include freedom of worship either in public or private conventicles. However, he expressly stated that he had no desire to invade the sanctuary of the home with this legislation, which did not affect "the reading of God's Holy Word, family prayers and worship, *each in his own house.*" Thus the ordinance distinguished three kinds of worship: (1) Worship in

⁴⁸ *Ecd. Recs., N. Y.*, Vol. i, p. 410.

⁴⁹ *Ecd. Recs., N. Y.*, Vol. i, p. 318.

⁵⁰ *Records of New Amsterdam*, Vol. i, p. 20; Vol. ii, p. 34; *Eccles. Records, N. Y.*, Vol. i, p. 343.

public conventicles; (2) worship in private conventicles, and (3) worship within the family. The last was all that was allowed those that were not adherents of the Reformed Religion. This precisely constituted "Liberty of conscience according to the custome and manner of Holland."⁶¹ The publication and execution of the ordinance was entrusted to the fiscal and inferior magistrates and schouts throughout New Netherland, and its presence in town records shows the fidelity with which these orders were fulfilled.⁶² In this way the Director General and Council believed that they had made ample provision for "the glory of God, the promotion of the Reformed Religion, and public peace, harmony, and welfare."

Nevertheless a Lutheran minister came to New Amsterdam to organize Lutheran worship there. The event called forth a vigorous protest from the Dutch clergy of the town, who summarized, in a remonstrance of six points⁶³ directed to the Burgomasters and Schepens, the injurious consequences of the exercise of the Lutheran confession not only to the religious, but also to the political interests of this place, as the strife in religious matters resulting therefrom would produce confusion in political matters and thus a united and peaceful people would be transformed into a Babel of confusion.⁶⁴ The ministers no doubt had in mind the colony of Rhode Island, which they regarded as the cess-pool of New England, full of erring spirits and enthusiasts.⁶⁵ The Burgomasters and Schepens could not believe that the directors of the West India Company, whom the Lutheran preacher represented as favorable to Lutheran worship, would tolerate any other than the true Reformed in this place, inasmuch as the oath of office "to help maintain the true Reformed Religion and to suffer no other religion or sects," had been approved by these directors. The Lutheran minister was accordingly forbidden to hold any public or private conventicles, and the proceedings were

⁶¹ Cf. HUBERT, *Les Pays-Bas Espagnols et La République des Provinces Unies, La Question Religieuse*, p. 97.

⁶² Het Bouk Van Het Durp Utrecht, A6, 1657, *Hall of Records*, Kings County, Brooklyn.

⁶³ *Ecdl. Recs.*, N. Y., Vol. i, pp. 386-88.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. i, p. 400.

reported to the Director General and Council, who commended in every particular the action taken and ordered the strict enforcement of the ordinance of February 1, 1656, against conventicles, as this was "necessary for the maintenance and conservation, not only of the Reformed divine service, but also of political and civil peace, quietness, and harmony."⁶⁶ The Dutch ministers did not rest easy till the Lutheran preacher was transported from the colony.

Throughout the agitation there was no lack of support on the part of the Classis of Amsterdam, the ecclesiastical authority of the Colonial Church in the Fatherland. It was even less tolerant of ecclesiastical differences than the ministers in the colony.⁶⁷ In their eyes the concession of the freedom of religious worship to the Lutherans would entail the concession of a similar privilege to the Mennonites and English Independents, and even to the Jews, who had in fact made this request of the governor and had "also attempted to erect a synagogue for the exercise of their blasphemous religion."⁶⁸ The Classis expressed, with deep emotion, its realization of the fact that under such circumstances a pastor's work would have greatly increased and his path would have been beset with obstacles and difficulties, which would interfere with a minister's good and holy efforts for the extension of the cause of Christ. Under the influence of the Classis of Amsterdam, the directors of the West India Company also classed with the Mennonites the English Independents amongst those who might urge claims for the freedom of religious worship upon the concession of such a privilege to the Lutherans. Some uneasiness was experienced in regard to the States of Holland who might be inclined to grant the Lutheran petition, but these fears of the Classis were set at rest by the promise which the directors of the West India Company gave to resist any such concession.⁶⁹ In this matter, the decision of the company was pronounced finally, February 23, 1654, when the directors resolved not to tolerate any Lutheran pastors there, nor any other public worship than the

⁶⁶ *Eccl. Recs., N. Y.*, Vol. i, p. 390.

⁶⁷ The right of English Independents to public worship was never disputed by either Stuyvesant or the ministers of New Amsterdam.

⁶⁸ *Eccl. Recs., N. Y.*, Vol. i, p. 348.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. i, p. 322.

true Reformed. The Classis of Amsterdam was perfectly satisfied and did not doubt but that henceforth the Reformed Doctrine "would be maintained without being hindered by the Lutherans and other erring spirits."⁷⁰ When the directors of the Company announced to Stuyvesant their absolute denial of the Lutheran petition, "pursuant to the customs hitherto observed by us and the East India Company," they recommended him to deny all similar petitions, but "in the most civil and least offensive way, and to employ all possible but moderate means in order to induce them to listen, and finally join the Reformed Church, and thus live in greater love and harmony."⁷¹

When the Lutherans in Amsterdam again interceded in behalf of their fellow believers in New Netherland, and rumors were rife of permission to be granted by the directors of the West India Company and the City of Amsterdam "to all sorts of persuasions . . . to exercise their special forms of worship" in their respective colonies,⁷² the Classis of Amsterdam immediately directed its deputies on Indian affairs to wait upon these directors and magistrates of Amsterdam and insist on the "injuriousness of the general permission of all sorts of persuasions."⁷³ When another petition from the New Netherland Lutherans reached the directors of the company, the Classis again instructed these deputies "with all serious arguments . . . to check, at the beginning, this toleration of all sorts of religions, and especially of the Lutherans, lest God's Church come to suffer more and more injury as time goes on."⁷⁴ The deputies of the Classis soon learned that the directors of the West India Company had in fact resolved to connive at the free exercise of dissenting worship. Their representations against the adoption of this religious policy influenced the directors finally to abide by the resolution of the previous year.⁷⁵ The petitioners were told that the concession of religious worship to the Lutherans exceeded the powers of the West India Company and depended on the States-General, to

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. i, p. 323.

⁷¹ *Col. Docs.*, N. Y., Vol. xiv, p. 250.

⁷² *Ecc. Recs.*, N. Y., Vol. i, p. 357.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, Vol. i, p. 360.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. i, p. 372.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. i, p. 375.

whom they were referred.⁷⁶ The deputies were not so successful with the burgomasters of the City of Amsterdam, from whom they could only extort the indefinite promise that they would attend to the matter at the proper time, when information should arrive that the sects carried on the exercise of their religions. The magistrates of Amsterdam declared that they could not force the consciences of men, and the ministers denied that this was the purpose of their intervention. Under these circumstances, the Classis, not feeling entirely at ease, resolved to encourage "the consistory in New Netherland to continue their good zeal to check these evils in every possible way; diligence and labor are required to prevent false opinions and foul heresies from becoming prejudicial to the pure truth." This is also the burden of the letter,⁷⁷ which the Classis of Amsterdam sent the consistory of New Netherland, to introduce the Reverend Everardus Welius, the first minister to the city's colony of New Amstel. They were justified in their feeling of anxiety when they learned of the departure of a Lutheran minister, whose final expulsion from the colony of New Netherland must have been as great a relief to them as to the colonial clergy. Meanwhile the Classis saw the inconsistency of the concession of freedom of worship to the Swedish Lutherans on the South River and of its denial to the Dutch Lutherans on the North River at New Amsterdam. The ministers therefore resolved that the directors were to be urged to correct this abuse in the territory of the West India Company and the burgomasters requested to instruct their vice-director Alrichs to oppose the Lutherans and other sects in the district subject to the authority of the City of Amsterdam.⁷⁸ Both promised to be on their guard, and not permit, but rather endeavor to prevent the public exercise of the Lutheran worship.⁷⁹ Stuyvesant,

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. i, p. 378. Stuyvesant was officially informed that the Lutherans were given no more liberty in their worship than "the permission quietly to have their exercises at their houses." *Col. Docs.*, N. Y., Vol. xiv, pp. 386-388. The Classis observed: "We cannot interpret this in any other way than that every one must have freedom to serve God quietly within his dwelling in such manner as his religion may prescribe, without instituting any public conventicles or gatherings. When this interpretation is recognized, our complaints will cease."

⁷⁷ *Ecc. Recs.*, N. Y., Vol. i, p. 378.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. i, p. 377.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. i, p. 382.

nevertheless, faithfully fulfilled the stipulation of the treaty with the Swedes, which guaranteed them freedom of Lutheran worship even after the conquest of New Sweden, and there is no evidence that the clergy of New Amsterdam made any attempt to change his policy in this regard.⁸⁰ The Classis was gratified with better results from the commissioners of the City's colony, who, August 22, 1659, resented "the bold undertaking of the Swedish parson to preach there in the colony without permission," and ordered the vice-director "by proper means to put an end to or prevent such presumption on the part of other sectaries," because "as yet no other religion but the Reformed can or may be tolerated there."⁸¹

While the directors of the West India Company maintained the exclusive privilege of the Dutch Reformed Church in New Netherland, they tried to make some concessions to the Lutherans by ordering the administration of baptism according to an older but admitted form. Now the ministers of the colony again found earnest support and encouragement in their opposition from the Classis of Amsterdam, but the directors persisted in their demands,⁸² and manifested so much displeasure, that the deputies of the Classis on Indian affairs delayed addressing them on the subject until further correspondence with the brethren in New Netherland.⁸³ The directors were not satisfied with the fact that the Lutherans were now again taking part in the divine service of the Reformed Church; they wished to exclude any possibility of another separation, that might arise if they should continue such precise forms and expressions, as the Lutherans could very easily obtain from the authorities in the Fatherland the right of organizing separate Divine Service, which the directors would then be powerless to prevent. Stuyvesant was, therefore, again directed, December 29, 1659, to admonish

⁸⁰ This fact should not be forgotten by those historians who wish to throw all the responsibility for the policy of religious repression on Stuyvesant. It is all the more noteworthy since the concession to the Swedes was due to the force of circumstances at the time of the conquest.

⁸¹ *Col. Docs., N. Y.*, Vol. ii, p. 61. However the official orthodoxy of the New Amstel began to give way in 1662 to the urgent necessity of obtaining colonists to repel English encroachments from Maryland. Cf. ZWIERLEIN, *Religion in New Netherland*, p. 130.

⁸² *Eccl. Recs., N. Y.*, Vol. i, p. 440; *Col. Docs., N. Y.*, Vol. xiv, p. 429.

⁸³ *Eccl. Recs., N. Y.*, Vol. i, p. 442.

the ministers to employ the old formula of baptism without waiting for further orders from the Classis of Amsterdam. Thus all dissensions in the Church and State of New Netherland would cease.⁶⁴ The directors of the Company had lost patience "with scruples about unnecessary forms, which cause more division than edification." Before their departure from Holland, the directors gave to two newly appointed preachers for New Netherland books containing the old formula which they had to promise to use in the exercise of their clerical office.⁶⁵ When Megapolensis and Drisius, the two ministers at New Amsterdam, learned this, they also resolved to use the old formula, prescribed by the directors. "with the design of avoiding any division in the churches of the country."⁶⁶

One of the points made against the concession of Lutheran worship was the consequent necessity of also giving liberty of worship to the Jews, who had forced their way into the colony in spite of the opposition of Stuyvesant. The directors of the Amsterdam Chamber confessed their desire to exclude the Jews, but they were sorely in need of Jewish capital, and so had to allow Jewish immigration into New Netherland. As soon as a rumor arose that the Jews would erect a synagogue for the exercise of their worship, the Dutch minister, Megapolensis, was immediately alive to the dangers of such a toleration of the Jews, "who have no other God than the unrighteous Mammon and no other aim than to get possession of Christian property, and to ruin all other merchants by drawing all trade to themselves." He earnestly requested the Classis of Amsterdam to use its influence with the directors of the Company to have "these godless rascals, who are of no benefit to the country, but look at everything for their own profit," removed from the Province.⁶⁷ Nevertheless the Jews remained, though Stuyvesant and his Council did all in their power to oust them. Here again the need of Jewish capital saved the Jews, and the directors at Amsterdam granted some relief from various disabilities under which Stuyvesant put the Jews. Thus the Director General failed to win over the directors to his

⁶⁴ *Col. Docs., N. Y.*, Vol. xiv, p. 451.

⁶⁵ *Col. Docs., N. Y.*, Vol. xiv, p. 461.

⁶⁶ *Ecd. Recs., N. Y.*, Vol. i, p. 486.

⁶⁷ *Ecd. Recs., N. Y.*, Vol. i, p. 535.

anti-Semitic policy by pointing out the dangers connected with further commercial concessions to the Jews. "To give liberty to the Jews will be very detrimental there, because the Christians there will not be able at the same time to do business. Giving them liberty, we cannot refuse the Lutherans and Papists."⁸⁸ Here Stuyvesant confounded religion and trade, and the directors insisted that the privileges granted by the company to the Jews in New Netherland were restricted to civil and political rights without giving them a right to claim the privilege of exercising their religion in a synagogue or at a gathering.⁸⁹ The directors were therefore greatly displeased on learning that Stuyvesant had refused the Jews permission to trade at Fort Orange and on the South River and also to purchase real estate which had been granted this Nation in the Netherlands. To show that his anxiety had not been premature, Stuyvesant informed the directors that the Jews had many times requested "the free and public exercise of their abominable religion . . . What they may obtain from your Honors, time will tell."⁹⁰ However, the Jews never obtained more than was granted to other forms of dissent outside of conquered New Sweden and Amsterdam's colony of New Amstel. They were allowed in all tranquillity their religion in their houses, which were, therefore, to be built "close together in a convenient place on one or the other side of New Amsterdam—at their own choice, as they have done here."⁹¹ Some respect was also shown to their manner of life. In June 1658, two cases against Jacob Barsimson were called before the municipal court of New Amsterdam. "Though the defendant is absent, yet no default is entered against him, as he was summoned on his Sabbath."⁹² When the instructions for sworn butchers were framed, a special oath was presented to the Jews, Asser Levy and Moses Lucena, that exempted them from killing hogs, which their religion did not allow.⁹³

No special law was necessary to frustrate all efforts at the organization of Lutheran or Jewish worship besides the placard

⁸⁸ OFFENHEIM, *Early Hist. of Jews in New York*, p. 30.

⁸⁹ *Col. Docs., N. Y.*, Vol. xiv, p. 341.

⁹⁰ OFFENHEIM, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

⁹¹ *Col. Docs., N. Y.*, Vol. xiv, p. 351.

⁹² *Records of New Amsterdam*, Vol. ii, p. 396.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, Vol. vii, pp. 259, 261.

against conventicles, but this ordinance was not thought sufficiently severe to repress the Quakers who found no favor in the eyes of either the New Amsterdam clergy or government. The ministers saw in the Quakers the instruments of Satan to disturb the churches in America as well as in Europe, "wandering to and fro sowing their tares" among the people of the Province, but they trusted that God would baffle the designs of Satan;⁹⁴ the Director General and Council regarded them as anarchists, whose doings tended not only to the subversion of the Protestant religion, but also to the abolition of law and order, and to the contempt of civil authority.⁹⁵ For the repression of these "seducers of the people, who are destructive unto magistracy and ministry," an ordinance was at length issued, which made vessels bringing Quakers into the Province subject to confiscation and persons entertaining a Quaker a single night, liable to a fine of fifty pounds, of which one-half was to go to the informer.⁹⁶

The proclamation of this ordinance met with open resistance from the people of Flushing, who were unwilling to infringe and violate the patent of the town, granted in the name of the States-General, guaranteeing "Liberty of Conscience according to the custom and manner of Holland, without molestacon or disturbance, from any magistrate or magistrates that may extend jurisdiction over them."⁹⁷ Stuyvesant immediately instituted vigorous proceedings against the remonstrants, who were all brought to retract the principles which they had advanced in contradiction to the government's policy. Although they had espoused the cause of religious liberty, they had not the heroic fortitude that made the Quakers seal their testimony with their blood.⁹⁸ During these proceedings, twelve of the principal inhabitants of Jamaica informed the Director General and Council that the Quakers had unusual correspondence at the house of Henry Townsend, where they and their followers had also been "lodged and provided with meat and drink."⁹⁹ About the same time the Schout of Gravesend charged the former town clerk, John Tilton, with the crime

⁹⁴ *Ecc. Recs., N. Y.*, Vol. i, p. 400.

⁹⁵ *Records of New Amsterdam*, Vol. ii, p. 346.

⁹⁶ BRODHEAD, *History of State of New York*, Vol. i, p. 637.

⁹⁷ *Col. Docs., N. Y.*, Vol. xiv, pp. 402-04.

⁹⁸ Cf. ZWIERLEIN, *Religion in New Netherland*, pp. 219-223.

⁹⁹ *Col. Docs. N. Y.*, Vol. xiv, p. 405.

of having lodged a Quakeress with some others of that abominable sect,¹⁰⁰ but nowhere did Stuyvesant find so much support in the repression of this sect as in Hempstead. The magistrates of the town had learned "by woeful experience that of late a sect hath taken such ill effect amongst us to the seducing of certain of the inhabitants, who by giving heed to the seducing spirits under the notion of being inspired by the Holy Spirit of God, have drawn away with their error and misguided light those which together with us did worship God in spirit and truth, and more unto our grief to separate from us: and unto the great dishonor of God, and in violation of the established laws and the Christian order, that ought to be observed with love, peace, and concord, have broke the Sabbath, and neglected to join with us in the true worship and service of God, as formerly they have done." The inhabitants of the town and to the uttermost bounds thereof were therefore ordered to give no entertainment, nor to have any converse with the Quakers, who at the very most "are permitted for one night's lodging in the parish, and so to depart quietly without dispute or debate the next morning."¹⁰¹ The opposition thus early manifested by the magistrates to the Quakers was the policy pursued without alteration in Hempstead. When Thomas Terry and Samuel Dearing petitioned for leave to settle some families at Matinecock within the jurisdiction of Hempstead, the magistrates of the town drew up a contract, dated July 4, 1661, which bound the petitioners to observe the laws of Hempstead, to admit only inhabitants possessing letters of commendation and approbation from the magistrates, elders or selected townsmen of their former place of residence, and finally "to bring in no Quakers or any such like opinionists, but such as are approved by the inhabitants of Hempstead." This contract was confirmed and still more specified as late as June 23, 1663.¹⁰²

In spite of persecution, the Quaker movement gained strength on Long Island. When some inhabitants of Jamaica asked for a minister from New Amsterdam to preach and baptize, Stuyvesant instructed the minister Drisius, the deputy sheriff Resolved

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 406.

¹⁰¹ THOMPSON, *History of Long Island*, Vol. ii, p. 11.

¹⁰² *Records of North and South Hempstead*, Vol. i, pp. 143-45; *Col. Docs.*, N. Y. Vol. xiv, p. 528.

Waldron, and the clerk Nicholas Bayard to go to Jamaica and obtain minute information on the violation of the ordinance against private conventicles by the Quakers and other sects.¹⁰³ Stuyvesant then found it necessary to purify the authorities in the town of unfaithful elements who "connive with the Sect, giving entertainment unto their scattering preachers, leave and way unto their unlawful meetings and prohibited conventicles."¹⁰⁴ The three new magistrates, Richard Everett, Nathaniel Denton, and Andrew Messenger, whose zeal for the good of the country and the Protestant cause would ensure the observance of the ordinance against conventicles, were ordered to call the inhabitants of the town together to sign a written statement, by which they bound themselves to inform the authorities about any meetings and conventicles of Quakers within the town and also to assist them against the Quakers in the case of need.¹⁰⁵ Only six refused to subscribe, upon whom finally soldiers were quartered with the promise of relief from this burden as soon as they would sign the pledge.¹⁰⁶ However the Jamaica authorities could do little to stamp out the Quakers as long as they assembled outside of their jurisdiction at the house of John Bowne in Flushing, who was accordingly arrested, tried, and sentenced. When the Quaker refused to submit to the judgment of the court, he was finally transported to Holland.¹⁰⁷ Stuyvesant sent a report of the case to the directors at Amsterdam, in which he complained of John Bowne as a disturber of the peace, who "obstinately persisted in his refusal to pay the fine imposed by the Court of the Province of New Netherland, and who now was banished" in the hope that other dissenters might be discouraged. The Director General also declared that he was determined to adopt "more severe prosecutions," if this example should fail to deter these sectarians from further contempt of authority in Church and State.¹⁰⁸

When the directors at Amsterdam received Stuyvesant's letter, they felt that it was time again to restrain the religious zeal

¹⁰³ *Col. Docs., N. Y.*, Vol. xiv, p. 489.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. xii, p. 490.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 492; *Jamaica Record*, Vol. i, p. 120.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. xiv, p. 493; *Amer. Hist. Rec.*, Vol. i, p. 210.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. ZWIERLEIN, *Religion in New Netherland*, pp. 234-241.

¹⁰⁸ O'CALLAGHAN, *History of New Netherland*, Vol. ii, p. 456.

of the Director General within the limits which they thought would not injure the interests of their colony. While they were also heartily desirous of seeing the Province free from Quakers and other sectarians, their zeal for the religious unity of the Province was tempered by the fear that a too rigorous policy might diminish the population and stop immigration, which had to be favored at this early stage of the development of the colony. Stuyvesant was, therefore, told by the directors, April 16, 1663, that he might shut his eyes to the presence of dissent in New Netherland, or at least that he was not to force the conscience, but to allow every one to have his own belief as long as he behaved quietly and legally, gave no offence to his neighbors, and did not oppose the government. The directors referred Stuyvesant to the moderation practiced toward all forms of dissent in the City of Amsterdam, which made it the asylum of the persecuted and oppressed from every country, with the result of a large increase of its population. The same blessing would follow an imitation of this policy of moderation in the colony of New Netherland.¹⁰⁹ The letter of the directors has generally been interpreted in the light of an edict of toleration extended to the Province of New Netherland, with which all persecution of the Quakers ceased until the termination of the Dutch rule.¹¹⁰ A normal trip across the Atlantic in those days took about six weeks, so that the acts of repression, executed by the Council of New Netherland during the month of May, probably preceded the arrival of this letter in New Amsterdam. Thus on May 7th, the Fiscal was ordered to make an inventory of the property of John Tilton of Gravesend, who was then in prison.¹¹¹ Ten days later, a warrant was granted to remove the prisoner and his wife, Mary Tilton, from the province.¹¹² On the same day, a new ordinance was issued by the provincial government which inflicted heavy penalties upon skippers and barques, smuggling into the country any of those "abominable imposters, runaways, and strolling people called Quakers."¹¹³ There is no doubt, however, that the Dutch

¹⁰⁹ *Col. Docs., N. Y.*, Vol. xiv, p. 526.

¹¹⁰ BRODHEAD, *History of New York*, Vol. i, p. 707; O'CALLAGHAN, *op. cit.*, Vol. ii, p. 457.

¹¹¹ O'CALLAGHAN, *Cal. Hist. Mss. (Dutch)*, Vol. i, p. 246.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, p. 247.

¹¹³ THOMPSON, *History of Long Island*, Vol. ii, p. 295.

minister Polhemius of Midwout, who in all his correspondence keeps himself free from the persecuting spirit of his fellow ministers in New Amsterdam, referred to some common measure of repression adopted against Quakers, when he wrote to the Classis of Amsterdam only four months before Stuyvesant's capitulation to the English: "They will have the Quakers . . . before Court under oath, which the Lord taught not."¹¹⁴ In fact, the letter of the directors only requests Stuyvesant to connive at dissent within his jurisdiction, but at the same time entertain the thought that such connivance might not be possible, and in this event it merely reiterates the command given repeatedly in previous letters of the directors on similar occasions, at least to admit freedom of conscience, to allow every inhabitant of the Province to have his own belief. A more liberal interpretation of the letter also makes the conduct of the directors toward John Bowne unintelligible.¹¹⁵ When Bowne petitioned the Directors of the

¹¹⁴ *Ecd. Recs., N. Y.*, Vol. i, p. 544; cf. correction of text in A. EEKHOF, *De Hervormde Kerk in N. Amerika*, Vol. ii, p. 86². Though "Religion in New Netherland" appeared in 1910, Dr. Eekhof still writes in 1913, *op. cit.*, Vol. i, p. 26, that "the history of the Reformed Church in North America is not yet written with the use of the latest discovered sources and based on the original documents." As he acknowledged my work to be "fluently written and well documented" and as he cites no other records than I do, except in one particular, Dr. Eekhof means, by *original*, untranslated documents. It is true that a careful study of his work discloses about twenty corrections of documentary material translated into English, of which seven rectify mistakes in dating letters made by Dr. Corwin in the *Ecclesiastical Records of New York*, and the remainder correct mistranslated words or phrases, but in neither case are the corrections of any importance as usually it is a question of only a trifling matter. So far as I have seen, his work has no corrections to offer of any translations in the *Colonial Documents of New York*, and but of one word in Fernow's *Records of New Amsterdam*. Though differently arranged, Dr. Eekhof's narrative of the growth of the Dutch Reformed Church in New Netherland and of the repression of organized dissent is a close parallel to my own exposition of these matters. This is the case, not because he is dependent on my work, except here and there and that duly acknowledged in his footnotes, but because he makes as honest a use of the data drawn from the source material as I have done. Yet Dr. Eekhof takes occasion to remark anent "Religion in New Netherland" that "*the cult and church persuasion of the author peeps around the corner at every turn.*" (*Op. cit.*, Vol. i, p. 26.) The only new contribution by Dr. Eekhof is found in the documentary sources dealing with the relations of the Amsterdam Consistory with the West India Company in his book, *Bastiaen Jansz Crol*, which were not available in print before and make some corrections necessary in "Religion in New Netherland." This data has been utilized in this article. On the other hand Dr. Eekhof fails to take due account of the English immigration as a religious factor in New Netherland history; his point of view is too restricted, i. e., national and provincial without sufficient regard to the outside world.

¹¹⁵ *Journal of JOHN BOWNE, Amer. Hist. Record*, Vol. i, pp. 4-8.

West India Company for a pass to permit him to return to New Netherland, he was asked whether he intended to return to the colony to bring his wife and children to Holland. When he stated that his intention was to labor and maintain them there as he had done before, he was told that the directors thought it best for him to stay in Holland and to send for his wife and children, as *the Company does not give liberty there*. Bowne then appealed to the liberty guaranteed by the Flushing charter, but Director Perkins claimed that this patent was granted when nothing or little was heard in the colony of people of his persuasion. Bowne urged that the Quakers were a peaceable people, but he was told that their opposition to the laws of the Province proved the contrary to be the case. Although Bowne retorted that these laws were contrary to justice and righteousness and a violation of the privileges of their patent, the directors insisted that all those, who were unwilling to become subject to the ordinances of the colony, would not be permitted to live there. Nevertheless they drew up the conditions under which they would allow him to return to New Netherland. When Bowne received this paper to sign, he found the terms to be contrary to his conscience, faith, and religion.¹¹⁶ He immediately wrote a letter to the West India Company in reply. He had expected justice from the directors, but only beheld additional oppression. As late as June 9th, he complained in his letter to his wife that the Company detained his goods and denied him a passage home except on conditions so gross and unreasonable that he chose to suffer the want of the dear company of his wife, the ruin of his estate in his absence there, and the loss of his goods here rather than yield or consent to such injustice.¹¹⁷ At length Bowne did become quite free of the directors and he tells us in his journal that he again arrived at New Amsterdam early in the year 1664. He immediately proceeded to his home in Flushing, which was the first house he entered in the country. It is said that John Bowne again met the old Governor after the establishment of the English rule, as a private citizen, who then seemed ashamed of what he had done and glad to see the Quaker safe home again.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁶ THOMPSON, *History of Long Island*, Vol. ii, p. 387.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. ii, p. 386.

¹¹⁸ BESSE, *Sufferings of the Quakers*, Vol. ii, p. 237. Besse's account of the Bowne case is inaccurate.

Demonstration has, therefore, established that the policy of religious repression pursued in the Province of New Netherland on the outbreak of organized dissent was not merely local or temporary in character or personal to Stuyvesant. The colonial clergy, the natural custodians of the colony's orthodoxy, merited for their zeal in this regard the commendation of their ecclesiastical superiors in Holland, the Classis of Amsterdam, which insisted quite as vigorously with the directors of the West India Company in the Amsterdam Chamber on the repression of dissenting worship in private or public conventicles as the colonial clergy did with the civil authorities in the Province of New Netherland. The Director General did not fail to adopt all measures he judged necessary to fulfill the oath which bound him to maintain the exclusive worship of the Reformed Religion, and the directors in Holland did not at any time repudiate the policy of excluding all other worship, but they tried to persuade Stuyvesant to admit some connivance in regard to dissent, if this were possible, as they feared injury to the material interests of the Company, unless the policy of religious repression was tempered by some moderation. To insure this, all repressive ordinances were finally ordered to be submitted to the directors before their promulgation in the Province, but this meant no essential change of religious policy.

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MISCELLANY

A PARTIAL LIST OF THE CATHOLIC PRESS IN THE UNITED STATES

In his article on *Pioneer Efforts in Catholic Journalism in the United States*, the Rev. Dr. Foik, of the University of Notre Dame, dealt with the formation period of Catholic Journalism between the years 1809 and 1840.¹ "The whole disposition of Catholic journalism," he writes, "during these decades seems to have been to promote the harmony of society by removing from the pathway of non-Catholics the groundless prejudices and prepossessions which had grown up into social barriers, due chiefly to the circulation of misrepresentations and calumnies by the enemies of the Catholic Church in Europe and America and to the supineness of the Catholic body at large in the face of these attacks." In view of the influence of the press of the country in the present world struggle, it is interesting and instructive to know just how large a field is covered by the Catholic periodicals. The only lists published so far are those by a well-known historical student, the Rev. Dr. Middleton, of Villanova College.² In 1892, the number of such publications amounted to 457. The following list, which does not claim to be complete, is divided according to dioceses.

Alton

Franciscan Herald, Teutopolis, Ill.
The Western Catholic, Quincy, Ill.

Altoona

Altoona Monthly, Altoona, Pa.

Baltimore

Agnetican Monthly, Baltimore, Md.
Baltimore Catholic Review, Baltimore, Md.
The Catholic University Bulletin, Washington, D. C.

¹ Cf. *Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. i., pp. 258-270.

² Cf. *A list of Catholic and semi-Catholic Periodicals published in the United States from the earliest years down to the close of the year 1892*, in the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia*, Vol. iv (1893), pp. 213-242; and *Catholic Periodicals published in the United States from 1809 to 1892*, by the same writer in the *Records*, Vol. xix (1908), pp. 18-42.

The Colored Harvest, Baltimore, Md.
The Catholic Educational Review, Washington, D. C.
Georgetown College Journal, Washington, D. C.
The Catholic Historical Review, Washington, D. C.
The Indian Sentinel, Washington, D. C.
The Missionary, Washington, D. C.
The National Hibernian, Washington, D. C.
The New Century, Washington, D. C.
Pilgrims of Palestine, Washington, D. C.

Belleville

The Messenger, Belleville, Ill.

Bismarck

Volksfreund, Richardton, N. Dak.

Brooklyn

Catholic Deaf Mute, Richmond Hill, L. I., New York.
Record of C. B. L., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Slovenian Ave Maria, Brooklyn, N. Y.
The Tablet, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Boston

Boston College Stylus, Boston, Mass.
The Orphan's Friend, Boston, Mass.
The Pilot, Boston, Mass.
Sacred Heart Review, Boston, Mass.
The Working Boy, Boston, Mass.
The Hibernian, Boston, Mass.

Buffalo

C. M. B. A. Advocate, Buffalo, N. Y.
Aurora and Christliche, Buffalo, N. Y.
The Echo, Buffalo, N. Y.
Le Couteulx Leader, Buffalo, N. Y.
Catholic Union and Times, Buffalo, N. Y.
Volksfreund, Buffalo, N. Y.

Charleston

St. Anthony's Child Messenger, Florence, S. C.

Chicago

Amerikanisches Familien Blatt, Techny, Ill.
The Chicago Citizen, Chicago, Ill.
The Child Apostle, Chicago, Ill.
The Christian Family, Techny, Ill.

Dzien Swisty, Chicago, Ill.
Extension Magazine, Chicago, Ill.
Gazeta Katolicka, Chicago, Ill.
Journal of Our Lady of Victory's Mission, Chicago, Ill.
Katolicke Slovenske Noviny, Chicago, Ill.
Katholischer Jugendfreund, Evanston, Ill.
Le Courrier de l'Ouest, Chicago, Ill.
Pritel Ditek, Chicago, Ill.
Stadt Gottes, Techny, Ill.
The New World, Chicago, Ill.

Cincinnati

C. K. of A. Journal, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Home and Country, Cincinnati, Ohio.
St. Anthony's Messenger, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Sendbote des Gottlichen Herzens Jesu, Cincinnati, Ohio.
The Sodalist, Cincinnati, Ohio.
The Catholic Telegraph, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Young Catholic Messenger, Dayton, Ohio.

Cleveland

Catholic Bulletin, 5500 Lorain Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.
Magyarok Vasárnapja, Cleveland, Ohio.
Palonia, Cleveland, Ohio.
Stimme der Wahrheit, Cleveland, Ohio.
The Catholic Universe, Cleveland, Ohio.
Youngtownske Slovenske Noviny, Youngstown, Ohio.

Columbus

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DOCUMENTS

AN ACCOUNT OF THE VOYAGE MADE BY THE FRIGATES "PRINCESA" AND "FAVORITA" IN THE YEAR 1799 FROM SAN BLAS TO NORTHERN ALASKA

(Translated from an Unpublished Manuscript in the Archives of the University
of Santa Clara, California)¹

An account of the voyage made by Father John Riobó, as chaplain of His Majesty's frigates *la Princesa* and *la Favorita* to discover new lands and seas north of the settlements of the ports of Monterey and of our Father, San Francisco; whose Missions are in charge of the Apostolic Missionaries of the College of San Fernando of Mexico.

Departure—Storm and Vow to the Blessed Virgin

In the Frigate called the *Princesa*, naval Lieutenant, Don Ignatius Orteaga of the Royal Armada, went as Commandant of the expedition, Lieutenant Don Fernando Quiros y Miranda of the Royal Armada being second in command.

The Captain of the other Frigate, the *Favorita*, was a Lieutenant of the same rank, Don Juan Francis de la Bodega y Cuadra. This last ship carried 107 men on the roll and supplies for fifteen months, and the *Princesa*, a crew of 98 men with food for nineteen months. Both of them had a supply of water for seven months.

On February 11, 1799, we left the Port of San Blas at about midnight sailing to windward and casting anchor near the coast with light land breezes. On the twenty-fifth we decided to depart southward from Marias Islands unable, as we were, to make headway towards the north. On the twenty-sixth we doubled the Islands and we still had winds from the Fourth Quadrant blowing from the northwest and we lost always in Latitude until March 5. The winds then began to vary from north to northwest. We had reached at that time 19 degrees 47 minutes north latitude and 8 degrees 21 minutes west of the meridian of San Blas.²

With winds blowing in the same direction we crossed the tropic on the seventeenth of the same month.

As soon as we left the torrid zone, the winds became very strong so that we were obliged to lie to several times, reefed sometimes with mainsail or foresail, sometimes with staysail. On April 4, the winds began to change towards the

¹ The original is in a sort of commonplace book, which was kept by the Franciscans at Santa Clara Mission and was found in the library there by the Jesuit Fathers when they took over the Mission about 1851. The translation is by the Very Rev. Walter Thornton, S.J., the present Rector of the University of Santa Clara. The book belonged to the old Santa Clara Mission, which was founded in 1777 and contains many private notes of the Superior on matters relating to the Indians. The book is about 2 inches thick; the pages are in splendid condition with no frayed edges; the edges are not cut sharply but are as in the old hand-made paper of the times. The pages are $8\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length by 6 inches in width. The *Mss. of the Voyage* is 8 folios long. The ink is a little faded, but clear. In the original there are twenty-four paragraphs, each paragraph being numbered, but in another hand from the original. The folio is written on both sides. The handwriting is good, and in marked contrast to the other letters of the collection. The present translation came to the *Review* through Mr. Michael Williams, of Carmel, California. Cf. GAZENHOF, *History of Oregon and California and the other Territories on the Northwest Coast of North America*, 2nd Ed., p. 125. Boston, 1845; PALOU, *Noticias*, t. iv, c. 2, pp. 71-73.

² Note that the meridian is taken from San Blas. This will account for the longitude in the narrative.

second quadrant and during that night a northeast wind rushed in on us with great fury and the frigate was tossed about violently. Nothing remained in place, even the medicine chest, notwithstanding its great weight, was thrown about and the greater part of its syrups, essential oils, and medicines were lost.

We continued on without further incident until the nineteenth, and reached about the forty-first degree of latitude and the thirty-seventh of longitude when we were assailed by a fierce southeastern storm. The hurricane raged all night, and we ran with the foresail only as we feared to carry more sail. On the twentieth in this storm, we lost sight of the *Favorita*, till then our inseparable companion.

On the morning of the same day, I went with the Commandant to the quarter deck, and in the name of all the crew on the Frigate he made a vow to Our Lady of the Rosary, patroness of the frigate. He promised the foresail as an offering at her shrine and likewise that he would carry, barefooted, the mast in procession to the Church at San Blas, if the Blessed Virgin would obtain our delivery from this and other dangers which we might encounter and should we return safely to harbor. As if a reward of this promise, Our Lady favored us with her powerful protection. Indeed, it would be difficult to find another example of a voyage of discovery fraught with so many dangers and so happily ended.

Henceforth the winds continued as favorable as we could wish although the rain and cold were annoying. We directed our course for the harbor of Bucareli.^{*} There we arrived on May 3, and met the *Favorita* which had entered at two o'clock in the morning, preceding us by only ten hours after fourteen days of separation. The wind did not allow us to cast anchor nearby, but we succeeded on the east coast in front of a small bay which we found later to be a fine port and to which we gave the name of Santa Cruz because we discovered it on Holy Cross day.

Here again we experienced the effects of Divine Providence which guided us. Compelled by the current and much more by strong gusts of wind we dropped anchor provisionally in the first propitious spot we met, intending to choose a better location later. There was not the least suspicion of danger. The next morning, however, at ebb tide we beheld an enormous rock directly in front of the ship. It was scarcely further from us than the length of the frigate. We would have been undoubtedly wrecked, had we advanced a little farther. On May 6, the two frigates went to a safe anchorage within the harbor of Santa Cruz. There were no other incidents worthy of note during the trip so far other than that the weather was persistently cold and there was much rain. We had also to regret the death of one soldier and a naval gunner.

Indians and Their Customs

From the first day we tried to get in touch with the Indians, searching for them among their rancherias. After having hidden their women in the woods, they came to us with signs and tokens of peace, some throwing white feathers in

^{*} Bucareli is situated on the southern extremity of Prince of Wales Island.

the air from a promontory on the sea, and others, standing in a line on the shore with their arms extended in the form of a cross. We gave gifts to each of them and they in turn gave us fish. The fish was of the ordinary kind, a very common species, yet as we were in great need of fresh food, we appreciated it highly. From that day they continued to come to our vessels at all hours, but especially at sunrise and sunset, bringing with them various articles for trading—fish, sleeping mats made of the bark of a certain tree, skins of seal, otter, deer, bear and other animals. They showed us their weapons and even traded us some of them. Their arrows are very finely made; some of them are pointed with flint, some with bone, but most of them have heads of copper and iron and they are very sharp. These Indians have a kind of armor something like that of the ancients with buckler and spear; they have even protection for their thighs and legs, very skilfully made from pieces of hard wood joined and fastened together with a kind of very strong cord. On their heads they carry the figure of a ferocious beast rather skilfully and artfully carved from wood. They are extremely fond of iron of which they possess many lances and knives. Their lances are very well made and are very straight and regular in form; some having a spear head twenty-four inches in length with a very long and well made staff. The knives are short with double cutting edges like a carpenter's plane. They are very desirous of obtaining copper and iron but they are chiefly anxious for iron, so much so that as soon as they see a piece of barrel hoop they care no longer for glass beads, mirrors, rings or anything else that is presented to them. Among these Indians three shades of color are found; some in complexion and features are very light Europeans; others have more the appearance of Indians especially in hair features and color; others again are just Indians like the rest found in America.

I sang a Mass of thanksgiving ashore on Ascension Day and some of the Indians attended it. On this occasion I preached a short sermon. In memory of the Feast the great guns of the frigates were fired, but the Indians showed no fear. Yet, when they first heard the report of the guns on our arrival they betook themselves to precipitate flight.

Exploration of the Land

After paying this homage to the Blessed Virgin, two boats armed and provided with food for eighteen days, were sent out to survey the bay, which penetrates far inland between mountains covered with fir trees and snow on the northern side. Don Francis Mourelle, the sailing master, who had the rank of Ensign on the Frigate, and his first mate Don Joseph Camacho, belonging to the Armada, together with the second officer of the *Favorita*, Don Juan Bautista de Aguirre and Don Juan Pantajo y Arriaga, took part in the expeditions.

After spending twenty-six days on their reconnoiter—an interval which we made good use of by taking in water, ballast and wood—they returned on June 12. Their return was a great relief to us as we feared that some mishap had befallen them. Indeed, everything was to be feared as a very great number of Indians, in more than one hundred canoes had come to establish themselves

in a cove of this harbor. They showed themselves so bold that they stole everything they could and went so far as to throw down the cross erected on the occasion of the Thanksgiving ceremonies, in order to obtain the nails.

The men brought back with them a map they made of the bay and the littoral. The work was done thoroughly and is of great importance.

We find that the place in which we now are is rather an arm of the sea than a bay. It contains ten harbors, each one very safe and sheltered. There is plenty of water, ballast and wood on the shore, a great many bays, numberless islands, and further on several arms of the sea which penetrate deeply into the land. These run to the north, east, northeast and northwest further than they were able to observe. The Indians robbed them of many necessary articles whenever they had an opportunity. They frequently attacked them, defied them to fight and kept them ever on the watch day and night. The men did not wish to harm them, but as the Indians became more bold every moment, scorned their arms and bragged repeatedly of their own power, they were compelled to act. They trained their guns on two of the canoes that were empty and demolished them without injuring the Indians. Finally they caught one of them who was more audacious than the rest and after whipping him with rods for a few moments, let him go. They were not troubled after this.

Desertion of Two Seamen and Trouble with the Indians

On June 13 the crew went to wash their clothes on the shore opposite to that which was occupied by the Indians, and with whom, after the unfortunate experience of the boats, we began again to treat freely.

On leaving, two sailors of the *Favorita* were missing. Our men turned back to look for them, but as they did not appear, an Indian of some authority among them was held as a prisoner. Once on board he was made to understand that if he was kept a prisoner, it was merely because two of our men were missing and that he should tell his people to bring them back. He shouted and a canoe arrived and after having spoken with the Indians on it, he told us that the seamen were in the Indian settlement and that at sunrise they would bring them back. They failed to so do, however; they brought only one in a canoe and stopped far from the frigate. The man was well hidden and as soon as they uncovered him we told him to come aboard. He answered that they would not allow him and we could see that the Indians took away an oar which he had seized in order to row to us. They brought him back to their hamlet shouting fiercely. At this the Indian on board was much vexed that they did not keep their promise. We were much troubled at this incident and we thought it a sufficient reason for breaking off with the Indians and recovering by force the two seamen. We pitied the poor Indians, however, and resolved to try other means. We determined therefore to capture some more of them in order that a greater number might make an exchange possible. For this purpose we managed to have an old Indian come to our frigate, but he was a little suspicious and went back saying that he would wait in his own canoe until it was boarded by our pilot's mate. This latter was advised to do so, but to make good his escape and enter our boat at the first opportunity. The Indians,

however, were very sharp and noticing that their old man was not coming back and that the pilot's mate was very eager to leave them and get into our boat, they seized him by force and tried to head their canoes for the shore. In order to scare them three or four musket shots were fired and at the same instant the *Favorita* began to shoot. Being afraid, the natives started to row very rapidly, but their canoes collided and some of them capsized. Immediately our boats went to the help of the drowning Indians. None were lost. In all we picked up about a score of them. We brought them aboard and gave them plenty to eat. They surely ate splendidly. After giving them presents of cloth to cover themselves, we made them understand that all this had been done merely because we wanted back our two men. We assured them that we wished to be their friends, but that we must have our two men back. They took leave of us with the best signs of friendship, our boats taking them to the Indian settlement to make the exchange. It was effected in the following manner. They gave one of our seamen for the old Indian who spent the night on board the *Favorita* and the other missing man for all the crowd of captives. They were a little reluctant to do this because the last sailor was held in a different settlement. We were very glad to receive our men again, but they confessed that they had deserted of their own accord, and that the Indians were not to blame. The Captain ordered them punished as well for their desertion as for the amount of trouble given to the expedition. They were tied to a gun and given twenty lashes.

We found afterwards and it grieved us very much that an Indian had been killed by a gunshot. The Captain felt, however, that it was very necessary that the Indians should understand that an attack on us in great numbers would be met with determination. He tried his best, however, not to injure them in any way.

Bucareli—The Native Women

On the evening of that day the Indians left and we sailed on the fifteenth to pursue our course, but contrary winds obliged us to enter the harbor of San Antonio which lies on the opposite side of Santa Cruz. Although we tried to do so twice, we were not able to depart until July 10. We took leave, not without much regret, of the Indians who had come to settle there in order to be near us.

During the fifty-eight days we spent in Bucareli, only ten or twelve were clear. During the rest of the time the weather was bad—winds, fogs and rains as in the severest winter, the greater part of the country is rocky and the arable land, which is scarce, is covered with very tall fir trees even down to the very shore. We found there also a variety of flowering plants and among them a certain herb or seed very like to the common rye, both as to the leaves and the product.

So great is the eagerness of the Indians for iron that even the women carried a little knife hanging to their neck with which they make and carve from wood, trays of different shapes, very beautifully worked. These women have fine features and some are exceedingly white but all make themselves hideous by a



little tablet, two fingers wide, which they carry on their under lip. There is a horizontal incision for that purpose and they insert the wooden tablet through the opening until it rests against the teeth. It is considered a distinctive mark of married women. The unmarried women have only an incision in the lip from which they hang a small stick or a copper needle. They have many ornaments made of this metal. The women are all very warlike and full of scars due according to their own report to stabs with knives.

We have the pleasure of bringing back with us three little boys who were abandoned by the Indians who told us that they did not want them. The youngest of these was brought aboard to my companion, Father Mathias, one evening while I was on land visiting the sick in the barracks. He was very sick and weak; with great care however, he was soon out of danger.

Northward to Alaska

On July 1, we succeeded in clearing the entrance of Bucareli which is situated in the 55 degrees and 18 minutes of north latitude and 32 degrees of longitude. On account of the winds we went southward, reaching the fifty-third degree. With a favorable wind we started north again and the same day land was sighted at 58 degrees and 30 minutes but the wind prevented us from exploring it. The weather continued at that time very dark and foggy until July 16, when with a favorable wind and clear sky we continued our journey north of the fifty-ninth degree. The shore is very precipitous and entirely covered with snow down to the sea. We distinguished some very high mountains which rose above the clouds, particularly one which can compete with the most famous peaks known anywhere.

On July 17, we were able to see Cape St. Elias situated in the 60th degree of latitude and the 43d degree of longitude, a position very different from the one it has on the Russian map. We saw also the island immediately opposite and to which the Commandant gave the name of Carmel because it was discovered on the day dedicated to Our Lady of Mt. Carmel.⁴ Until the twenty-first we were crossing the large bay which forms a coast in that place. On the evening of July 20, having mounted to the quarter deck, as I was about to sit down on the so-called patience bench, I fainted and remained senseless for some time. The Commandant and the Surgeon hurried to my assistance and with the remedies they gave me I recovered entirely. Perhaps it was an effect of sleeplessness because for ten days I was not able to close my eyes.

On the twenty-first of the same month we arrived at a large harbor in the same direction as the passage we were seeking. We called it St. James the Apostle because at that time we were celebrating the novena of the Saint and also because as the patron of Spain he would be our help during this voyage. Here we took possession of this harbor in the name of the King. It is situated in 60 degrees 13 minutes north latitude and 45 degrees 30 minutes longitude.⁵

The island which lies in that harbor we called St. Mary Magdalene. Our first mate with the rank of Ensign of the Frigate and a companion sailed in a

⁴ Probably Middleton Island.

⁵ This was probably Prince William Sound.

boat to find if there was any passage in the northerly direction towards the west of the island in the direction of the coast. They came back announcing that the coast ran from the south as a prolongation from the Cape of St. Elias with very high lands covered with snow.

Eskimos

We decided on account of this report to follow the coast in order to see whether the passage could be found farther north. We treated with Indians who met us three miles out at sea in several canoes of a very particular construction. These canoes are made with curved forms covered with a strong skin, very well and tightly sown. They have only two holes like the mouth of an earthen jar and in each an Indian takes his place. When the two occupants are in their place the canoes are so tightly closed that it is impossible even in a rough sea for anything inside to get wet. At first sight in the distance we thought that there were many Indians approaching but as they came closer we saw that there were only six. They are much fairer of complexion than those at Bucareli and much more curious. They wear a kind of short jacket made of the skin of animals and stitched with a string like that of a guitar and very nicely made. They are ashamed to appear naked and never do so. Besides these six in these three canoes the men of our boat saw about two hundred persons coming in six common but large canoes. They were friendly to them but did not notice anything further. The women had their hair cut short and a string of big beads hanging down to their chest from the corners of their mouth where they were attached. The men carried a bone artistically carved and ornamented on the upper lip and like the other Indians they are very much inclined to steal and they are very cunning in doing it. Just imagine, one day while on board, they stole an iron hook belonging to the frigate of such great weight that it would seem incredible. The next day, however, the very Indian who had taken it returned to steal something else and he was caught. Though we had not missed the hook, when asked if he had taken anything else he confessed it publicly and on search we found that the hook was gone. He promised to return it but as we had to sail the same day we did not recover it. In this bay there are many fish of fine quality. The forests, however, are neither as great nor the trees as tall as at Bucareli. The trees, however, belong to the same species and there are extensive fields of green grass.

On July 28 we sailed and from the twenty-ninth we began to experience very threatening and cloudy weather and terrible rains and strong winds from the first quadrant. The winds soon became hurricanes and the days were made up of raging storms. There was the greatest fear of shipwreck surrounded as we were with islands and great rocks in the vicinity of the coast which from time to time we could glimpse through the breaks in the clouds. In such dangers we spent several days and nights without proceeding because we could not go ahead for fear of striking against the rocky coast.

On July 31, and August 1, we continued to windward in and out among numberless islands almost always with the same danger and identical weather, the storm not allowing us to escape either on one side or the other. In this ex-

tremity the Commandant resolved to cast anchor which we discovered at the portside of the ship. We succeeded in doing this safely with the two frigates at 9 o'clock on August 2—a day memorable for our religious order. We took possession for the second time in the name of the king in a bay not far from there and gave it the name of Our Lady de Regla.

On August 3, we drew a map of the place and we found that the coast was running from west to south. We took our position and found that we were at 59 degrees and 8 minutes north latitude and 49 degrees longitude. We did not discover any Indians nearby but in the distance we could see some. These Indians seemed well favored in comparison with those on the lands seen by us thus far. Although there is little wood and few forests on the shores yet they have plenty of water and a great deal of grass. Many flowers were in bloom and the landscape appeared beautiful beyond measure, arguing the fertility of the soil.

The Journey Back—San Francisco

On account of the advanced season the Commandant decided on a return voyage. Moreover we had not found the passage we were seeking. We were unable to proceed further north owing to the foggy weather conditions as we were continually running into one storm after another; besides we had already lost seven men by sickness and several were attacked by scurvy and were dangerously ill. Therefore, as soon as we had a favorable wind which came on August 8 we sailed for the Mendocino Cape which we sighted on September 4. Thus after meeting with contrary winds from the south or southeast until August 22, which forced us again higher than the 54th degree of latitude and the 33d degree of longitude we finally found a favorable wind which brought us to the Mendocino Cape. Having been becalmed for eight days without further incident, on September 15 we entered the harbor of our Father, San Francisco.

Here in the Presidio they provided barracks for the sick seamen of both frigates and likewise places for the pilots who had to finish their maps and sketches of the coast and the discovered lands. We presented a beautiful picture of the Virgin de los Remedios to the Mission Church, which the Captain of the *Favorita*, Don Juan Francisco de Cuadra y Bodega had vowed to Our Lady.

This presentation was made with great solemnity. We carried it in procession and deposited it in the Church of the Mission of Our Father St. Francis, accompanied by all the officers, captains and fathers of the mission.

A high Mass was sung with all solemnity. Salvos of artillery were fired and there was general rejoicing at the success of our expedition and the day ended with a musical concert in the Plaza. The pilots continued their work on the maps and sketches until September 30 and on this day we sailed for San Blas.

BOOK REVIEWS

Beginnings of the American People. By Carl Lotus Becker.
Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company (the Riverside Press), 1915. Pp. 279.

A preface sufficiently modest suggests the treatment by each author of that part of the story which the plan of the publishers required him to prepare. The first of the four attractive volumes which make up this new history of the United States contains the best account of the extension of geographical knowledge to be found in any college text book known to the reviewer. But admirable though it is in matter and in form a few topics have been omitted, the consideration of which would contribute to completeness of outline. The zeal of Irish missionaries, who visited and for a time dwelt in Iceland as well as the enterprise of Norsemen, who came to America, if not suitable themes for discussion, should at least have been noticed. While these achievements, so far as is now known, had nothing to do with the Columbian discovery of America, it is well to inform the student that though the nations on the Mediterranean were the leaders in trade and navigation, yet there was enterprise in regions more remote and not a little geographical information in countries generally believed to have been backward.

In any account of the discovery of America it is important to remember that on January 6, 1492, when Granada surrendered, Columbus, as we learn from his *Journal*, was an interested spectator of that great event. If, in obedience to the command of Isabella, he had made the long journey to Santa Fé, it is certain that Her Majesty had resolved to equip the expedition of discovery *before* the surrender. It is well known that the mule which Columbus rode and the raiment that he wore on that occasion were the gifts of the Queen.

Having, under the terms of the agreement, furnished one-eighth of the cost of the expedition, the share of Columbus in any profits was to have been, not a *tithe*, as stated in this volume, but an eighth. Though this is a minor point, it counts for accuracy. Furthermore, the details of the equipment of this memorable expedition are not generally understood by even professional students of American history. Wherever it is practicable,

the conclusions of history should be as reliable as those of sciences more exact.

It is evident that the author is reading into the history of the pre-Columbian period ideas that are comparatively modern. In this part of his narrative the emphasis is placed on the profits of commerce as the major force influencing not only the first voyage of Columbus, but the earlier activity of Prince Henry and others interested in exploration. In his *Journal*, Columbus records the following sentiment: "Your Highnesses, as Catholic Christians and Princes, loving the Holy Christian faith and the spreading of it, and enemies of the sect of Mohamet and of all idolatries and heresies, decided to send me, Christopher Columbus, to the said regions of India, to see the said Princes and the people and lands, and to learn of their disposition, and of everything, and the measures which could be taken for their conversion to our Holy Faith; and you ordered that I should not go to the east by land, by which it is customary to go, but by way of the west, whence until today we do not know certainly that any one has gone. . . ." From the pages of Major and others we know that Prince Henry's interest was sustained by similar non-economic motives.

Professor Becker well says that in exchange for their gold and silver, "Spain imposed upon the natives of America an enlightened despotism and the benefits of a Christian civilization." He should have added that the good intentions of the Spanish monarchs were of little value to the Indian, for the greedy merchant class lay in wait to exploit him.

From the author's sketch of the rise of Puritanism the student can hardly fail to conclude that outside its membership there was in England little virtue or little genuine culture. As a matter of fact, the virtue of that era was engrossed by no church, while its culture was chiefly found in the Established Church and in what was left of the older church. In the realms of literature, indeed, one thinks of Milton, one of the most versatile as well as one of the greatest English men of letters, of the satirist Marvel, who had a turn for politics and pastorals, and of the inspired tinker Bunyan. To some readers these men of genius appear to have been separated by a wide interval from Sidney, Lyly, Spenser, Southwell, Jonson, Daniel, Lodge, Shakespeare, Crashawe, Her-

bert, Habington, Hobbes, Hooker and others. If it is true that the Puritans lived in a spiritual world, it is not less certain that there yet survived in its purer atmosphere rum to be consumed, and in America Indians to be defrauded, Catholics to be vilified, and Quakers to be hanged. All the effects of its fanaticism have not yet passed into nothingness. This section also includes an interesting narrative showing the decline of Puritanism as well as an enumeration of the forces which contributed to its disintegration. If one cannot perfectly agree with every statement of the author, one must acknowledge that he has a good grasp of events of that epoch and a clear insight into the elemental forces of its society. Remote as were the different settlements, it is evident from his narrative that the isolated communities of the wilderness were beginning to get into rather close contact with the intellectual life of the mother country.

The account of Pennsylvania, while making mention of the purchase of the three lower counties on the Delaware, fails to notice the somewhat significant fact that the same territory had long before been granted by Charles I to Lord Baltimore, a transaction which shows the less admirable side of Penn's character. The Duke of York, afterward King James II, it has never been the fashion of historians to praise.

While Parkman's writings are named in the bibliographical note appended to Chapter IV, one receives from the summary of Professor Becker a different impression of French achievement in the New World from that which one gains by a perusal of *The Jesuits in North America*. The word Jesuit appears to have become a common noun, primarily denoting a talent for intrigue. The phrase is "unscrupulous intrigue," though it is probable that no intrigue is every perfectly scrupulous. The author has read much, but he does not appear to have traveled far in the realms of that fine body of literature which treats of the Catholic missions and missionaries of America. To assert that Canada was little more than "a musket, a rosary, and a pack of beaver skins," an opinion that is quoted, is hardly good history and in literary merit is scarcely equal to "a bracelet of bright hair about the bone," a vivid verse of Donne. Whatever may be said of the methods of the French in dealing with the Indians, the natives were

not extirpated in those regions where men of that cultured nation were influential. It is only from those parts of the mainland of the New World colonized by the English that the aboriginal inhabitants have nearly disappeared.

One would expect to find in the section on settlement a brief sketch of the first two Lords Baltimore and at least a word concerning the province which they established. The history of Maryland being at once interesting and instructive, one is surprised to find the deeds of those enlightened gentlemen overlooked in any outline of our colonial history. It is true that the facts of Maryland history somewhat mar the fair picture of Puritanism elsewhere drawn by the author. His description of religious conditions in eighteenth century America, thoroughly Protestant in tone, is animated and brilliant. In fact the first as well as the three remaining volumes of this work is made up of well written essays. This plan has, it is true, the merit of making history entertaining, but, short of a *tour de force*, not every important topic can be put into the procrustean bed which is the characteristic of that literary form.

The causes of the American Revolution are adequately described or suggested. But the military history of the conflict, by design but an outline, does not even enumerate the forces that won the war. This subject, in itself exceedingly instructive, is but little known to the average American college graduate. The war, beginning in 1779, between Spain and Great Britain by giving employment to the troops of the empire, to a part of England's navy, and to some of her German auxiliaries was not without influence on the victory at Yorktown and the acquisition of the Mississippi Valley. The assistance received from the French of the Illinois country as well as from the Spaniards of the Gulf is not even alluded to. Nor is there any account of the relations of Holland to the struggle.

The date usually assigned for the voyage of Verrazzano is 1524 instead of 1534. "Hampden Court" is printed for Hampton Court. Doubtless these slips will disappear in a second edition. The author has adopted the traditional opinion concerning Captain John Smith, an estimate that is hardly critical.

Union and Democracy, by Allen Johnson, a volume slightly

larger than the preceding, and the second of this series, is, on the whole, little more than a thrice-told tale. Carefully, though not slavishly following in the footsteps of his predecessors, the author has given a reliable account of that part of American history between the treaty of Paris and the election of John Quincy Adams. The importance of the West, with its new democracy, is, indeed, properly given more prominence than is usual in college histories of the United States, while the final chapter, which deals with the rise of Federal sovereignty, contains in a few paragraphs an excellent summary of those opinions of Chief Justice Marshall which set the example of a "loose construction" of the Constitution, making it for the American people an abundant source of content, prosperity and greatness.

Expansion and Conflict, by William E. Dodd, the third volume of this series, is an interesting narrative describing the events of the two score years from 1825 to 1865. A reviewer needs no microscopic eyes to perceive in the history of those eventful years a number of great gaps. There is not, for example, so much as a single sentence alluding to the American claims against Mexico and their not very honorable management by our Government. The omission of a subject so important is not the ideal method of writing history, but is rather adapted to the requirements of the banquet hall and the holiday celebration. If there is a blot on the national escutcheon, it should be known in order that such offenses against international comity may not be repeated. So often and so generously has our great Republic encouraged and sustained afflicted humanity that it need not fear to acknowledge an act of aggression committed while its affairs were controlled by the slave power.

Though the frontispiece suggests that Lincoln was the grand personality of the decades covered by Professor Dodd, little is said of his endeavor to save the Union. So far as he had in advance considered any policy for his first administration, it was concerned with the Border States. Permanently to prevent their joining the Confederacy, he proposed to the people of that section a plan for the emancipation of slaves with compensation to their owners. This rejected offer is important because of its connection with the military emancipation announced in Septem-

ber, 1862. It is the first stage in his later purpose to free the slaves as a military measure.

Nothing is said of Lincoln's effort, through Andrew Johnson, to organize a loyal government in Tennessee after Grant's advance into the heart of that State. Nor is there any reference to the President's interest in Louisiana. Whatever may be thought of his policy with respect to Tennessee, Louisiana, and Arkansas, there can be no difference of opinion relative to the advantage to the Union cause of the division of Virginia, for the new State of West Virginia, organized in a manner not unworthy the notice of those interested in questions of constitutional interpretation, raised and equipped more than six and thirty regiments for the Federal armies. Other troops for the same cause were enlisted in Arkansas. In East Tennessee the Union sentiment was strong and during the conflict was manifest.

At one time it was much the fashion in the North to criticise Lincoln's plan of reconstruction and to praise that of Congress. The passions of that era having sunk to rest, events are now seen through a different medium. Lincoln's system, with its evident limitations, would have left the affairs of the South largely in the hands of its natural leaders. It was not his plan but one formed chiefly by a fusion of the "State suicide" theory of Sumner and the "conquered province" idea of Stevens that made possible the wild political orgies suggested by the terms carpet-bagger, Ku Klux, White Camelia, negro lawmaker, and legislative store. These institutions of outrage and plunder, together with a legacy of sectional hatred, were among the fruits of the Congressional plan of reconstruction.

The New Nation, the last of the four volumes, by Frederic L. Paxson, is an excellent narrative of the events following the war for Southern independence. The subjects discussed are chiefly economic and social, though there is included a satisfactory treatment of contemporary American politics and a suggestion of their tendencies. Foreign relations have not been overlooked. In fact, brief as is this work little of importance has been omitted. In it one sees nothing to criticise and much to praise. The maps and charts of this as well as of the preceding sections will be found of considerable use to the student, but in this place they cannot be separately described.

The Organizability of Labor. Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science. By William O. Weyforth, Ph.D., Instructor in Economics in Western Reserve University. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1917.

The ordinary man who hears so much about trade unionism is surprised when he learns that only five and one-half per cent of the industrial population of this country belongs to trade unions and that only about eighteen per cent of the prospective candidates for labor organizations are actually organized. This naturally suggests the question why is it that a greater number of workers are not organized after all those years of struggle? A rather complete answer to this question will be found in Dr. Weyforth's excellent monograph. Before describing the obstacles in the way of the extension of labor organizations, the writer describes the methods adopted by labor organizations for the purpose of extending their membership. The simplest method of bringing men into the union is the direct appeal of the labor organizer. This is generally followed by a strike, when the employer refuses to grant the demands of the newly formed union. In order to strengthen further their organization, the trade unionists try to exclude non-union men from employment by the use of closed shop agreements.

According to Dr. Weyforth it is much easier to induce men to join the union than to have them retain their membership in it; hence it is, he claims, that the trade unions establish benefit systems. These give the members an additional interest in their union and gives the union a greater amount of control over them.

Poor leadership, dishonest local officials, reckless and unnecessary strikes, according to the writer have been a great source of weakness in the labor movement and have lead to the disruption of many unions.

The difficulties of getting men to join labor organizations are attributable both to the workers themselves and the character of the industry in which they are engaged. It is almost impossible to organize negro workers. The same is true of women workers. There are serious difficulties in the way of organizing recent immigrants, but Dr. Weyforth does not believe that they are insurmountable. It is exceedingly difficult to organize workers in small shops on account of the absence of that class conscious

spirit which is created by contact with others in the same station and with the same grievances. The great corporations like the American Paper Company, the American Tobacco Company and the United States Steel Corporation, have placed insuperable barriers in the way of labor organizations. Their great financial resources, their control of a large number of plants, their opportunities for discrimination, have enabled them to stamp out labor organizations from their industries.

Contemporary Theories of Unemployment and Unemployment Relief, Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law. By Frederick C. Mills, Ph.D. New York: Columbia University, 1917.

This monograph deals with three phases of the unemployment problem in England and the United States. The first chapter reviews briefly the various remedies for unemployment which have been tried in England from the sixteenth century to the present time. This chapter also contains a short discussion of the opinions of the classical economists on unemployment and unemployment relief, which logically belongs to the second chapter. The author's treatment of the British Poor Law is too brief to give the reader a clear idea of the forces leading to the establishment of this important institution. He has apparently studied it as an isolated phenomenon having no relation to social conditions or economic theory.

In the second chapter the writer reviews the current "Orthodox" theories in regard to unemployment in England. These are lack of industrial quality, industrial fluctuations, reserves of labor and personal faults. The various remedies suggested by "orthodox theorists" are also dealt with in this chapter, namely industrial education, dovetailing of seasonal industries, carrying on special government work in dull seasons, employment exchanges from which employers should be compelled to secure their workers, farm colonies for the unemployable and unemployment insurance. This chapter is the most instructive of the whole book. It gives one a clear concept of the amount of careful thought which has been devoted to the unemployment problem in England during the last quarter of a century.

Chapters three and four are devoted to American unemploy-

ment theory and practice. The author finds that up to a few years ago very little attention was devoted to the problem of unemployment in this country, and that recent studies of unemployment in this country are merely a repetition of English thought and English experience.

Collective Bargaining in the Lithographic Industry, Columbia University, Studies in History, Economics and Public Law.
By. H. E. Hoagland, Ph.D. New York: Columbia University Press, 1917. Pp. 130.

In this monograph, which represents the results of an investigation made for the United States Commission on Industrial Relations, Mr. Hoagland makes a brief survey of the history of collective bargaining in a small but highly skilled trade. The writer admits at the very outset, that the Lithographic Industry has problems peculiar to itself, which detract from the value of his study for the student of the general labor field; but he contends, and rightly so, that it is only by studying each industry intensively, that we can get a firm grasp on the principles which form the basis of the labor contract. No student nowadays attempts to generalize in regard to the labor contract, without having made an intensive study of wage bargaining in some one industry.

Collective bargaining in the lithographic industry has passed through four stages. In the first stage, labor conditions were fixed by custom, in the second by union dictation, in the third by mutual agreement, and in the fourth by the dictation of a powerful employers' association. When the union was powerful it dictated the conditions of employment. After the employers had formed a rival organization there was a compromise. When the employer's organization became conscious of its strength, it made certain demands of the union which the latter refused, with the result that there was an appeal to economic force, resulting in a complete disruption of the union.

While containing many facts of interest to the student of labor problems, the monograph does not throw any new light on the principles of the wage contract. The author admits that apprenticeship is the cornerstone of the labor problem in the litho-

graphic industry, and yet his treatment of it is rather superficial. Again, it may be contended that experience with collective bargaining in Lithography is too short to justify conclusions of value to the student.

Separation of State and Local Revenues in the United States, Columbia University, Studies in History, Economics and Public Law. By Mabel Newcomer, Ph.D. New York: Columbia University Press, 1917. Pp. 195.

Since the beginning of the nineteenth century the general property tax has been the chief source of state revenue in the United States. In recent years, however, it has been discovered that this form of tax was not capable of meeting increased expenditures. In cases where the tax was increased, so as to yield the large revenue necessitated by the multiplication of state functions, it imposed excessive burdens on the owners of real estate. With the development of corporate organizations and intangible assets, students of public finance have come to prefer a tax on incomes to a general property tax. The opportunities for evading the general property tax are so manifold as to render it impractical.

Separation of local and state revenues in the United States has been the result of the movement to tax incomes rather than property. It has been deemed advisable to delegate to the state the administration of taxes on incomes and corporations, because the state can administer them more efficiently than the cities or counties. Other forms of taxation which cannot be so efficiently administered by the state have been left to its local subdivisions.

Dr. Newcomer's monograph describes this movement towards the separation of state and local revenues in Pennsylvania, New York, Connecticut, New Jersey and California. A special chapter is devoted to the movement in the United States as a whole. The work does not throw any new light on the development of state finance in this country. Its principal merit consists in bringing together the results of a number of specialized studies of taxation in the different states. For the benefit of those who are not specialists, the work might contain a clearer elucidation of the principles of taxation underlying the movement which the writer describes.

Economic and Social History of Chowan County, North Carolina, 1880-1915, Columbia University, Studies in History, Economics and Public Law. By W. Scott Boyce, Ph.D. New York: Columbia University Press, 1917. Pp. 293.

Mr. Boyce's monograph is most interesting. He answers every question which might be asked by the economist, sociologist or student of religion, about the people of a particular county in 1880 and again in 1915. He tells us about their methods of cultivating the soil, of planting different crops, of fishing, of stock-breeding; he describes the food they lived on, their houses, and their social and religious customs. But the most interesting feature of the book is his description of the changes which modern inventions have made in the life of the people. He studies in a most intensive way the contrast between their manner of living, their dwellings, their customs, social and religious, etc., in 1880 and in 1915. The monograph contains a specimen of the kind of history which modern sociologists have been demanding.

The Middle Group of American Historians. By John Spencer Bassett, Ph.D., LL.D., author of "A Short History of the United States," "The Life of Andrew Jackson," etc. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1917. Pp. xii+324.

American historical writing has been distinguished successively by three main characteristics. Prior to the Revolution the colonial spirit naturally predominated. In this period each historian was interested almost exclusively in the origin and growth of his own colony. The early record of Virginia, outside the brief narratives of the early settlers, has been left us by Robert Beverly and William Stith. In New England the most prominent writers of the period were Bradford, Winthrop, Price, and Hutchinson. Besides these may be mentioned Colden of New York, Samuel Smith of New Jersey, and John Lawson of North Carolina. The impulse to write history was felt more strongly in New England than in the other colonies. Here, more frequently than elsewhere, writers rose to tell the story of the past that posterity might not forget the struggles and hardships of earlier years.

The second or middle period of American historical endeavor was ruled chiefly by the patriotic impulse. It may be said to

begin with the end of the Revolution and to extend to a time not long subsequent to the Civil War, namely, to the time when the modern and scientific spirit secured dominance.

It is the middle period that receives treatment in the volume under review. The reader can hardly escape the impression that Dr. Bassett is an impartial critic. While not overlooking the merits of our chief historians of the middle group, he is nevertheless sensible of the defects in their writings; and his observations on this point confirm the views held for a long time that unreserved trust cannot be placed in historians like Bancroft, Prescott, Motley and Sparks.

Histories produced at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century were written in the afterglow of the Revolution. "We were all partisans of our own cause in the contest with Great Britain," says Dr. Bassett, "and, whether we wished to know its simple history or to read the biographies of its leaders, we demanded narratives that stimulated self-satisfaction." Writers of national and state histories and biographies "had more zeal than industry and were guilty of gross neglect of the sources of information" (p. 16). Weem's *Life of Washington* (1800) had a tremendous sale. Yet this and his subsequent biographies of Marion, Franklin and Penn "were full of inaccuracies. In fact, no writer of biography in America ever drew more freely on his imagination in composing his books. What he did not know he invented, if it seemed good to him. . . . His works are utterly worthless as books of fact, but he drew vivid pictures of what he thought Washington, Franklin and Marion ought to be" (p. 21). Of the writers of this period Jeremy Belknap and Ebenezer Hazard, by their industry and impartiality, approached nearest the modern ideal of history.

Abiel Homes, Benjamin Trumbull and Timothy Ritkin wrote histories of the United States (1805, 1810, 1828), all distinguished for some merit, yet so deficient in general worth that they are now held in slight esteem. It was with the idea of making up for the defects in their works that Bancroft was induced to begin his history. Washington Irving's historical volumes (published from 1809-1859) are void of the modern spirit, yet were composed "with enough accuracy to satisfy the

age in which he wrote" (p. 23). Charles Etienne Arthur Gayarré, author of a "History of Louisiana," though at times giving free range to his fancy, takes high rank among the historians of the middle period.

Outside the introduction of about fifty pages on the development of our history prior to the Civil War, Dr. Bassett's volume is devoted exclusively to the public and literary careers of Sparks, Bancroft, Prescott, Motley and Peter Force. These he considers the most eminent characters of the group concerned.

Jared Sparks' early bent was toward mathematics, natural history and theology. First a school teacher, then a minister, he gave up both professions, and became in 1823 editor of the *North American Review*. It was while thus occupied that the idea came to him of publishing an edition of the Writings of Washington. After considerable difficulty he secured in 1827 Washington's bulky correspondence preserved at Mt. Vernon and took it to Boston. With such a vast quantity of valuable historical material in his possession Sparks was dazzled by the opportunities opening before him; and before the "Washington" was completed in 1837 he had undertaken six other books. All these were brought out at various intervals before 1840. The most interesting part of Sparks' career are his visits to domestic and foreign archives in search of historical documents for the completion of his works. His *Life and Writings of George Washington* (12 volumes) appeared between 1834 and 1837, and is his best known work. It was for a long time our chief authority on the life of Washington. Yet it is full of defects. Sparks thought that a sacred halo surrounded the life of a great man. "Holding this view, and many men besides Sparks held it in 1830, he could not make up his mind to paint Washington with small faults. He altered Washington's language and became liable to a charge of perverting the truth. But for this failing Sparks could be called the father of the modern school of American History" (p. 100).

While Sparks was busy with his volumes on the Revolution, George Bancroft was engaged upon his *History of the United States from the Discovery of the American Continent*. Bancroft's career as professor at Harvard and later as school master at Northampton had not been entirely to his liking, and about

1831, he turned his attention to the more congenial task of writing history. The first volume of his great work appeared in 1834. The remaining nine volumes were published between this date and 1875. The last volume completed the story of the Revolution. Bancroft's *History* made a great impression. It at once placed him first among living historians of our country. Yet today, as Dr. Bassett observes, Bancroft's history is out of date, and a changing age treats it with disdain. His chief fault, in the estimation of our critic, is his lack of detachment—"strongly partisan by nature and deeply imbued with the love of American independence, he glorified the struggle of the revolutionary fathers, and saw no good in the position taken by king and parliament. He crystallized all the hero worship of the old Fourth of July school into a large work written in a style acceptable to the time" (pp. 183-84).

In William H. Prescott we have a good example of steadfast devotion to the task of writing history amid trying difficulties. He resolved that a defective eyesight should not deter him from literary work. His *Ferdinand and Isabella* was brought out in 1836; *The Conquest of Mexico* in 1843; and the *Conqueror of Peru* in 1847. Prescott wrote according to the uncritical ideals of his age. From the present day standpoint his books have many limitations. His object was to produce a spirited and dramatic narrative in which there was unity of thought and purpose moving to a climax (p. 217). He did not write history as we now understand it, and his works on the Spanish relations have been superseded by others more in accord with the modern spirit.

There is perhaps even less of modern spirit in John Lathrop Motley than in Prescott. The *Rise of the Dutch Republic* (1856) and the *History of United Netherlands* (1860-68) give evidence of deep research, but are full of coloring. Like Bancroft and others, Motley had not the true historian's sense of detachment. "He frankly took sides. He hated the absolute government of the Spanish monarchy, he disliked the dogmas of the Roman Church, and he could not abide the repressive spirit of the Roman hierarchy. His histories were Protestant through and through. He drew Philip the Second as black as he could, but no blacker than Protestants have drawn him. Through many decades Motley was a one-sided historian" (p. 229).

The last career that receives treatment in Dr. Bassett's interesting volume is that of Peter Force, the compiler. In 1833, Force and his partner Clark, both of whom were printers, secured from the government a contract by which for a stipulated amount they were to publish a documentary history of the United States. Only nine volumes, however, of what was intended to be a vast series known as the *American Archives* ever appeared. Difficulties arose over the government contract and the publication was suspended in 1857, much to Force's disappointment. Force can hardly be called a historian, but he was an indefatigable collector. In this way he was of great service to the historians of his day. Had he been able to carry through properly his original design he would have produced a documentary history of immense service to future historians of our country. His *American Archives*, says Dr. Bassett, is now nearly forgotten: "It is not even a model for the many collections that have been published since its day. Its arrangement is poor, being entirely mechanical" (p. 272). Force's vast and valuable collection of historical material passed in 1867 to the Library of Congress.

Not the least interesting chapter of Dr. Bassett's book is the last showing the arrangements of early historians with their publishers. The profession of historian is less profitable now than in the days of Sparks, Bancroft, Motley, Irving and Prescott. It is perhaps not too much to say that the transition from popular to scientific history has not yet been fully accomplished so far as the reading public is concerned. This may explain the fact that, despite the growth of our population and the emphasis now given to the teaching of history, present day historians do not command the same degree of respect from the public that our historians of the middle group commanded in their day.

Dr. Bassett has written a useful book, and we hope that health and length of years will enable him to realize his design mentioned in the preface of producing a larger work allotted to other historians within the middle period.

New York as an Eighteenth Century Municipality. (Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, edited by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University.) No. 1, Prior to 1731. By Arthur Everett Peterson, Ph.D. No. 2, 1731 to 1776. By George William Edwards, Ph.D. New York: Columbia University (Longmans, Green & Co., Agents), 1917.

These two volumes, of approximately two hundred pages each, form numbers 177 and 178 of the *Columbia Series of Studies in History, Economics and Public Law*. Both writers have in this instance the advantage of experience in the teaching of history, a fact which goes far to account for the clearness and method with which a rather vast and varied collection of facts is presented. There is a special reason for welcoming these volumes, namely, that the series is not so rich as one might reasonably look to find it, in work on New York City history. It is to be hoped that more will be done in this department as there are opportunities here not presented by many other American cities, and the material is not hard to obtain for one so situated as a student of Columbia. For instance, New York is the only one of the more important settlements along the Atlantic seaboard not originally English and the efforts to harmonize the diverse elements of Dutch and English are apparent in its career even beyond the War of Independence. Thus the political animosity embittering the early days of the State government, engendering a confusion so great as to prevent the choice of Presidential Electors in 1789 and thereby depriving New York of the honor of voting for Washington at his first election, is fundamentally a heritage of the ancient Anglo-Dutch rivalry, as the very names of the contending factions (Schuyler, Clinton, Stuyvesant) would readily suggest. It may even be (but this view must be presented with considerable reserve) that the present state of the Republican Party in the city may have its remote source here, though of course the lines of cleavage have long since been altered out of all semblance to such an origin. Moreover, while the Catholic history of the colony is for long periods almost a blank, the darkness is illumined by at least two brilliant names, Jogues and Dongan; the city's position as the first National Capital caused it to loom large in the early days of the Republic, and the abortive attempt at secession in

1861 is significant even if not highly honorable. It can scarcely be necessary to continue these remarks further; our only reason for them is the hope that the editors of the Columbia Series will bring out a greater proportion of studies in a field so rich and in which their own University has played so prominent and worthy a part.

In the present number the subject, limited as it is, is still further narrowed and the treatment proportionately clarified by being divided into two sections, taking 1731 (the date of the Montgomerie Charter) as the boundary. The first volume, by Professor Peterson, covers the period from the granting of the charter to New Amsterdam by the Dutch East India Company in 1653 to the Montgomerie Charter; the second by Professor Edwards, continues the narrative to the War of Independence. the latter volume is perhaps of more interest as it deals with the form of government that remained in substance for the first half-century after the separation from England, and constituted the basis for subsequent alterations. It thus comes home to us a little more closely, though the Charter of 1731 was itself largely an extension of former grants and privileges.

In writing of the period prior to 1731 Dr. Peterson wisely devotes only a scant dozen pages to the Dutch rule. We say "wisely" not only because to have gone into that portion more fully would have left him open to the charge of a too wide interpretation of "seventeenth century," but equally because the political organization of the city down to Governor Dongan's time is rather remote from that which follows. So great in fact was the alteration, not in outward form alone but in spirit, introduced into the city affairs in 1686 that the continuity was almost broken. A new machinery was brought into being, and to understand it little more than an outline knowledge suffices as far as its predecessor is concerned. The slowness with which this was done would suffice to absolve the English from any desire to gratify their pride as conquerors. The change from Dutch to English methods was effected not because the former were Dutch but because they were outgrown and had become truly alien. At first there was no manifest desire to depart from the old accustomed ways, and to contemporaries of the English occupation it may have seemed that these old ways would con-

tinue indefinitely to be trod. The liberal attitude of the Duke of York himself, a dislike amounting almost to detestation of Stuyvesant's harsh government, and a fair sprinkling of English residents, were factors tending considerably to smoothe what might otherwise have proved a violent and rough transition. It was some months before even the names of the officials were Englished; the records continued for a long time to be kept in Dutch; and all things considered it must be owned that public affairs continued to be managed pretty much as they had been before the coming of the British fleet. But on their return nine years later (1673) the Dutch showed not quite so broad a spirit. Though there was little in the essential nature of the government they could meddle with (since it was in large measure what had existed under their own rule) they contrived to alter the political atmosphere to no small degree by practically limiting political functions to Dutch residents of the Reformed Church. The restoration of the colony to England in the next year meant little beyond restoring to a share in power those whom the narrow policy of the Dutch had excluded, and on to 1686 the old forms continued. This last date, the year when the Dongan Charter was granted, is that at which the real subject matter of the present study begins.

This charter had been in operation nearly three years before its formal signing by the Duke of York, having been tentatively adopted by Governor Dongan in December, 1683, "until such Time as his Royall highness pleasure shall be ffurther knowne therein," so that we are not doing overmuch honor to the first Catholic governor of New York when we link it with his name. When we bear in mind the fact that at this very time not only were the ancient rights and privileges of English cities imperilled but the neighboring colonies as well were being subjected to Crown government and that even the Province of New York itself did not succeed in securing royal assent to the charter framed for it by Governor Dongan in the same year (1683), the liberal form of administration conceded to the city is the more astonishing and the more welcome. For some reason the Duke instructed Dongan to grant the city a greater measure of liberty than was allowed elsewhere, and the instructions were well followed. The members of the Common Council were constituted

a corporation under the name of "the mayor, Aldermen and Commonalty of ye Citty of New York." The Mayor was appointed by the Governor of the Province, as were also the Town Clerk and the Sheriff; the Aldermen were elected by the Wards and had the appointing of other officials, such as the Chamberlain. The Common Council had power to make laws for the city, these laws to hold valid for three months (this is why there is so frequent mention in the Council Records of the re-enactment of laws, which is the method whereby the restriction on law-making power was evaded and the laws rendered practically perpetual), but of course nothing might be enacted contrary to English or Provincial law. In short, New York was provided with a considerable amount of "home rule" during the reign of a Prince whose name is not usually associated with liberal tendencies. And to this large measure of freedom must be ascribed much of the credit for the growth in commercial importance that became so noticeable toward the close of the Colonial Period, and which led a writer to the *Newport Mercury* in 1770 to predict that the city at the mouth of the Hudson would one day outstrip even Newport as an emporium of trade. Though this wild prophecy was eventually fulfilled it was not until some years after the separation from England that New York attained the first rank in American commerce; still the germ of this achievement may be discerned early in the eighteenth century. For that matter the settlement had been from the outset commercial and much of what is now regarded as "picturesque" in its early days, was in reality dictated by prosaic business needs. But its admirable situation would not have sufficed to encourage this growth without the support of free government; and of this it secured not only the seed but a goodly measure of the fruit, from the last of the Stuarts.

There was, however, one weakness in the Dongan Charter. Granted by James II when he was Duke of York, it had not received the royal assent. The question of its validity in law could, therefore, be raised, and was raised, though it does not appear that any practical inconvenience resulted from this technical irregularity. Still the point was deemed of sufficient importance to justify a settlement and was one of the reasons urged when a new charter was requested in 1730. Some extension of

powers was sought, among them being the right to elect the Mayor and certain other officers. This part of the petition was, apparently, motivated more by an abstract devotion to the forms of liberty than by any grievance that could be alleged. Though the inhabitants had to take the Mayor the Governor gave them they had no ground for complaint; down to 1776 the Mayors of New York were creditable men, so much so as to be not infrequently reappointed. So that nothing was lost through the fact that the power to elect the Mayor was kept out of the hands of the people, and was not conceded to them until as late as 1834, when the long-continued agitation of the Tammany Society was crowned with success and the series of popularly-elected Mayors begins. But though they failed in this, the petitioners of 1730 obtained their other requests, this being facilitated by a vote to Governor Montgomerie of fourteen hundred pounds. But, strange to say, even this charter remained without the royal signature. The very Governor whose name it bears never signed it, so that one of the principal defects of the old charter to be remedied by the new one remained, and in an aggravated form. This caused difficulty down to comparatively recent times, and the matter was set at rest only by a decision of the Supreme Court of the State affirming the validity of the Charter of 1731.

These two documents form the basis of the study presented in the volumes before us. For this reason the student may regret that the writers did not give the respective texts verbatim. This would not have greatly increased the size of the volumes; for though, like such documents of the period generally, they are somewhat verbose and filled with a good deal of extraneous material, the essential passages could have been given in small type at the end. For the present, the student will find the Dongan Charter in *The Memorial History of New York* (New York, 1892), Vol. i, pp. 437-446, with a photograph of part of the original at p. 551. The Montgomerie Charter is summarized in the same work, Vol. ii, p. 193, and a facsimile (incomplete) is on p. 198. The omission of these documents is the only defect (if it is a defect) that is serious enough to call for much comment, though there are some points of minor importance that must not pass unnoticed. The Catholic reader will probably be disappointed at the slight attention given to the status of the Church of

England in Colonial New York. Again and again we are told that this body was "established" there, though every historian knows that such a statement is quite unhistorical, its sole foundation being Governor Fletcher's interpretation of the Act of the Assembly of 1693. This is conceded by Dr. Tiffany in his *History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America*, pp. 165-166 (New York: The Christian Literature Co., 1895), but the wording of the charter of the Trinity Corporation tends to keep the notion alive. This is not treated in either volume, though Professor Edwards devotes a paragraph to the position, social and religious, of the Anglican Communion in the colonial days (pp. 54-55). The absence of an Index and some overlapping (unavoidable, perhaps, in work of collaboration) make up the total of what even the most captious critic would find to object to. On the other hand there is a vast deal to praise. Without any attempt at being "picturesque" the authors have contrived to make interesting and at times amusing a study that in less skillful hands might have been tedious and dry. There are pages that Janvier could have written, though we would not create the impression that the work is anything below a serious contribution to historical investigation. The portions dealing with economic topics (Vol. i, Chapters ii and viii, and Vol. ii, Chapters iii and ix) are especially well done; and here and there a common but mistaken belief, as, *e. g.*, that Bowling Green dates from the period of Dutch occupation, is disposed of with gentleness as well as with finality. As a whole these volumes, though but indirectly bearing on the subjects that interest students of American Church History, are products of genuine and painstaking scholarship and entirely worthy a place in the series whereof they form a part.

The Catholic Encyclopedia and its Makers. New York: The Encyclopedia Press, 1917. Pp. viii+192.

From the first appearance of this valuable handbook, it was called, as it justly deserved to be, an international *Catholic Who's Who*. It is better than any volume which bears that title, for the biographical sketches are heightened in value with portraits of its contributors. No great work by Catholics in

modern times received a more cordial reception than the *Catholic Encyclopedia*. The non-Catholic religious press was almost unanimous in praising the project, one publication speaking of it as the "greatest work undertaken for the advancement of Christian knowledge since the days of Trent." The value of this volume can hardly be exaggerated, for it brings the host of readers who daily read the *Encyclopedia* into the circle of the most scholarly men and women in the Catholic Church throughout the world. No man of our day can estimate the full extent of the *Encyclopedia's* influence for good, and this volume takes us behind the scenes as it were and shows us in a flash the magnitude of a project which, completed today, stands unrivalled in the world.

History of the Civil War (1861-1865). By James Ford Rhodes. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1917. Pp. 454, with maps. Price, \$2.50.

In the space of a single volume of moderate size Mr. Rhodes carefully discusses the military, naval, diplomatic, financial, and social history of the Civil War, a struggle which in its later stage was continued rather for Southern independence than for the extension or the protection of the institution of slavery. While his conclusions are beyond reasonable criticism and his maps of forts, marches, and campaigns are excellent, occasionally there is an hiatus in the narrative and sometimes an unexpected brevity of treatment. Having thoroughly considered the entire subject in his great history, the author does not appear to have felt the necessity of again exhaustively describing themes which he had once adequately examined. The reviewer's ideas will, perhaps, be better understood by giving a few illustrations.

In referring to the ordinance of secession which was termed a Declaration of Independence of the State of South Carolina the fact is passed without observation that the delegates were by no means unanimous in their enumeration of the causes which impelled them to the separation. An examination of this circumstance makes interesting and not unprofitable reading for the student of American constitutional history.

On page 24 it is stated that the Virginia convention passed an ordinance of secession by a vote of 103 to 46. The present

reviewer has always seen the vote given as 88 to 55, and the useful comment added that the minority delegates were chiefly from the trans-Alleghany counties. Strange to say, there is in this work no treatment of the organization of West Virginia and its admission as a distinct commonwealth. On whatever ground an account of this interesting event is excluded, however, there is no doubt that the new State was a source of military strength to the Union cause. There is, indeed, an allusion to the existence at Alexandria of the feeble government of Francis Harrison Pierpont, but nothing is said of the admission to Congress of a Representative and two Senators from that fragment of the Old Dominion. What is very remarkable about the status of that commonwealth is that when one of its Senators died while in office, his successor was not admitted. In a word, that feeble community was entitled to but *one* Senator in Congress. This revolutionary proceeding should have been noticed.

The author's estimate of General Beauregard is hardly as complimentary as the record of that officer's achievements would appear to justify. At the first Bull Run he was superseded. General Joseph E. Johnston, a superb soldier and chivalrous gentleman, took over the command of Beauregard *after* the former engagement, while Albert Sidney Johnston, an officer by some even more highly esteemed than the Eastern commander, began the great battle of Shiloh. When Beauregard, because of the death of his superior, was in command, he could hardly have known that Buell would have been punctual and Van Dorm behindhand. Doctor Rhodes should have explained why Lee or Davis failed to assist Beauregard in capturing or destroying Butler's army at Drury's Bluff. The situation contained undoubted elements of success. Why were they unimproved? When the Confederacy was tottering to its fall, the services of Beauregard appear to have been in greater request than they were in the season of its triumph.

In discussing Lincoln's plan of gradual emancipation of slaves with compensation to owners nothing is said of his endeavor to have the offer of Congress accepted by Delaware, a small State in which it was thought best to begin the experiment. The reasons for its rejection by Delaware make interesting reading. Nor is there made in this study any mention of

the enlightened support of the principle of compensated emancipation by Senator John B. Henderson, of Missouri. For his sagacity and patriotism that statesman should not have been passed without notice.

If this work is designed for the general reader, in parts it is incomplete; on the other hand, if it is intended for the professional student of American history, its contents are already familiar.

The Formation of the State of Oklahoma (University of California Press), by R. Gittinger, Ph.D. (pp. i-vii, 1-256).

This objective history presents the ethnographical and political development of the State of Oklahoma from the time of the Louisiana Purchase in 1803 until the passage of the enabling act in June, 1906.

The author is professor of English History and Dean of Undergraduates in the University of Oklahoma. His book offers ample evidence that he is painstaking and judicious in his research work, logical and clear in his method of exposition and capable of presenting a complex and arid subject in a correct and limpid style. And because in the compilation of official documents and in the redaction of this volume he acknowledges the assistance of such eminent authorities on the history of the southwest as Professors Herbert E. Bolton, Joseph B. Thoburn and several others, his work stands out as the most authoritative and the most accurate on the formation of the state of Oklahoma.

After Congress had organized the territories of Louisiana in 1812 and of Arkansas in 1819, the Quapaws entered into a first treaty by which a considerable tract of land situated in the present state of Oklahoma was ceded to the Choctaws. They were followed by the Creeks and Cherokees and the country was definitely set apart for the southern Indians. However, the western half of the state was then a part of the hunting grounds of the Kiowa, Comanche and Wichita Indians, and to forestall trouble with new occupants a great council was held in 1835, as a result of which what is now Oklahoma was divided by a line drawn north and south almost through its center. In later years the eastern half was considered the territory of the civilized tribes, and the western half that of the "blanket" Indians. It

then became the policy of the Government under President Jackson to reserve the country west of Missouri and Arkansas exclusively for communities established by the Indians themselves or by the United States. But by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the organization of Nebraska and Kansas, the boundaries of the original extensive Indian Territory, west of the Mississippi river, were reduced to the limits of the present state of Oklahoma. After the Civil War, Kansas succeeded in having most of the Indians removed to the Indian Territory, while many of its citizens and people of the Southern States began to urge upon Congress the opening of this territory to white settlers. And the Government, under the pretext that the Five Civilized Tribes had taken part in the war between the Union and the Southern Confederacy, deprived the Indians of their exclusive rights within its limits and gradually secured the surrender of territory for the use of other Indians. After the occupation of the best land in Kansas, settlers began to make persistent efforts to occupy the unassigned land in the Indian Territory. Payne's first appearance as leader of a band of settlers, called "boomers," occurred in 1880. The Government and the courts were unable to stop the invasions. After the adoption of the Dawes act and of various provisions for the opening of the Oklahoma district on April 22, 1889, the reservations in the western part were divided into freeholds for the citizens of the United States. Successive openings for settlement took place until 1901 in the western half of the Indian Territory, which was organized as the Territory of Oklahoma. Soon afterward the agitation for statehood began, and, after the dissolution of the Five Civilized Tribes of the Indian Territory, it culminated on November 16, 1907, in the issuance by President Roosevelt of a proclamation declaring that the combined Oklahoma and Indian Territories were on that date admitted into the Union under the name of State of Oklahoma. This event took place 104 years after its acquisition by the United States as a part of the Louisiana Purchase. And while Oklahoma was not organized as a distinctive Indian state, yet it counts among its citizens one-third of the total Indian population of the United States.

Those various stages in the transformation of the original Indian Territory into the present prosperous and progressive

state of Oklahoma are described without superfluous commentaries, but with a simple, authenticated reference to the concomitant circumstances, in twelve chapters followed by nine appendixes reproducing some of the most important official documents. An excellent and detailed index of much practical value, and five maps, complete this book. The typographical work is of the high standard maintained by the University of California Press; it is faultless. The book is neatly bound in durable buckram. Of the *University of California Publications in History* it is the sixth volume, and one of the most creditable and most important.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

THE NATIONAL CATHOLIC WAR COUNCIL

On November 21, 1917, His Eminence Cardinal Gibbons addressed a letter to the American Hierarchy proposing the formation of a new National Catholic War Council. This letter was the result of an informal conference of the Archbishops and Bishops present at the semi-annual meeting of the Catholic University Trustees. The response of the American Hierarchy was unanimous; and on December 19, 1917, His Eminence addressed a second letter to the Archbishops suggesting the formation of an Administrative Committee for the actual management of the National Catholic War Council. The hearty endorsement of the Archbishops followed, and the following Bishops were named: the Right Rev. P. J. Muldoon, D.D., Bishop of Rockford, *Chairman*; the Right Rev. J. Schrembs, D.D., Bishop of Toledo, the Right Rev. P. J. Hayes, D.D., Auxiliary Bishop of New York, and the Right Rev. William T. Russell, D.D., Bishop of Charleston, S. C. The first meeting of this Administrative Committee was held at the Catholic University, on January 16, 1918. In his letter of January 12, 1918, calling the Administrative Committee together, Cardinal Gibbons defined the task ahead of the four Bishops: namely, to direct and control, with the aid of the American Hierarchy, all Catholic activities in the war.

With the Declaration of War against the Central Powers, every part of the organization of the Church immediately became solicitous to do its share in assisting the Government. Activities of all kinds were begun in various parts of the country, and individual as well as corporate cooperation with such movements as the Belgian Relief, the Red Cross, the Liberty Loan, and others, became the watchword. The number of enlisted and drafted men opened the eyes of Catholics throughout the United States to the large quota of their coreligionists in the Army and Navy, and it was felt that every effort should be made for their welfare. Before the first contingent of men in the Service had been completed, it was common talk that the percentage of Catholics in the Service, both at home and overseas, was out of all proportion to the number of Catholics in the country. How to cope with the problem of cooperating with the Government and with private societies for their welfare became the paramount question.

That a National Catholic organization of some sort was necessary soon became apparent, and in August, 1917, a *National Catholic War Council of the United States of America* was created. Its object was as follows: to promote the spiritual and material welfare of the United States troops during the war wherever they may be, at home, or abroad, and to study, coordinate, unify and put in operation all Catholic activities incidental to the war.

This War Council, known now as the *Old Catholic War Council*, consisted of:

1. A *National Council* composed of representatives named by the Archbishops and Bishops of the dioceses of the United States;
2. A *Local Council* consisting of members appointed by the Ordinary of each diocese in such numbers as he should deem proper;

3. An *Executive Committee* consisting of one clerical and one lay member appointed by each Archbishop of the United States from his province; and of members-at-large, not to exceed three in number, appointed by the Executive Committee.

At the first meeting of the Executive Committee at the Catholic University, on August 11-12, 1917, the following resolutions were passed:

Resolved, That it is the unanimous opinion of this Convention that the Catholics of the United States should devote their united energies to promote the spiritual and material welfare of the United States troops during the war, wherever they may be, at home, or abroad, and should create a National Organisation to study, coordinate, unify, and put in operation all Catholic activities incidental to the war;

Resolved, That in order to effect this National coordination, a Committee of seven be appointed by the Chairman of this Convention to devise a plan of organising, throughout the United States, a National body to be called *The National Catholic War Council*. We suggest that this Council be made up of *Local Councils* in each Diocese, to consist of the Ordinary of the Diocese and the two Delegates to this Convention and such others as the Ordinary may designate; a *National Council* composed of members from all the Dioceses in the United States appointed by the Ordinaries; and an *Executive Committee* of one Delegate from each Archdiocese to be appointed by the Archbishop; that this Organisation be completed and put in operation without further report to this Convention and that the Executive Committee be authorized to collect such funds as may be necessary for the above-mentioned purposes.

Meanwhile, the Government had asked the Knights of Columbus to cooperate in the work of the moral welfare of the men in service. The following Resolution was therefore passed by this meeting:

Resolved, That this Convention most heartily commends the excellent work which the Knights of Columbus have undertaken in cooperating with the Government of the United States in meeting the moral problems which have arisen and will arise out of the war, and it is the opinion of this Convention that the Knights of Columbus should be recognized as the representative Catholic body for the special work they have undertaken.

This first War Council then pledged itself to give its best efforts in safeguarding the moral and spiritual welfare of our Catholic young men in the Service. Its members held themselves in readiness to cooperate in the work under the spiritual leadership of the Hierarchy. They placed on record their hearty approbation of the admirable regulations made by our War and Navy Department for the safeguarding of our camps, cantonments, naval and military establishments from the moral dangers incident to camp life.

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The Committees appointed at that time were:

Committee on Finance.

Committee on Publicity and Information.

Committee on Chaplains.

Committee on Recreation and Recreation Halls.
Committee on Literature and Religious Articles.
Committee on Legislation.
Committee on Historical Records of Catholic War Activities.
Committee on Women's Organizations.

The creation of this first War Council, as we read in its first printed *Handbook*, "was the result of a widespread realization that the transfer of hundreds of thousands of Catholic men from normal to abnormal conditions of living should cause deep solicitude. There is the desire that the Catholic soldier should have ample opportunity for leading a Catholic life, which involves attendance at Mass and reception of the Sacraments; and there is apprehension concerning the moral and physical welfare of the soldier in the presence of evils which seems to be intensified under the new conditions of living." Among the problems taken up for consideration were: Enlistment Period, Aggregation Camps, Mobilization Camps, Knights of Columbus Halls, Recreation Accessories, Camp Life in France, Families of Soldiers in Service, Training Camp Dangers, a National Catholic Budget for the work, Methods of Forming Diocesan War Councils, etc.

The officers of the old War Council were:

President, Rev. John J. Burke, C. S. P., 120 West 60th St., N. Y.
Secretary, Robert Biggs, Law Building, Baltimore.
Treasurer, John G. Agar, 81 Nassau Street, New York.

The chairmen of the Committees were:

Chaplains, Rt. Rev. Msgr. M. J. Lavelle, New York.
Legislation and By-Laws, Rt. Rev. Msgr. Ed. Kelly, Chicago.
Finance, John G. Agar, New York.
Historical Record of Catholic War Activities, Rt. Rev. Msgr. H. T. Drumgoole, Philadelphia.
Recreation and Rest Halls, Charles I. Denechaud, New Orleans.
Women's Organizations, Rt. Rev. Msgr. M. J. Splaine, Boston.
Executive Secretary, Walter G. Hooke, New York.

Consequently, when the new National Catholic War Council was formed, under the direction of Cardinal Gibbons, the Administrative Committee took advantage of the work done by the Executive Committee of the old War Council and by the Knights of Columbus. The new War Council met for the first time, as proposed, on January 16, 1918, and the projects of the old War Council together with the Knights of Columbus activities were fused into the new organization. The plan of organization adopted was as follows:

I. The National Catholic War Council, composed of the fourteen Archbishops.

II. Administrative Committee, composed of the four Bishops.

I. Committee on Special War Activities.

II. Knights of Columbus Committee on War Activities.

III. Executive Committee, composed of the four Bishops, six members of Knights of Columbus War Council and six members of the old Catholic War Council.

IV. General Committee, composed of two representatives, one clerical and one lay, from each diocese, two representatives from the American Federation of Catholic Societies, two representatives from each National Catholic society, two representatives from the Catholic Press Association, and such other members-at-large as the Committee of Bishops may choose.

The following reorganization of the Committee on Special War Activities was effected:

- I. Committee on Finance.*
- II. Committee on Women's Activities.*
- III. Committee on Men's Activities.*
- IV. Committee on After-War Work.*
- V. Committee on Chaplains.*
- VI. Committee on Publicity.*
- VII. Committee on Historical Records of Catholic War Activities.*

A central Bureau was secured and is now located at 930-932 Fourteenth Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

The *Committee on Historical Records* was placed in charge of the Rt. Rev. H. T. Drumgoole, LL.D., D.D., Rector of St. Charles Seminary, Overbrook, Pa. Monsignor Drumgoole appointed as his Secretary, the Rev. Dr. Peter Guilday, associate professor of American Church History, at the Catholic University. The following letter and *Questionnaire* were sent to all the pastors of churches throughout the United States:

The National Catholic War Council

**Committee on Historical
Records of Catholic War
Activities**

932 14TH STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

CHAIRMAN
RT. REV. MGR. H. T. DRUMGOOLE, D.D., LL.D.
SECRETARY
REV. PETER GUILDAY, PH.D.

NATIONAL CATHOLIC WAR RECORDS

The National Catholic War Council was organized by the Hierarchy of the United States, primarily, to insure proper spiritual service for all Catholics in the Army, Navy and Marine Corps of the United States; secondarily, to stimulate and coordinate all Catholic activities for the success of American arms in the war; thirdly, to prevent or remedy untoward conditions growing out of the war.

The National Catholic War Council consists of the fourteen Metropolitans of the United States. It acts through an Administrative Committee of four Bishops, appointed by the Metropolitans. An Executive Committee of priests and laymen from all parts of the country carry out the practical work, through a number of Standing Committees.

The Committee on National Catholic War Records, one of the standing Committees, has been directed by the Administrative Committee of Bishops to bend every effort to secure at once and to preserve an accurate and complete record of all Catholic American activity in the present war.

The securing of such a record will require the generous assistance of all Catholics, especially the aid and the sympathetic cooperation of every Bishop and Priest, particularly of every Pastor, the heads of Catholic Societies of men and women, and the editors of Catholic papers and magazines.

An individual appeal, therefore, is now made to you to do your share, large or small as it may be, to insure the success of our efforts to gather Catholic War Records. Proper War Records will go far to guarantee and facilitate adequate spiritual ministrations to our men in military service. They will show the needs of the men's families and dependents, during and after the war, and afford material for an inspiring chapter in the story of the Church's religious and patriotic cooperation in our national crisis.

The National Board for Historical Service, which has been created by a select group of scholars for present war needs, has called the attention "of State historical departments and societies and other public bodies, to the importance of preserving for permanent use the war records not only of the State and Federal Governments, but also of the large number of auxiliary organisations." It is "seeking information as to the attitude of particular social groups, political, racial, economic or religious," and its plans "include the publication of manual of war records." Our War Records can be made the contribution and answer of Catholics, and our War Records must be thorough and adequate in order that the Church find its place in the Nation's summary of War Service as proposed in this plan.

We desire to secure at once the name, age, home address, branch of service, and the name and address of nearest relative or next friend.

(a) *Of every Catholic man in the Army, Navy or Marines of the United States (state whether volunteer or drafted);*

(b) *Of those examined and passed, even though not yet called to service;*

(c) *Of those serving in medical, hospital or ambulance corps;*

(d) *Of chaplains, regular, non-commissioned, or supplying;*

(e) *Of helpers in cantonment, camps, or over-seas;*

(f) *Of every Catholic woman serving as nurse or in any other capacity.*

Further information and material desired for war records may be broadly defined as follows:

Episcopal pronouncements, acts, addresses, books, pamphlets; Priests' efforts of like character; Church celebrations, prayers; congregational celebrations, activities; group or individual participation on part of either clergy or laity.

Hence, Diocesan National War Council organisation of Societies, National or Local, co-ordinated for War Work, and outline of work accomplished or contemplated, co-ordinated for present war work.

(a) *With K. of C. in raising of funds, amount contributed by Diocese or individuals, help in camp or extra-camp activities;*

(b) *With Red Cross, amount of contributions, number of memberships, branches, with number of workers and amount of work handed in, if no branch is established, statement whether private organisation does work;*

(c) *With Food Conservation, method of cooperation;*

(d) *With Federal, State or Municipal War Measures;*

(e) *With chaplain aid or similar associations, amounts raised or contributed, supplies furnished chaplains, kits, altar supplies, literature, etc.*

A special Questionnaire will be sent respectively for all Catholic men's and women's societies.

Letters from soldiers, or about soldiers, newspaper or magazine articles treating of Catholics in war activity, are greatly desired.

Arrangements have been made to secure copies of every Catholic paper and magazine in the United States.

In some places a Diocesan War Record is being compiled in the home Chancery. This is likely to be accurate and thorough, and will afford a splendid history for home reading; a copy will aid us greatly.

An appeal is made to the Right Reverend Ordinaries for every suggestion and help they can give for the direction and success of the War Records, and every priest is earnestly urged to co-operate in every way possible.

Every bit of help in compiling the National Catholic War Records will count for the honor of Church and Country, and for the glory of the men who are offering their life's blood, and of the women who, in their husbands, sons, and brothers, are giving of their heart's blood, for God and the Right.

HENRY T. DRUMGOOLE, *Chairman.*

PETER GUILDAY, *Secretary.*

QUESTIONNAIRE

THE NATIONAL CATHOLIC WAR COUNCIL DEPARTMENT OF HISTORICAL WAR RECORDS

932 FOURTEENTH STREET, N. W.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Administrative Committee

RT. REV. PETER J. MULDOON, D.D.

CHAIRMAN

RT. REV. JOSEPH SCHREMS, D.D.

RT. REV. PATRICK J. HAYES, D.D.

RT. REV. WILLIAM T. RUSSELL, D.D.

NAME OF CHURCH.....
TOWN OR CITY.....
DIOCESE.....
NAME OF PASTOR.....

Committee on Historical Records of Catholic War Activities

RT. REV. MONSIGNOR H. T.
DRUMGOOLE, D. D., LL.D.

CHAIRMAN

REV. PETER GUILDAY, PH.D.

SECRETARY

NOTE—Please Have Typewritten if Possible. If not Sufficient Space for Names, Please send for Additional Blanks or use Paper of same Dimensions.

FAMILY	NAME		AGE	HOME ADDRESS	BRANCH OF SERVICE		NAME AND ADDRESS OF NEAREST RELATIVE
	CHRISTIAN				ARMY OR NAVY	REG., RANK, ETC.	

The formation of Diocesan War Councils has not lagged behind the progress of the National War Council, and in many dioceses there has been formed a Committee on Historical Records which will act in conjunction with the central body at Washington. As an example of the work to be done, the following letter sent out by His Eminence Cardinal Farley, of New York, is worthy of preservation in these pages:

Cardinal's Residence

452 Madison Avenue

Rev. and Dear Father:

The National Catholic War Council in a circular addressed to the American Hierarchy has urged the importance of collecting and preserving accurate and complete statistics of Catholic participation in the war. This suggestion has my fullest and most cordial approval, and now that the first year has ended, I write to request your co-operation in the compilation of these statistics.

It is unnecessary to expatiate upon the value which such information, carefully prepared, will have for the Catholic apologist and historian of the future. I appeal, however, to your pride as a priest, and as a member of the archdiocesan clergy, to interest yourself seriously in the collection of war statistics for the Archdiocese of New York. After careful consideration of the problem, I have decided to ask each pastor to file in the Chancery Office a *Parish War Record for 1917*, which request will be repeated annually until the close of hostilities.

To insure order and uniformity in this very important matter, I would suggest that your report be typewritten on legal cap, bound, and properly inscribed in the manner legal documents are prepared. The information required can be grouped under the following general headings and sub-titles:

1. THE HONOR ROLL OF THE PARISH.

This should contain the names and addresses of all the young men of the parish in the Army and Navy, and should show their rank, branch of service, and the unit to which they have been assigned. For example:

Jones, John J. 24 East 52d St. Private. 306 Inf. U. S. N. A.

The list, of course, should be arranged alphabetically. The names of Catholic young women serving as nurses in military hospitals should also be included in the honor roll. Under this heading we have the most important data, which in many cases the pastors have already prepared.

2. CO-OPERATION WITH FEDERAL, STATE AND MUNICIPAL WAR MEASURES.

Under this heading should be included a statement of what the clergy and people of the parish did to assist:

(a) *The New York State Military Census.*

(Cf. My circular of May 7, 1917.)

(b) *The Federal Draft Census.*

(Cf. My Circular of May 31, 1917.)

(c) *The Food Conservation Campaign.*

(Cf. My circular of June 28, 1917.)

(d) *The Liberty Loan Campaigns and the War Savings Campaign.*

(Such information as you can gather regarding membership of parishioners on campaign committees, and the purchase of Bonds and Savings Certificates and Stamps by members of your parish.)

(e) *Recruiting Campaigns.*

(Meetings held in parish halls, addresses by Clergy and members of the parish.)

(f) *Patriotic Church Services.*

(Special reference to the announcement of the declaration of war in

circular of April 12, 1917, and to the observance of Prayer Sunday as asked in circular of October 24th.)

3. CO-OPERATION WITH THE AMERICAN RED CROSS..

(a) *The Red Cross Campaign for Funds.*

(Cf. Circular of June 22, 1917. The amount contributed, names of Catholic workers on the local committees, and the names of Catholics contributing large amounts.)

(b) *Branches of the Red Cross.*

(Parish branch, its meetings, its service. Local branches in which Catholic men or women are prominent workers, officials, etc.)

(c) *The Red Cross Membership Drive.*

(Cf. Circular recently sent you by Red Cross. Activity of clergy and Catholics in support of this drive and the results obtained in your parish.)

4. CO-OPERATION WITH CATHOLIC WAR MOVEMENTS.

(a) *The Knights of Columbus War Camp Activities.*

(Cf. Announcement in "Open Letter to New York Catholics," dated July 16, 1917, sent you with a letter to the "Priests of Manhattan and the Bronx," dated July 18, 1917. What aid did the parish give the K. of C. for their campaign July 22 to July 29th in workers and in money?)

Other Assistance to the Knights in their work.

(b) *National Catholic War Council.*

(c) *The League of Catholic Women.*

(Cf. Recommendation sent you under date of November 28, 1917.)

(d) *The Chaplains' Aid Society.*

5. PARISH STATISTICS NOT INCLUDED IN PRECEDING HEADINGS.

I believe the headings mentioned cover our activities quite thoroughly. To gather this information will require considerable labor, but the importance of the subject justifies my request, and I feel it will meet with your earnest support. The *Parish War Record* should be typewritten in duplicate, one copy to be preserved in the parish records and the other sent to the Chancery Office. I shall expect all records to be filed by the fifteenth of March.

I take this opportunity to commend the pastors of the archdiocese for their ready and enthusiastic support of all patriotic movements, and I confidently expect that as the war progresses their interest will increase. The flower of our Catholic youth is in the ranks; may God preserve its bloom and fragrance for the future of the Church in our wonderful land!

Praying for you every blessing, I am,

Faithfully yours in Christ,

JOHN CARDINAL FARLEY,

Archbishop of New York.

A *Handbook of the National Catholic War Council* is now being prepared, and before very long Committees of Historical Records will exist in every Catholic centre of the United States. No one can overestimate the value such an organization will have in arousing a nation-wide interest in Catholic history, both past, present and future.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

THE "CATHOLIC ENCYCLOPEDIA" DIOCESAN BIBLIOGRAPHY

There exists no complete bibliography of the Catholic Church in the United States. The only work published thus far that approaches the problem is Finotti's *Bibliographia Catholica Americana*. Finotti's work, however, is not a technical one. It is a list of books written and published by Catholic authors in the United States, and it covers only the years 1789 to 1820. What is needed is a volume similar to that published by Professors Channing, Hart, and Turner: *Guide to the Study of American History*. They have selected from the immense mass of rich material on American History all that is likely to be most immediately useful to the searcher in political, social, constitutional, and economic American History.

A *Bibliography of American Catholic History* is the work of a lifetime. It can hardly be done by any one scholar or student. Help must be asked from the thousands of American Catholics who are interested in such a study; and help must come especially from the clergy.

It is only after long deliberation that a plan has been decided upon for starting this much-needed work. We begin by publishing the bibliographies to be found at the end of all the articles in the *Catholic Encyclopedia* which treat of the Dioceses and Archdioceses of the United States. Copies of these pages will then be sent to all who are known to be students of American Church History, with the request that books be added. From time to time these completed lists will be reprinted in the REVIEW, and all those who assist in the work will be given credit for the same. For the present, the usual divisions of *Sources* and *Books* must be abandoned, and the final classification will be postponed until it is concluded that the lists as published are as exhaustive as possible. The scheme to be followed will be chronological, that is, the fourteen Provinces will be taken up in the order of their erection and under each Province or Archdiocese the Suffragan Bishoprics *as they are at present* will be placed, again in the order of their erection.

Through the courtesy of the Editors of the *Catholic Encyclopedia* we are permitted to use their volumes for these purposes.

I. PROVINCE OF BALTIMORE (1808)

1. Baltimore (1789).

SHEA, *History of the Catholic Church in Colonial Days* (New York, York, 1886); ID., *Life and Times of Archbishop Carroll* (New York, 1888); ID., *Hist. of the Cath. Church in the United States, 1844-68* (2 vols., New York, 1892); Catholic Almanacs and Directories, 1834-1907; O'GORMAN, *The Roman Catholic Church in the United States* (New York, 1895); DAVIS, *Day-Star of American Freedom*; SCHARF, *Hist. of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1879); MCSHERRY, *History of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1852); SCHARF, *History of Baltimore City and County* (Philadelphia, 1881); TREACT, *Old Catholic Maryland* (Swedesboro, N. J., 1879); KNOTT, *History of Maryland* (Baltimore, s. d.); STANTON, *History of the Church in Western Mary-*

land (Baltimore, 1900); RIORDAN, ed., *Cathedral Records* (Baltimore, 1906); Archives of Maryland Hist. Society (Baltimore); Diocesan Archives (ibid.); HUGHES, *Hist. of S. J. in N. Am.* (Cleveland, 1907); *Acta et Decreta S. Conc. Recentiorum. Collectio Lacensis. Auctoribus Presbyt. S. J.* (Friburg, 1875), contains in vol. III, the full text of the decrees of these ten councils; *Concilia Provincialia Baltimore Habita ab Anno, 1829 ad 1849* (Baltimore, 1851), gives the acts of only the first seven provincial councils.

2. Richmond (1820)

MAGRI, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond* (Richmond, Virginia, 1906); PARKE, *Catholic Missions in Virginia* (Richmond, 1850); KEILEY, *Memoranda* (Norfolk, Virginia, 1874); *Proceedings of the Catholic Benevolent Union* (Norfolk, 1875); *The Metropolitan Catholic Almanac* (Baltimore, 1841-61); *Catholic Almanac and Directory* (New York, 1865-95); *Catholic Directory* (Milwaukee, 1895-9); *Official Catholic Directory* (Milwaukee, 1900-11); HUGHES, *The History of the Society of Jesus in North America, Colonial and Federal* (London, 1907); SHEA, *The History of the Catholic Church in the United States* (Akron, Ohio, 1890); foreign references cited by SHEA (I, bk. II, i, 106, 107, 149, 150); NAVARETTE, *Real Cédula que contiene el asiento capitulado con Lucas Vázquez de Ayllón; Coleccion de Viages y Descubrimientos* (Madrid, 1829), ii, 153, 156; FERNANDEZ, *Historia Eclesiastica de Nuestros Tiempos* (Toledo, 1611); QUIROS, *Letter of 12 Sept., 1570*; ROGEL, *Letter of 9 Dec., 1520*; BARCIA, *Ensayo Cronológico*, 142-6; TANNER *Societas Militaris*, 447-51.

3. Charleston (1820).

SHEA, *Hist. of Cath. Ch. in U. S.* (New York, 1889-92); O'GORMAN, *Hist. of the Cath. Ch. in the U. S.* (New York, 1895), *passim*; *The United States Catholic Miscellany*, files (Charleston, 1822-1862).

4. Wheeling (1850).

None given.

5. Savannah (1850).

SHEA, *History of the Catholic Church in the U. S.*, IV (New York, 1892), *passim*.

6. Wilmington, Del. (1868).

Archives of the Diocese of Wilmington; Archives of the Maryland Province, S. J.; JOHNSTONE, *Hist. of Cecil Co., Md.* (Elkton, Md., 1881); CONRAD, *Hist. of Delaware* (Wilmington, 1908).

7. St. Augustine (1857-1870).¹

Nine given.

8. Vicariate Apostolic of North Carolina (1868).

None given.

II. PROVINCE OF OREGON CITY (1846)

1. Oregon City (1843).

BLANCHET, *Historical Sketches* (Portland, 1870); *The Catholic Sentinel* (Portland, 1870-1910), files; *Catholic Directory; Diocesan Archives*.

¹ Established as the Vicariate Apostolic of Florida in 1857.

2. Seattle (1846-1850-1907).²

DE SMET, *Western Missions and Missionaries* (New York, 1859);
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Siwash* (Seattle, 1895).

3. Helena (1868-1884).³

Catholic Directory, 1909; *Catholic News* (New York), files; *Biog.
Encycl. Cath. Hierarchy U. S.* (Milwaukee, 1898).

4. Boise (1868-1893).⁴

VAN DER DONCK, *The Founders of the Church in Idaho in the Eccles.
Review*, XXXII, Nos. 1, 2, 3; SHEA, *Hist. Cath. Ch. in U. S.* (New York
1894); REUSS, *Biographical Encycl. of the Cath. Hierarchy* (Milwaukee, Wis-
consin).

5. Alaska (1894).

United States Bureau of American Republic, Handbook, 1894; *Alaska;
Archives of the Prefecture Apostolic of Alaska*; DEVINE, *Across Wildest
America* (Montreal, 1905). Also GIBBS, DALL, NELSON, HOLMBERG,
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6. Baker City (1903).

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7. Great Falls (1904).

PALLADINO, *Indian and White in the Northwest* (Baltimore, 1894);
The Iowa Catholic Messenger (Davenport, Iowa, 1904); WILTEIUS, *The
Catholic Directory* (Milwaukee, 1908).

8. Spokane (1913).

None given.

III. PROVINCE OF ST. LOUIS (1826-1847)

1. St. Louis (1826).⁵

ROSATI, *Relazione*, Letters to the Propaganda and Private Letters;
IDEM, *Diocesan Archives*; SHEA, *Hist. of the Catholic Church in the U. S.*, I
(Akron, 1888), passim; THORNTON, *Historical Sketch of the Church in
St. Louis*; WALSH, *Jubilee Memoirs* (St. Louis, 1891); *Encycl. of the Hist
St. Louis* (St. Louis, 1899); *Catholic Directory* (Milwaukee).

2. St. Joseph (1868).

HOGAN, *On the Mission in Missouri* (Kansas City, 1892); LINNEN-
KAMP, *Historical Souvenir of the Immaculate Conception Parish* (St.
Joseph, 1907); *Official Catholic Directory* (1910).

² Erected as Diocese of Walla Walla in 1846; merged into the Diocese of Nequally in 1850; and transferred to Seattle in 1907.

³ Erected as Vicariate of Montana in 1868, and as the Diocese of Helena in 1884.

⁴ Established as the Vicariate Apostolic of Idaho in 1868, and erected into Diocese of Boise in 1893.

⁵ Erected into a Diocese in 1826, and into an Archdiocese in 1847.

3. Leavenworth (1851-1877).⁶

DEFOURI, *Original Diaries and Letters of Jesuit Missionaries; Catholic Directory*, 1851-1910; CLARKE, *Lives of the Deceased Bishops of the Catholic Church in the United States*, III (New York, 1888), 611 sqq.; REUSS, *Biol. Cycl. of the Catholic Hierarchy in U. S.* (Milwaukee, 1898); *Western Watchman* (St. Louis, Missouri), files.

4. Kansas City, Missouri (1880).

Catholic Directory, 1881, 1910; *Church Progress*; *Western Watchman* (St. Louis) files; REUSS, *Biog. Cycl. of the Cath. Hierarchy of U. S.* (Milwaukee, 1898).

5. Wichita (1887).

Archives of Diocese; Catholic Directory.

6. Concordia (1887).

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IV. PROVINCE OF NEW ORLEANS (1793-1850)⁷

1. New Orleans (1793)

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⁶ Erected as Vicariate of Indian Territory in 1851; by 1860 known as Vicariate of Kansas, and finally established as the Diocese of Leavenworth in 1877.

⁷ Erected as Diocese in 1793 and as Archdiocese in 1850. From 1801 until 1805 the Diocese was administered by Vicars-General. From 1805 to 1812, it was ruled from Baltimore. In 1812, Father Du Bourg was named Administrator and in 1815 he was consecrated Bishop of Louisiana. To this Province belongs the Diocese of Lafayette, recently erected.

2. Mobile (1825-1829).⁸

HAMILTON, *Colonial Mobile* (Boston and New York, 1897); SHEA, *History of the Catholic Church in the United States* (Akron, O., New York, Chicago, 1886, 1892); IDEM, *Defenders of Our Faith* (New York, Chicago, 1886, 1893); MOTHER AUSTIN, *A Catholic History of Alabama and the Floridas*, I (New York, 1908); *Metropolitan Catholic Almanac and Lady's Directory* (Baltimore, 1850 sqq.); *Official Catholic Directory* (Milwaukee, New York, 1910); REGER, *Die Benedictiner im Staate Alabama* (Baltimore, 1898).

3. Natchez (1837).

Catholic Directory (1910); SHEA, *Defenders of our Faith*; DE COURCY AND SHEA, *History of the Catholic Church in the U. S.*

4. Little Rock (1843).

GATARRÉ, *French Domination* (New Orleans, 1845); IDEM, *Spanish Domination* (New Orleans, 1845); IDEM, *American Domination* (New Orleans, 1845); POPE, *A Tour of the United States* (Richmond, 1792); GREENHOW, *History of Oregon and California* (Boston, 1845); MELISH, *Military and Topographical Atlas* (Philadelphia, 1815); NUTTAL, *Travels in Arkansas* (Philadelphia, 1821); POPE, *Early Days in Arkansas* (Little Rock, 1895); WASHBURN, *Reminiscences of the Indians* (Richmond, 1869); PARKMAN, works; BANCROFT, *History of the United States* (Boston, 1879); REYNOLDS, *Makers of Arkansas History* (New York and Boston, 1905); HEMSTEAD, *School History of Arkansas* (New Orleans, 1889) SHINN, *School History of Arkansas* (Richmond, 1900); ROZIER, *History of the Mississippi Valley* (St. Louis, 1890); JEWELL, *History of the Methodist Church in Arkansas* (Little Rock, 1898); *Publications of the Arkansas Historical Association*, I, II (Little Rock, 1908); HALLIBURTON, *History of Arkansas County, Arkansas* (Dewitt, 1909); SHEA, *History of the Catholic Church* (New York, 1892).

5. Galveston (1841-1847).⁹

SHEA, *History of Catholic Church in the United States* (New York, 1894); IDEM, *Hist. Cath. Missions* (New York, 1855); REUSS, *Biog. Cycl. Cath. Hierarchy of United States* (Milwaukee, 1898); *Catholic Directory*, 1909; *Freeman's Journal* (New York), *Morning Star* (New Orleans, June, 1870), files.

6. Alexandria, La. (1853-1910).¹⁰

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7. San Antonio (1874).

History of the Catholic Church in the Diocese of San Antonio (San Antonio, 1897); *Diocesan Archives* (unpublished); *Southern Messenger* (San Antonio), files, November, 1894; October, 1895; March, April, 1910; March, 1911.

⁸ Established as Vicariate of Alabama-Florida in 1825, and as a Diocese in 1829.

⁹ Erected as Vicariate-Apostolic of Texas in 1841 and as a Diocese in 1847.

¹⁰ Erected in 1853 as Diocese of Natchitoches; transferred to Alexandria in 1910.

8. Corpus Christi (1874-1912)

None given.

9. Dallas (1890).

Catholic Directory (1908); REUSS, *Biog. Cycl. of the Cath. Hierarchy of the U. S.* (Milwaukee, 1898).

10. Oklahoma (1876-1891-1905).¹¹

HILL, *A History of the State of Oklahoma* (Chicago, 1908); ROCH, *History of Oklahoma* (Wichita, 1890); TINDALL, *Makers of Oklahoma* (Guthrie, 1905); THOBURN AND HOLCOMB, *A History of Oklahoma* (San Francisco, 1908); *The Oklahoma Annual Almanac and Industrial Record* (Oklahoma City, 1909).

V. PROVINCE OF NEW YORK (1808-1850)¹²

1. New York (1808).

SHEA, *Hist. of Cath. Ch. in U. S.* (New York, 1886); IDEM, *Cath. Churches of N. Y.* (New York, 1878); *Ecclesiastical Records, State of New York* (Albany, 1902); O'CALLAGHAN, *Documentary Hist. of New York* (Albany, 1849-51); BAYLEY, *Brief Sketch of the Early Hist., Cath. Ch. on the Island of New York* (New York, 1854); FINOTTI, *Bibliographia Catholica Americana* (New York, 1872); FLYNN, *The Cath. Ch. in New Jersey* (Morristown, 1904); WHITE, *Life of Mrs. Eliza A. Seton* (New York, 1893); CLARKE, *Lives of the Deceased Bishops, U. S.* (New York, 1872-86); SETON, *Memoir, Letters and Journal of Elizabeth Seton* (New York, 1869); FARLEY, *History of St. Patrick's Cathedral* (New York, 1908); SMITH, *Hist. Cath. Ch. in New York* (New York, 1905); REUSS, *Biog. Cycl., Cath. Hierarchy, U. S.* (Milwaukee, 1898); *The Catholic Directory*; U. S. CATH. HIST. SOCIETY, *Historical Records and Studies* (New York, 1899-1910); *Memorial, Most Rev. M. A. Corrigan* (New York, 1902); HASSARD, *Life of the Most Rev. John Hughes* (New York, 1866); BRANN, *Most Rev. John Hughes* (New York, 1892); CAMPBELL, *Pioneer Priests of North America* (New York, 1909-10); *Mary Aloysia Hardey* (New York, 1910); *New York Truth Teller*, files; *Freeman's Journal*, files; *Metropolitan Record*, files; *Tablet*, files; *Catholic News*, files; BROWNSON, H. F., *Brownson's Early, Middle and Later Life* (Detroit, 1898-1900); BENNETT, *Catholic Footsteps in Old New York* (New York, 1909); ZWIERLEIN, *Religion in New Netherland* (Rochester, 1910).

2. Albany (1847).

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¹¹ Erected as a Prefecture-Apostolic in 1876, as a Vicariate in 1891, and as a Diocese in 1905.

¹² Erected as Diocese in 1808, and as an Archdiocese in 1850.

3. Buffalo (1847).

BAYLEY, *History of the Church in New York* (New York, 1870); TIMON, *Missions in Western New York* (Buffalo, 1862); DONOHUE, *History of the Catholic Church in Western New York* (Buffalo, 1904); IDEM, *The Iroquois and the Jesuits* (Buffalo, 1895); *Relations des Jésuites* (Quebec, 1858); MARGRY, *Découvertes* (Paris, 1893); HENNEPIN, *Nouvelle Découverte* (Utrecht, 1678); CRONIN, *Life and Times of Bishop Ryan* (Buffalo, 1893); *The Historical Writings of the late Orsamus H. Marshall* (Albany, 1887); *The Sentinel*, files (Buffalo); Maps by GENERAL JAMES CLARKE (Auburn); Bishop Timon's diary and unpublished letters.

4. Brooklyn (1853).

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5. Newark (1853).

FLYNN, *The Catholic Church in New Jersey* (Morristown, 1904); SHEA, *History of the Cath. Ch. in the U. S.* (New York, 1889-92); REUSS, *Biog. Cycl. of the Cath. Hierarchy in the U. S.* (Milwaukee, 1898); BAYLEY, *A Brief Sketch of the Early Hist. of the Cath. Ch. on the Island of New York* (New York, 1853); GRIFFIN, *Catholics in the Am. Revolution*, I (Ridley Park, Pa., 1907); TANGUAY, *Documents relating to the Colonial History of New Jersey* (Newark, 1880); *History Cath. Ch. in Paterson, N. J.* (Paterson, 1883); *Hist. City of Elizabeth* (Elizabeth, 1899); *Freeman's Journal and Truth Teller* (New York) files; *The Catholic Directory* (1850-1910).

6. Rochester (1868).

Conc. Balt. Plen. II acta et decreta; Acta S. Sedis, III; Leonis XIII Acta xvi, xxi; Catholic Directory (1868-1911); MCQUADE, *Diaries* (fragmentary); IDEM, *Pastorals in Annual Coll. for Eccl. Students* (1871-1911); IDEM, *Pastoral* (Jubilee) (1875); IDEM, *Pastoral* (Visitation) (1878); IDEM, *Our American Seminaries in Am. Eccl. Rev.* (May, 1897), reprint in SMITH, *The Training of a Priest*, pp. xxi-xxxix; IDEM, *The Training of a Seminary Professor* in SMITH, *op. cit.*, pp. 327-335; IDEM, *Christian Free Schools* (1892), a reprint of lectures; IDEM, *Religion in Schools in North Am. Rev.* (April, 1881); IDEM, *Religious Teaching in Schools in Forum* (December, 1889); *Reports of Conferences held by parochial teachers* (1904-10).

7. Ogdensburg (1872).

SHEA, *History of Cath. Church in United States* (New York, 1894—); WALWORTH, *Reminiscences of Bishop Wadhams* (New York, 1893); SMITH, *Hist. of Dioc. of Ogdensburg* (New York, 1885); *Illus. Hist. of Cath. Church in America*, ed. BEGNI (New York, 1910); CURTIS, *St. Lawrence County* (Syracuse, 1894).

8. Trenton (1881).

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¹³ Erected into a Diocese in 1821 and into an Archdiocese in 1850.

¹⁴ Erected as Diocese of Bardstown in 1808 and transferred to Louisville in 1841

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¹⁵ Erected into the Diocese of Vincennes in 1834 and transferred to Indianapolis in 1898.

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FOR THE STUDY OF THE CHURCH HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

Volume IV

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Number 3

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The Catholic Historical Review

VOLUME IV

OCTOBER, 1918

NUMBER 3

STEPHEN GIRARD¹

I

Stephen Girard—"mariner and merchant," banker and patriot, philanthropist and freemason—died on December 26th, 1831, and four days later was buried in the Catholic graveyard of Holy Trinity Church, Philadelphia.

This statement obviously violates a fundamental canon of biography, for the biographer should undoubtedly get his hero born before having him buried. Its madness is not without method, however, in the present instance; for Catholics have a peculiar interest, which to others may seem uncanny, in the death and burial of a man who had been born, baptized and reared in the Catholic faith, and who nevertheless had become a member of a Masonic lodge and was considered in some quarters to have practically, if not indeed formally, given up his belief in revealed religion. Under date of December 30th, 1831, Bishop Kenrick devotes an unusually generous amount of space in his *Diary*² to the explanation of two notable facts in connection with the funeral of Girard: first, that the freemasons in the procession were forbidden entrance to the church because they would not remove the insignia of their order, and so there was no religious rite performed; second, that Girard's body was permitted interment in consecrated ground for a reason which the Bishop gives.

¹ *The Life and Times of Stephen Girard, Mariner and Merchant.* By JOHN BACH McMASTER, Professor of American History, University of Pennsylvania. With illustrations in color and doubletone. Vol. I, 470 pp.; Vol. II, 482 pp. Philadelphia and London: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1918.

² *Diary and Visitation Record of the Rt. Rev. Francis Patrick Kenrick, 1831-1851.* Translated and Edited by F. E. T. [The Rev. F. E. Tourscher, O. S. A.]. Lancaster, Pa., 1916.

In addition to this, Girard living has less interest for us than Girard "dead and turn'd to clay," because of two curious and withal fairly significant facts. The spokesman for the freemasons in their refusal to remove their insignia in Holy Trinity Church was Francis Cooper, who subsequently embraced the Catholic faith. And when, twenty years after (1851), Girard's body was removed from the little God's acre of Holy Trinity Church and was re-interred with Masonic rites in the marble sarcophagus prepared for it in Girard College, the orator of the occasion was the Hon. Joseph R. Chandler, who also subsequently embraced the Catholic faith. Girard, the Catholic, became a Mason; and Cooper and Chandler, the Masons, became Catholics. Had St. Basil's ancient narrative of the Forty Martyrs a modern application?

The next point of interest to Catholics would naturally be the steps in the pathway that led Girard from the faith of his forebears into the philosophism of that eighteenth century which, said Carlyle, blew its brains out in the French Revolution. Of the fleet of vessels that ploughed the Seven Seas in obedience to the shrewd and unflagging commercial instinct of Girard, he himself had named four with the significant titles of *Voltaire*, *Rousseau*, *Montesquieu* and *Helvetius*. An orator at the celebration of the sesqui-centennial of Girard's birthday declared that the great mariner and merchant had a special devotion to this quartet of philosophers—a fair inference, doubtless, from the namings of the four vessels, but still an inference which leaves us wondering how Girard found any leisure for an extensive acquaintance with such a large literature in the midst of his incessant business cares.

Not Catholics alone, but all believers in Christianity as well, should be deeply concerned in two questions that arise in connection with Girard College, to whose founding and maintenance Girard devoted the greater portion of his immense fortune. He left in his will a provision "that no ecclesiastic, missionary, or minister of any sect whatsoever, shall ever hold or exercise any station or duty whatever in the said College; nor shall any such person ever be admitted for any purpose, or as a visitor, within the premises appropriated to the purposes of the said College." Girard forthwith added his reason for this restriction. But just here the first question would arise as to his real intent, as Daniel

Webster argued constructively in his famous three-day speech before the Supreme Court of the United States in the attempt to break this part of the will. The second question would concern itself with the practical working out of the restriction in the history of the College.

Finally, the least point of interest for Catholics will probably be the details of the long and active commercial life of the "mariner and merchant."

II

It is the last point—the one which has the least meaning for Catholics as such—that receives virtually exclusive treatment in the two large and beautiful volumes of *The Life and Times of Stephen Girard, Mariner and Merchant*, by John Bach McMaster, Professor of American History in the University of Pennsylvania. The other points that would most of all interest us are either overlooked or but slightly treated. The funeral of Girard is of course described, but from the narrative a reader would naturally infer that the procession had no intention of entering the church, for Bishop Kenrick's name is not mentioned, nor is the incident recorded in his *Diary*, even hinted at. With respect to the will of Girard, its many sections are summarized briefly, with the exception of the portion prohibiting clergymen from ever entering the College, which is given fully, together with the reason assigned by Girard. But there is no suggestion of the strenuous efforts made to break the will because of this proscriptive provision, nor is any account given of the manner in which that provision has been actually interpreted in the history of the College. Again, no estimate is attempted of Girard's attitude towards religion. Finally, there is of course no account of the re-interment (1851) of Girard's remains in the College sarcophagus, inasmuch as the record closes with the year 1838.

What has just been said is not meant as adverse criticism of the *Life*, but simply as an indication of the nature and scope of the laborious work undertaken by Professor McMaster. A laborious work, truly:

Material for the story of the life of Girard as mariner, merchant and banker is abundant. The Girard manuscripts number more than 50,000 pieces. Of these, 14,000 are contained in his office letter books and represent his side of a voluminous correspondence. Some 36,000 are

letters from his captains, supercargoes, agents, correspondents in every seaport of Europe from Petrograd to Trieste, in China, in the East Indies, in South American ports, from correspondents in our own country and from bankers in Europe, Great Britain and at home. The remainder of the manuscripts consist of ships' papers, documents relating to trials in prize courts, prices current, and papers treating of matters not connected with his mercantile affairs.

Here is more than sufficient material for two volumes that should attempt a delineation merely of the business career of an octogenarian mariner, merchant and banker. We can hardly expect to find a man's soul between the entries of his ledger or the lines of his commercial correspondence. And doubtless the biographer deemed it wise virtually to restrict his inquiry to the "world's work" performed by such a sagacious and industrious man of affairs as Girard. Professor McMaster's splendid contributions to American History fitted him adequately to interpret aright the atmosphere of the times in which Girard carried on his extensive businesses:

The value of these papers is greatly enhanced by the extraordinary character of the times in which he lived. He came to our country just before the opening of the War for Independence, and during that war engaged in two privateering ventures which ended disastrously. After the peace he traded with French San Domingo until the massacre of the whites by the negroes and the establishment of the present negro Republic of Haiti put an end to all trade. Turning to Europe in 1793, just when France became a Republic and made war on Great Britain and brought on the world war of 1793-1815, he suffered, as did the other American merchants, from the plundering French Decrees and British Orders in Council. One after another his ships and his cargoes were seized by the French, by the British, by the Swedes and the Danes (*Preface*).

"Old events have modern meanings," sings James Russell Lowell; and the World War of today seems to be an echo of that here described. The story is not wholly commercial in character. Its greatest interest lies in the fact that Girard's many correspondents sent fairly full accounts of those happenings of international importance which a venturesome merchant in America would wish to know about. As to his banking business:

He . . . became the first private banker in our country, and rose rapidly to importance in national finance. His letters . . . show how, with David Parish, by his great subscription he enabled the Govern-

ment to float a loan of \$16,000,000 for which the people of the entire country had not subscribed 50 per cent. When the second Bank of the United States was chartered, and the stock did not sell, it was his subscription of \$3,000,000 that made it possible for the directors to complete the organization of the Bank and begin business (*Preface*).

The quite long Preface summarizes beautifully the commercial and financial career to which almost all of the more than 900 large pages of the *Life* are devoted, and makes it unnecessary for a reviewer to attempt, within restricted limits of space, to retell the long story with any pretense of detail. The sketches of Girard in cyclopaedias need to be corrected in many points, it is true; but they give a not unsatisfactory account of the businesses of Girard. In lieu, therefore, of attempting such a task, we may content ourselves with comment on the things that most interest us.

The *Life and Times* of Girard—but it is the *Times* rather than the *Life*. For Girard's replies to his voluble correspondents are the least interesting features of the narrative. They speak humanly—he replies like a machine. They dilate on the tremendous events they have witnessed with their own eyes—he coldly draws a business inference from their information. They rhetorize—he calculates. Their main thought is like his—cargoes, prices, custom-houses and prize-courts. But they appear to be human beings withal, while Girard seems to click like a National Cash Register. He is brief, direct, cool, precise. He is wholly a man of business. As such, his transactions are clear indexes of the times, and are of special value to the historian and the economist.

Yet the soul of Girard is not to be found between the lines of his correspondence, but rather in his splendid activities during the epidemics of yellow-fever. A generous mist blurs the pages from our eyes, as we read of his heroism, his patience, his self-sacrifice in those most trying visitations of the city wherein he had made his home. The *Life* tells us something of all this, it is true, for it forms a part of Girard's life. But it is merely incidental, after all, in a narrative whose main concern is with commerce. It may not unfairly be deemed significant of the purpose of the two volumes that in the Preface which so well summarizes the business activities of Girard, no mention is made of that which dignifies his whole life with immeasurably greater importance than his merchandizing and his banking, namely his heroic labors in behalf of the

poor wretches who had been stricken with the fever. Despite his mask of philosophic calm, Girard was human after all—not least so in his savage attacks on the physicians of his day; and so we take heart of grace to continue reading the dull pages that tell us abundantly of his rise to wealth and prominence.

III

The statement just made concerning dull pages should be doubly qualified. First, the question of dullness must be answered by everyone's personal tastes and interests. Mariners and merchants, historians and economists, beneficiaries under the provisions of Girard's will, and Philadelphians in general, may properly be expected to find a special and peculiar interest in the story of Girard. But secondly, there are in addition some kindly touches of nature, some romantic incidents and romantic phraseology, some humor that creeps out of the pages beyond the intent of the historian or of the actors in the story.

Girard, for instance, again and again exhibits brotherly concern for the folk he had left at home in France. He writes to an agent in Bordeaux "to use my interests for the benefit of my sister Victoire until further orders from me" (I. 150). He gave to her and to his Aunt Lafargue the use of the house in which he believed himself to have been born (I. 458) and in addition furnished them with an annual allowance (I. 459). His nieces, Antoinette aged nine, Caroline aged seven and Henriette aged five, came to his house in Water Street "almost naked," he said, in search of a home. He received them, put them under the care of his housekeeper, and sent the two eldest to a boarding school (I. 463). He showed like kindness to the children of his brother Etienne, paying for the education of his daughters in France and for that of his two sons in America (II. 361). But Girard's heart was not closed to all others. He received into his house Peter Seguin, a young Irishman in the employ of a Bordeaux firm, and personally nursed him in his last illness (I. 221). He offered to act as a father to the son of his former agent, Samatan, after the latter's death (I. 269). He orders one of his captains, Lillibridge, to treat the crew and passengers "with the greatest humanity, also to take good care of the sick and whenever some preference is unavoidable to give it to children, women and ancients. Among the

plentiful provisions which you have on board there is two firkins of butter which I beg you will give out to the poor passengers" (I. 364). And after the fall of Napoleon, Girard gave succor to several prominent French exiles. His interest in the people stricken with the "plague" in its various visits to Philadelphia need only be alluded to. In connection with his work in assuaging the terrible suffering of these visitations, there are touches of nature that make the whole world kin in a sense better than Shakespeare meant in his oft-quoted phrase. He was throughout a modest hero, and withal a humorous one. Writing to a friend he says:

During all this excitement I remained in the city and, without mixing in politics, played a part that would make you laugh. Can you believe it, my dear friend, I visited as many as fifteen sick a day, and what will surprise you more I lost only one patient, an Irishman who indulged a little in drink. I do not suppose I cured one, nevertheless, you will agree with me that in my capacity as Physician of Philadelphia I have been very moderate and that no one of my confreres has killed less than I (I. 376).

The reference to the physicians of Philadelphia recalls his outbursts of indignation against them in the previous plague of 1793 (I. 218). In the next visitation he refers to the "College of Physicians, or rather jackasses" (I. 345) and again speaks of "our infamous Esculapians, who have the impertinence to call themselves physicians" (I. 347). Again the fever came, and Girard, in breathing-spells between his labors, again attacks them as having "for the third time, lost their wits" and as being "poor imbeciles" (I. 374). Hard on the doctors then resident in Philadelphia—but still a not unpleasing human trait in a character that we have traditionally considered as self-centered, close, unfeeling.

There is also in the narrative a humor not intended, but perceptible to a reader who connects some incidents appropriately. Its text might well be the story of a backwoodsman who visited a city for the first time and wondered how the folk there made a living. "They live by cheating one another," answered a friend. Thus when Girard's brother Jean asked Stephen to collect some money due to Jean "on the shore of Casco Bay, Boston and elsewhere," Stephen replied that bills of exchange on New England had little credit in Philadelphia, because the people of New England were "somewhat given to sharp practices" (I. 20). On the

other hand, when Girard's privateer, the *Minerva*, was forced to put into Horn Town, Chincoteague, Virginia, he ordered the captain to store all her furniture on shore with some honest man; whereupon the good captain replied that unfortunately an honest man was as hard to find in Horn Town "as virtue in the present contest" (I. 22). Honesty must have been in hiding in San Domingo as well as in Virginia and in New England, for we find agents of Girard suspecting others of his agents of dishonest action in having *The Whim* condemned "and thereby gaining more profit for themselves." And so the little schooner was the subject of "a knavish trick" on the part of those who had a trust in her regard (I. 26). At St. Eustache, a partner of Girard stocked his vessel with provisions, only to find that those who sold him the fish cheated in the weight (I. 27). Girard may have disliked lawyers as much as he did physicians. "The intolerable avarice" of one of his lawyers surprised him, and the lawyer's apparent neglect of Girard's case made him indignant (I. 42). A "deputy-marshall, too, had taken advantage of him" (I. 43). When the schooner *William and Polly* was seized and taken to the York River, the hands ran off and "left her plundered of anchors, cables and sails. The purchaser of the barge disappeared" (I. 45).

The people of those days lived "by cheating one another." Girard was a smuggler himself and a deviser of ways that are dark and tricks that, in one notable instance (I. 115-118), were vain. Flour could not be imported into Le Cap. And so Jean writes Stephen that "the best way was not to declare it or have it on the permit. Then it could be landed very quietly. At present flour could be brought in only by declaring there was none on board. Consequently American captains were forced to do so"—not a "military" but a "commercial" *necessity*, as it were, in the language of diplomacy (I. 52). The reader will be entertained by the tricks that had to be resorted to (I. 55-60) to carry on the profession of smuggler. The tricks included lying (as in the instructions of Girard to Captain Edger, I. 91), official declarations "quite different from the cargo" (I. 117), "gratifications for the Custom House inspectors" (I. 118), counterfeit passports (I. 141), "camouflaged" ownership (I. 174), "camouflaged" consignees (I. 69), and the like. As smuggling was a perfectly honorable commercial

transaction, we are not surprised that when the Colonial Assembly allowed the *Polly* to sail from Port-au-Prince only after a rigorous inspection and heavy assessment of duties, the fact should have been announced to Girard in the following indignant terms by his agents:

The rigorous inspection of American vessels practiced by officials on land, as well as by men-of-war, obliges them to truly declare their cargoes. We are extremely sorry for the injury to interests by this wanton event (I. 133).

The profiteers of the present day must similarly consider as "wanton" the investigations undertaken or proposed by Congress into their methods of conducting patriotic commercial enterprises.

Professor McMaster has rarely any comment to make. He lets the correspondence tell the story for the reader's own interpretation. But the reader may become confused at times, as he has not the whole of the correspondence under inspection. What, for instance, shall we make of these two extracts? Stephen received a letter from his father, dated July 29th, 1785, containing a list of nine creditors of Stephen's with the amount due to each:

Girard made no reply and when pressed by his brother for an answer declared that he would make no reply to his father's letter concerning the Bordeaux creditors. "If these men are, as he says, *fools enough to send their power of attorney here, I will give them all the trouble possible* and will not pay them for several years."

We read this set forth on page 66. Nevertheless we find Stephen (on page 153) writing as follows:

I asked M. Gaube to pay these creditors . . . I never refused to pay them, and since I came here *requested them to send their power of attorney, so that I might settle with their representatives.*¹

IV

The *Life* rarely comments on the panorama displayed by the correspondence it quotes. It may be of interest to note here some of the comment.

Girard formed two partnerships in his early commercial life,

¹ I have italicised the apparent contradiction in the letters. In the second letter Girard argues against paying interest on his debts, "which could not be just, as I never refused to pay them, and since I came here requested them to send their power of attorney," etc. A very curious argument, indeed, against the paying of interest.

and soon dissolved both. The first was with "M. Baldesqui, captain in the corps of Pulaski." It did not prosper, and ended in mutual recriminations. "Volatile, unstable, too prone to give advice, wanting in all that leads to business success," Baldesqui "was not the sort of man to be a partner with Girard" (I. 35). But neither, apparently, was his brother Jean this "sort of man," for the partnership formed with him also came to "a rupture of all business relations between the brothers" (I. 104). Girard seemed kinder in single than in double harness. His biographer Simpson insinuates that perhaps he did not get along well with his wife, and for much the same reason; but Simpson is a discredited man, an unpromoted clerk of Girard's, who "avenged himself by writing a biography, false by deliberate intent and by lack of information" (*Preface*). Ingram spends several pages in proofs that Girard's marriage was a happy one until his wife's mind became affected. The *Life* does not discuss the matter—a pity, as it seems to us, since the popular tradition still exists.

The first assistance rendered by Girard to his sister Victoire and his Aunt Lafargue was thankfully received, "small as was the pittance" (I. 151).

Girard was stoical in respect of his several large losses in his foreign commercial ventures. His "philosophers" doubtless helped him here considerably. But the reader is tempted to think there was also something cynical at times in his stoicism. Answering a melancholy letter from his brother Jean, he wrote: "I am sorry that trifles grieve and annoy you so much" (I. 181). Nevertheless, at this time Stephen's affairs were not going very prosperously, and he contemplated retiring from business. The *Life* hereupon comments excellently: "His troubles and annoyances were small in comparison with those of his brother who had lost business, money, property and slaves" (I. 182).

V

Girard's activities as mariner, merchant and banker form the main preoccupation of the *Life*, and accordingly the reader may not complain of the almost total absence of items having a religious bearing. Still, if such items were obtainable, it seems a pity that they should not have been included. They might have thrown some light on the curious provision of the will excluding

clergymen from the College—a greatly debated matter since his death. What little information can be gleaned in the pages of the two volumes can be properly set forth here.

On the fifteenth of February, 1748, so runs the record at Bordeaux, after the celebration of the betrothal and the publication of one ban, my lord, the archbishop, having granted a dispensation suspending publication of the other two, no opposition having been made and no impediment having been discovered, the vicar of St. Seurin united in marriage, and gave the wedding benediction to, Pierre Girard, Port Captain, and Odette Lafargue, *habitante* of the parish of St. Remy, all of which was duly witnessed and the certificate signed by the sexton, the bell ringer and the clerk of the vestry room.

From this marriage in the course of fourteen years came ten children, of whom the second child and eldest son was named Etienne in honor of his godfather Souisse, a burgess of Bordeaux. Etienne, or Stephen, was born on the twentieth of May, 1750, and baptized the next day in St. Seurin, one of the three churches in Bordeaux in which baptism was permitted. Concerning his early life nothing, or next to nothing, is known (I. 1).

Stephen's mother died when he was twelve years old. Two years later, he became a cabin-boy in a ship in which his father had a venture, and in 1773 he was licensed to act as captain, master or pilot of merchant ships, and the following year sailed as "officer of the ship" from Bordeaux to Port-au-Prince. He had a slight venture in the cargo, merchandise he had purchased with notes of hand. He lost 25 per cent on the sale of the wares, and fearing to return to Bordeaux unable to pay for them, he went to New York with merchandise purchased with the money obtained from the sale of his Bordeaux goods. From New York he made several voyages, finally became captain of a vessel, and "his little capital was steadily growing when the fights at Concord and Lexington opened the war between the mother country and her colonies" (I. 3).

Stephen's father did not like the way in which the son appeared to be avoiding payment of his just debts, and wrote him a letter in which he commented upon this and also expressed parental anxiety as to the religious conduct of Stephen. With respect to the debts, Stephen replied that the distance between himself and his father would not cause him to forget his creditors, and expressed a hope that "with the help of God" he would soon be in a position to realize his desire to return to Bordeaux with sufficient

funds. His treatment of the religious question deserves to be quoted:

I received with a lively joy several of your letters, the last dated May 22, 1775, which I cannot read without shedding torrents of tears at the thought of your love for me. Letters like yours are fountains of intelligence, virtue and probity to a dutiful son. As to remembering the religion in which I was born, as you bid me do, I shall never forget the pains you took to bring me up according to its precepts (*Life*, I. 6).

Stephen was at that time twenty-five years old, mature, intelligent and self-confident. The fortunes of war caused Girard to bring his ship into Philadelphia in June, 1776, and thus began his career of fifty-five years in that commercial metropolis of America. A year later he "married Mary Lum." The *Life* does not tell us who she was, where the marriage was celebrated, who the officiating clergyman was. Our natural curiosity on these points, however, is satisfied abundantly by Henry Atlee Ingram in his *Life and Character of Stephen Girard*. Mary was the daughter of a ship-builder who was "widely known in Philadelphia as a plain and reputable man." The marriage ceremony took place in "St. Paul's Protestant Episcopal Church, on Third Street, below Walnut, in the city of Philadelphia," and the clergyman was the Rev. Mr. Stringer. It would seem that Stephen, despite the anxious injunctions of his father and the promise made by the son, had already grown cold towards "the religion in which I was born . . . and its precepts." More than a year after the marriage, the father complained that only from Stephen's brother had he heard of the "personal change" in Stephen's life. The reply of the son appears rather shifty and evasive:

You ask for information in regard to the circumstances attending the personal affair that I have recently been concerned in here. The silence I have observed in regard to it up to the present time you must attribute to the natural bashfulness of a son who, though far from his father, fears to incur his displeasure [Stephen was quite bashful, being only twenty-nine years old and a seasoned man of the world]; but since it is your wish, I will tell you about it in detail. Tired of the risks of a sailor's life and accompanying libertinage without religious control, I determined to settle ashore in order to keep what was left of the fruits of several years' toil. As I could hardly do this without marrying, I have taken a wife who is without fortune, it is true, but whom I love and with whom I am living very happily (I. 19).

There is much verbiage here, but none of the "detail" he declares he is going to impart to his father, who might well enjoin "more matter with less art" on this modern Polonius. In brief, the news the father had heard was correct; the son was married. Girard senior was a good Catholic, and doubtless would have wished to know—as indeed the Catholic reader of the *Life* would also wish to know—something of the religious side of the marriage.

The incident of religious interest next recorded (I. 81) is that, during a stay of five weeks in Charleston, Stephen was made a Master Mason in the Union Blue Lodge No. 8, under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of Ancient York Masons. This was in 1787.

However strongly Stephen was drifting away from his religious moorings, the fact could have hardly been noticeable externally, as in 1792 his brother Jean writes a letter containing the pious sentiment—which evidently he expected Stephen to share—in respect of San Domingo: "God have pity on it, and may He at least put me in a position to take up my work there once more" (I. 168). "Perhaps," writes⁴ the present rector of Holy Trinity Church, "the famed philanthropist-millionaire had not always been so neglectful of his religious duties, for in the baptismal register of Father Peter Helbron is found the signature of 'Stephen Girard' as sponsor to a child, that was baptized 19 December, 1795." Dr. Thompson S. Westcott, in his *Sketch of the History of St. Augustine's Church*,⁵ mentions some of the contributors to the building fund of the church, in 1796. These included non-Catholics (President George Washington, Governor Thomas McKean, etc.) and Catholics, among whom he includes Stephen Girard, who gave \$40. In 1810, Girard also is mentioned⁶ as giving \$100 to the fund for the Alteration and Improvement of St. Mary's Church.

Writing to his brother Jean in 1793, Stephen says, "I am incapable of giving orders that would disappoint you . . . One cannot help agreeing with Dr. Pangloss. These little lessons teach us to know mankind. I am sorry to hear that you are not as patient as you ought to be." The reference to Dr. Pangloss is the

⁴ *A Retrospect of Holy Trinity Parish, 1789-1914*, p. 86.

⁵ Printed in the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society*, I. 167.

⁶ *American Catholic Historical Researches*, XIII, 190.

only one,⁷ in all the nine hundred pages of the *Life*, that suggests any reading by Girard in the literature of Voltaire or of any of the four worthies after whom he names four of his vessels—the *Voltaire*, *Rousseau*, *Helvetius*, *Montesquieu*. Meanwhile, writing to an agent in 1797, he is pious enough to say: "Thank God, I have not much merchandise in the warehouse, but on the other hand all my vessels are out with valuable cargoes which run the greatest possible risks" (I. 358). It may mean little—the oft-used phrase—but its rarity in the correspondence may justify its quotation here. "Dr. Pangloss" may have accounted for his naming of a vessel the *Voltaire*. A friend wrote him suggesting that his next ship be called the "Jean Jacques," and he named it the *Rousseau*. In 1803 he wrote to an agent about a new vessel: "As I have already two philosophers, I have named this ship *Helvetius*" (II. 6). Why the *Montesquieu* was so named the *Life* does not tell us. Neither can we surmise how deeply read Girard was in his four philosophers. Certainly, Pangloss is his favorite: "By this you will observe," he writes to a correspondent in 1816, "that our financial business goes on as Pangloss says, everything for the best, and the United States will receive a substantial bonus" (II. 313).

The marriage of Girard's niece, Henriette, to General Lallemand, is thus mentioned in the *Life* (II. 338): "The brothers Lallemand went by another vessel to New Orleans. Before leaving, Henri Lallemand was married with much ceremony, in the presence of the Comte de Survilliers and many French officers of rank, to Henriette Girard." The marriage took place "with

⁷ The reference to "Dr. Pangloss" occurs again in a letter of Girard's printed in the *Life* (II. 313). The *Life* does not, of course, print all of his letters, or quote all of such letters as it prints. We are left to surmise whether Girard really paid much court to his four philosophers, or whether mayhap Voltaire was the only one with whom he had much of a reading acquaintance.

In his biography, Simpson remarks that "In one corner of his bed-chamber stood an old-fashioned small mahogany desk and book-case, in which was contained his library of Voltaire's works" (2nd edition, p. 187), and "among the furniture of his common sitting-room are two elegant busts of Voltaire and Rousseau" (p. 177); and Simpson thinks "it is probable that he had read some of the works of Rousseau and a little of Helvetius" (*ib.*). On the other hand, one can hardly agree with the softer inference of George E. Rupp in the biographical sketch contributed to the *Status of Stephen Girard*, etc. (Philadelphia, 1897, p. 95): "The names of these ships show that he still had an affectionate regard for his native land." On the contrary, Girard professed to have no interest whatever in his native land, evidently agreeing with Cicero that a man's fatherland is where he is well off.

much ceremony"; but the *Life* might have added that it took place with a religious ceremony in the Catholic church of St. Augustine, Philadelphia. Girard of course was present, with Joseph Bonaparte, the Count de Grouchy, and other distinguished French exiles. General Henry Lallemand died in 1822 and was buried in Holy Trinity churchyard, Sixth and Spruce Streets. In 1829 his widow married Dr. Joseph Y. Clark, the ceremony being performed also in St. Augustine's Church.

The next items of possible interest to us are recorded evidently in a humorous spirit, but some of them will illustrate the views then generally held that Girard was a Catholic of good will. His subscription of \$3,000,000 in 1816 to cover the stock deficit of the Second Bank of the United States "seems to have spread his reputation for great wealth not only over all the United States but even abroad, and brought down on him scores of applications for help from his connections and men who knew him not." After some enlightening instances, the *Life* continues (II. 362):

Now it is an appeal for a subscription to pay the debt of St. Matthew's Church, Boston; now for help to the Roman Catholic Church at Cincinnati . . . Sister Rose appeals to him to aid St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York City, and reminds him that "our good God who has permitted your coffers to fill with such immense sums will one day demand the use you made of them. Life if [query: is?] but a moment; eternity no end. Alms cover a multitude of sins."

In the summer of 1820 Philadelphia was again visited by yellow fever. "With a view to allay the alarm in the country round about the city, Girard prepared a resolution to be introduced in Select Council," in which he speaks of certain precautions "having with the blessing of Providence proved effectual" (II. 369).

The *Life* records (II. 378) that in 1821 Girard was still beset with appeals from places and people he had never heard of "and from churches of several denominations." "The only appeal which seems to have received a reply was one from President Monroe . . ." If we may trust Simpson in his *Biography*, Girard was more yielding to personal solicitation. Several instances of generous giving to non-Catholic churches are recorded in illustration, however, less of his generosity than of his personal peculiarities. Anecdotes are rarely trustworthy, but may refresh us at times.

When the Baptist church was building in Sansom street, Doctor Staughton waited upon him, in behalf of the congregation, to obtain some aid towards its erection. Girard received him, as he did all others, on similar errands, with cold but marked courtesy; and without hesitation presented him with a check for five hundred dollars. Doctor Staughton received it with a low bow, expecting a donation of at least one thousand; but when he perused it, he affected the greatest astonishment. "Only five hundred dollars, Mr. Girard! surely you will not give us less than a thousand dollars." "Let me see the check, Mr. Staughton," replied Girard—"perhaps I have made one mistake"; upon which the Doctor returned him the check, when Girard, with the utmost sangfroid, cancelled it into fragments—observing, "Well, Mr. Staughton, if you will not have what I give, I will give nothing." The Doctor left him, overcome with chagrin and mortification.

On the other hand, a modest appeal from the Episcopalian Methodists was interrupted by Girard's handing the solicitor a check for five hundred dollars. The congregation was struggling to erect a plain church. Subsequently to this the Protestant Episcopalians, desiring to build a costly edifice, received a check for the same amount. They represented to Girard that they expected more, as they were to build a very fine church. Girard tore the check up, saying: "I will not contribute *one cent*. Your society is wealthy—the Methodists are poor—but I make no distinction; yet I cannot please you."

More authentic than these anecdotes were the suggestions made towards the end of Girard's life by those who were interested in the disposition of his fortune. The *Life* records several interesting ones, and among these are found: "Infant schools and Sabbath Schools," the "education of young men to the gospel ministry," and the "sending forth missionaries to the Heathen" (II. 432).

The penultimate chapter of the *Life* covers fifty pages and is entitled "The Last Years." One will turn to it hopefully, but in vain, for a single item of religious interest. The pages are still filled with commercial activities. Even the eighty-second year of Girard's life was crowded with his customary businesses and interests. Among these was his railroad in Schuylkill County, Pennsylvania. We are quietly reading about it in the *Life* when suddenly, without warning, we come upon this paragraph:

December 20th he wrote again to Mr. Boyd concerning the railroad. The day following he was taken ill and died of pneumonia, at a quarter past four on the afternoon of the twenty-sixth (II. 443).

In one brief sentence, forming the second half of an exceedingly brief paragraph, we find the complete record of Girard's last illness and death. Immediately after this we read that "letters were at once sent off to his correspondents and agents in the South bidding them stop purchasing on his account." With such business-like dispatch is "old Girard" hurried away from this earthly scene.

The concluding chapter of the *Life* gives a too brief account of the funeral, a selection from the newspaper comment of the time, and a summary of the will and of the record of the estate as it stood in 1838, when "the auditors of the accounts of the Executors reported."

Girard's benefactions were many, varied and widespread. They are succinctly mentioned in the brief notices of Girard in the encyclopedias and need not be repeated here. The will has been frequently printed in full, sometimes with a so-called "biography" attached, which details Girard's life with ludicrous inexactitude. An excellently edited pamphlet was issued by the Board of Directors of City Trusts of Philadelphia in 1889, which gives in full the will and codicil together with six Acts of Assembly and nine legal decisions concerning the will.

VI

Among the varied bequests of Girard's will the greatest interest has always attached to the provision for the establishment of a College for the education and maintenance of "poor white male orphans" who should be admitted according to the following scheme of preferences: first, those born in the city of Philadelphia; secondly, those born in any other part of Pennsylvania; thirdly, those born in the city of New York ("that being the first port on the Continent of North America at which I arrived"); lastly, those born in the city of New Orleans ("being the first port on the said continent at which I first traded, in the first instance as first officer, and subsequently as master and part owner of a vessel and cargo").

The will goes into curiously minute details of the construction and arrangements of the buildings and of the qualifications for admission. But the provision forever debarring clergymen from any association with the management of the College and even

from ever entering upon its premises has proved the one detail which made the College and its founder famous—or notorious—throughout the civilized world. The *Life* does not hint at the legal contentions or the religious controversies that were begotten of the provision, but in succinctly summarizing the exceedingly long will very properly quotes in full the restrictive words and Girard's *apologia* therefor. They may well be repeated here:

Secondly, I enjoin and require that no ecclesiastic, missionary, or minister of any sect whatsoever, shall ever hold or exercise any station or duty whatever in the said College; nor shall any such person ever be admitted for any purpose, or as a visitor within the premises appropriated to the purposes of the said College. In making this restriction, I do not mean to cast any reflection upon any sect or any person whatsoever; but, as there is such a multitude of sects, and such a diversity of opinion amongst them, I desire to keep the tender minds of the orphans, who are to derive advantage from this bequest, free from the excitement, which clashing doctrines and sectarian controversy are so apt to produce: My desire is, that all the instructors and teachers in the College shall take pains to instill into the minds of the scholars the purest principles of morality, so that, on their entrance into active life, they may from inclination and habit, evince benevolence towards their fellow creatures, and a love of truth, sobriety, and industry, adopting at the same time such religious tenets as their matured reason may enable them to prefer.

In thus quoting from the will, I have thought it proper to give italics as they appear in the *Will and Codicil of the Late Stephen Girard, Esq.*, issued by the Board of Directors of City Trusts (Philadelphia, 1880). The *Life* does not italicise.

The will was fully published in the *United States Gazette* of January 2, 1832, and thenceforth the newspapers teemed with controversies over the exclusion of clergymen from the College. Bishop White, of the Protestant Episcopal Church, elaborately discussed the question whether the acceptance of the bequest could be reconciled with belief in Christianity or with the principles of the Constitution. A writer in the *Pennsylvania Whig* charged the clergy in general with "assailing Mr. Girard's memory with the tongue of slander and the shafts of ridicule."

Although the controversies have for us now only a historical interest, as the points at issue have long since been practically settled by various decisions of the courts, there are nevertheless some interesting features in the views entertained by Father John Hughes and Bishop England which may appropriately be noted here.

To the arguments of the writer in the *Whig*, Hughes published a rejoinder, over the signature of "Fenelon," in the *United States Gazette* of February 25, 1832. Fearing a controversy, he wrote to Father Bruté, asking for advice and expressing his very great doubt "of the expediency of attacking the will openly, or entering into any public discussion of the merits of its provisions," on the score that excellent argumentation would "stand but a poor chance before an interested tribunal of this semi-infidel community, when opposed to an argument of from two to five millions of dollars." He described the bequest as "the *infidel fund* bequeathed by Girard," and feared that it might give the first decided impulse to a spirit of reaction, "of which religion itself will be the victim," against "the extent of abuse to which the exaction of money for fanatical purposes has been carried" by the "*parsons*" of his day:

For my own part, although I regret that he has excluded religion, still I should have been sorry if he had left a prey to the voracious mongrels of heresy who, under the plea of propagating religion, are absolutely attempting to devour everything. It was not, however, the abuses which are carried on under pretext of religion that Girard wished to exclude, but, as I have it from his niece (by a species of confidence), his intention was to originate means for the gradual extinction of Christianity in this country, and to strip man of every attribute except such as become a mere operative and productive animal.

What, indeed, was Girard's intent? I have a vague memory of having somewhere read the contention that he feared lest his will should be broken if he had placed his College under Catholic auspices, and was determined that it should never become the prey of "the voracious mongrels of heresy"—to quote the strong expression of Father Hughes. But the view of his niece—which niece was it? and how did she so confidently gauge the intent of a man who, as the *Life* several times witnesses, strove to keep his intimate concerns from the knowledge of all save those who must help him to achieve his projects?)—flatly contradicts this contention. In their *History of Philadelphia* (II. 1605-6), Scharf and Westcott refer to the plague of 1793 and declare that "In the experience of this remarkable man, some things must have occurred of a striking character which led to the hostility which later in life he felt toward ministers of the gospel . . . and it must have been that some of the clergymen, when so many of their flocks had fled,

persuaded themselves that it was a greater duty to go in pursuit of the wanderers than remain and perish among the poor, and so leave the former to roam without shepherds." But as against the conjecture of the unfaithful shepherds, there is the record of the clergymen who nobly died as martyrs to duty—four ministers of as many denominations, four preachers of the Society of Friends, and two Catholic priests (Fathers Graessel and Fleming). Other hypotheses are that Girard had had unfortunate relations with certain clergymen; or that he especially disliked certain sects; or that he really meant what he said in his will, namely, that "as there is such a multitude of sects, and such a diversity of opinion amongst them, I desire to keep the tender minds of the orphans . . . free from the excitement which clashing doctrines and sectarian controversy are so apt to produce."

More to the point than the views of Father Hughes were those contributed, doubtless by Bishop England, to the *United States Catholic Miscellany* of 28 January, 1832 (page 246), under the heading of "Girard's Will." The writer forecasts quite shrewdly the actual course of events, saying *inter alia*:

That the provisions of the will could be executed according to the intention of the testator, is out of the question; and the impossibility is already obvious. . . . Men who were practical believers in revealed religion, would be conscientiously obliged to decline undertaking what revealed religion condemns as an immoral and mischievous system; but we have no expectation of having the fund thus abandoned. The booty is too tempting. An effort will be made, and perhaps successfully, to have a semblance of religion and a semblance of fulfilment of the trust . . . and thereby upon something like the doctrines of *epikeia* or *cy pres*, under the semblance of conformity, the testator's object will be eluded. For strict conformity is impossible. Another instance of the same ingenuity is observable in the manner in which [a certain editor] endeavors to secure the whole of the demoralizing bequest for Pennsylvania, by construing the word "orphan" to be intended as a description of a child, one of whose parents is dead.

With respect to the definition of "orphan," the first Board of Trustees, acting with legal advice, construed the term to mean "a Fatherless child," and this construction became the rule thenceforth governing admission to the College. The popular view that an orphan is a child both of whose parents are dead was recently illustrated in an article contributed to the *Philadelphia Public*

Ledger (16 June, 1918) by Lady Beatty, wife of Admiral Beatty of the British Navy, in her expression "*half orphan*" to describe a child whose father had been killed in the war: "Not only have the half orphans of the war lost their fathers—they have lost their future."

With respect to the ethical doctrine of *epikeia* or the legal one of *cy pres*, the question will properly be raised as to the true intent of Girard in excluding clergymen from his College and expressing a desire that "the purest principles of morality" etc., should be inculcated therein. Did Girard plan an infidel institution? Daniel Webster's famous plea before the Supreme Court of the United States in 1844 failed to do more than contribute a new page to the glowing defence of Christianity, for the Court decided this portion of the pleading as follows:

The exclusion of all ecclesiastics, missionaries, and ministers of any sort from holding or exercising any station or duty in the college, or even visiting the same; or the limitation of the instruction to be given to the scholars, to pure morality, general benevolence, a love of truth, sobriety, and industry, are not so derogatory and hostile to the Christian religion as to make a devise for the foundation of such a college void according to the Constitution and Laws of Pennsylvania.

Justice Story, who delivered the opinion of the Court, wrote to Chancellor Kent that "Webster did his best for the other side, but it seems to me altogether an address to the prejudices of the clergy."

Thus far, there seems to have been no appeal to the doctrines of *epikeia* or *cy pres*. The decision stood by the expressed terms of the will. Indeed, it went apparently a little farther than the expressed terms and included in its scope the "*limitation* of the instruction" to pure morality, etc., although Girard had not so specified. He indeed alleged as a reason for excluding clergymen and ministers of any sort, his desire to protect the tender minds of the orphans from clashing doctrines and sectarian controversy. Laymen, however, could propound exactly the same clashing doctrines as clergymen; and only by implication are they forbidden to do so by the phraseology of the will. Girard could have expressed his intent much more directly by excluding, together with clergymen, all doctrinal exposition from whatsoever source, but he did not so word his thought. Neither did he specify any limita-

tion of instruction, although it might not be an unfair inference so to interpret his desires. On the other hand, it would not appear to be an unfair inference that whilst excluding sectarian teaching from the official program of instruction, Girard did not intend to exclude private and unofficial instruction for such orphans as already had embraced, through the wish or act of their parents, a definite creed. The orphans, unable to protect themselves, must not be made the targets for impassioned appeals by ministers of widely varying sects—a reasonable thing, indeed, but a very different thing from private instruction by desired expositors of the creed of the parents. And such expositors could be laymen.

If Bishop England correctly divined Girard's intent to be antagonistic to revealed religion, his forecast of events was a shrewd one: "An effort will be made to have a semblance of religion and a semblance of fulfilment of the trust." Thus the *Course of Study* (Philadelphia, 1904) for the College includes as material for moral instruction *Stories from the Bible* (page 14) and *The Bible for Children* by Gilder (page 15). Within the grounds of the College there is a beautiful chapel of Gothic architecture, built of white marble, having stained glass windows, and looking like an ordinary Christian church. There "the officers and pupils attend worship daily," says the *Handbook of Girard College* (Philadelphia, 1900, page 30), "before the opening of the schools, and after their close. The exercises consist of singing, reading the Scriptures and prayer. On Sundays, religious instruction is given by lectures or addresses, delivered by the president of the college or some layman who may be invited, morning and afternoon in addition to the daily worship. In an address delivered by one of the directors the speaker quoted the words of Bishop Lightfoot as voicing the sentiment of the directors of the college: "The holy season extends all the year round, the temple confined only by the limits of the habitable world, a priesthood co-extensive with the human race.'"

A writer in the *Philadelphia Record* (Philadelphia, 16 June, 1918) remarks that "by the irony of fate, Girard College, in its effort to disabuse the general public of the impression that the testator sought to set up an institution for the spread of unbelief, has made religious teaching a conspicuous part of its curriculum," but "strictly non-sectarian." When Dr. Herrick, the present

efficient president of the College, was inducted into office in 1910, the program of exercises included "Reading of the Scriptures." In the Report for 1910 we find under the heading "Christmas Day" that "Religious Services" were conducted by President Herrick. It will be interesting to quote from his *Report* to the Board of Directors for the year 1910:

Whatever were the motives of the Founder, the facts remain that Girard College has not been prevented from being an institution for moral and religious education. In the famous case brought for the invalidating of the will it was held that clergymen were not a necessity for religious and moral teaching and not only this but the requirement for moral education not only permitted but would seem to imply the necessity for the Bible.

As a matter of fact, the first book introduced into Girard College was the Bible, and the Bible and religious worship have had a foremost place in the life of the institution from its foundation. The Honorable Joel Jones, first President, was a ruling elder of the Presbyterian Church. The revered President, William H. Allen, was a distinguished scholar and lay preacher of the Methodist Episcopal Church, having come to Girard College from Dickinson College. President Fetterolf is a vestryman of the Protestant Episcopal Church and a man of deeply religious instincts and of purity of life and high moral purpose.

The prohibition of the admission of clergymen has laid upon laymen a sense of obligation for religious instruction in Girard College that has brought to the service of the College a deep consecration and a high order of talent. No one can attend our chapel exercises, either on Sunday or weekday, and not be convinced that they are impressive and forceful as religious services, and the testimony of Girard College boys, many of whom have identified themselves with churches while they are still in attendance, others of whom have gone out to active work in the church when they leave the College, all is in confirmation of the statement that Girard College is in the truest sense of the word an institution for religious and moral education.

Webster argued, in his great pleading before the Supreme Court of the United States, that when Girard declared in his will that he desired "the purest principles of morality" to be instilled into the minds of the orphans he was in effect following the specious wording of Paine's *Age of Reason*: "The same phraseology," said Webster, "in effect is here. Paine disguised his real meaning, it is true. He said: 'Let us devise means to establish schools to propagate morality, unfettered by *superstition*.'" And Webster implied that in the mind of Girard superstition and

religion were equivalents. If this be correct, Bishop England's *epikeia* or *cy pres* was a shrewd guess.

If Girard had planned an institution which should unerringly graduate infidels, he did not, in President Herrick's opinion, succeed. His will may have implied that the "orphans" should not receive dogmatic instruction within the walls that were to surround his College, but it did not specifically exclude such instruction elsewhere. The applicants should be between six and ten years of age, and might be retained as pupils until they should reach the age of eighteen. Some little grounding in religion might be supposed in children before entering, and some opportunities for further instruction are afforded by the occasional vacations of the children spent with their mothers or friends. In this connection it may be appropriate to consider what John M. Campbell tells us in the biographical sketch of his father, Judge James Campbell, contributed to the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* (V. 290):

As far back as the year 1848 he had been made a Director of St. Joseph's Orphan Asylum, the oldest Catholic institution of its kind in the country . . . He left it when death called him [1893], the most prosperous of its kind in the United States . . . He was also one of the original members of the Board of Directors of Girard College, and for twenty-one years before his death, he served as Chairman of the Committee of Instruction. The same care was taken of Stephen Girard's splendid charity . . . He gave particular attention to the religious training of every Catholic boy in Girard College. He saw to it that they were permitted to go to instructions in their religion, and when he made his regular weekly visit to the College, inquired of each Catholic boy if he had been allowed to attend to his religious duties.

Judge Campbell was in the twentieth year of his age when Girard died, and doubtless shared the intense interest excited by the famous will. His legal mind later saw no difficulty in harmonizing the terms of the will with an insistence on some regular religious instruction for Catholic orphans. Doubtless he would by no means recommend such an institution for Catholic orphans, but meanwhile would exert every effort to ameliorate the religious lot of such children as found themselves, by no fault of their own, interned in the College. We may perhaps fairly surmise that he did not share the strong views of Daniel Webster.

Nor does Dr. Herrick share those views in his practical and

conscientious administration of the College. In a letter to me (29 June, 1918) he goes into large detail which should prove of greatest interest to Catholics. He says, *inter alia*:

1. The number of Catholic boys in the College continues at about 200. Careful note is taken of the religious faith of the families of boys when they are received into the Institution and the greatest respect is shown for this faith and every opportunity afforded for the boys to be instructed in the faith of their mothers, but only with the mother's permission and on her request.

2. The boys are permitted to spend the Sunday nearest Christmas Day and Easter Sunday with their mothers so that they may attend the services of their church. In addition, they are permitted to spend several weeks in the summer with their mothers if there are suitable home conditions for them so to do.

Over and above this, we respect the requests of mothers for boys to go for special services in their churches, to partake the holy communion and otherwise conform to the practices of their respective denominations.

When boys reach the age of about 11 years we respect the requests of their mothers for them to receive religious instruction in the church of their faith. For many years it has been the custom of the College to have a class of the Catholic boys go to the Church of the Gesu for instruction. Such a class has been continued in the present year and recently the boys have been confirmed in the church and have partaken of their first communion.

As you are well aware, the terms of the Girard Will forbade the receiving into the College of any ordained ecclesiastic. This has placed upon laymen the necessity for religious instruction in the College and we have called upon the most prominent laymen of all faiths and sects to speak in our Chapel service, and all is done with the fullest respect to everybody's faith, but without reference to any particular faith. In the list of Chapel speakers for many years was the Hon. Walter George Smith, who gave helpful and uplifting counsel to all the boys in the Institution. More recently we have had the services of the Hon. J. Washington Logue, and more recently still, we have all been edified and deeply impressed by the addresses delivered here by the Hon. Michael J. Ryan. Mr. Ryan spoke in our Chapel service on Sunday last. I can assure you his message was one which would have done credit to any pulpit.

In very brief, our situation appears to be that of an Institution that has religious instruction without denominations and in which, as is true in many private schools, the denominational preferences and expressed wishes of the mothers and families of the boys are fully respected . . .

No doubt we are carrying out the general plan of procedure made by the venerated father of John M. Campbell, certainly there never has been either in the conception of the College or in the carrying out of its policies any effort to make the situation either anti-religious or non-religious.

VII

In conclusion, we may return to questions of purely historical interest. There is no reason for doubting Webster's sincerity. His view in 1844 was but an echo of the views of those believers in revealed religion who in 1832 had filled the air with their criticisms of Girard. But the question returns again and again: What was Girard's real intent? One niece informs Father Hughes that it was anti-Christian, purely materialistic. On the other hand, we find a declaration in a curious pamphlet entitled *Refutation of a False, Cruel and Gross Libel*, etc. (Philadelphia, 1865), written by nieces of Girard, that they knew "our uncle's adhesion to the Roman Catholic Church" and had offered this as a reason why he should be buried in Holy Trinity graveyard. Finally, we have the legend narrated by Mahony in his *Historical Sketches of the Catholic Churches and Institutions of Philadelphia* (page 44) that Girard was asked on his death-bed if he would have a priest visit him, that he replied in the affirmative, but that he died before the priest arrived.

With respect to this third strand in the tangled web of interpretation, it should be said that while Simpson's account of the last moments of Girard would make it entirely a possible occurrence, Bishop Kenrick's note in his *Diary* renders it highly improbable. The legend has nevertheless persisted to the present time, and doubtless formed the basis for an interestingly written story which, curiously enough, appeared in *The Messenger of the Sacred Heart* about the time (in the May issue, 1918), that the *Life* was issuing from the press of the Lippincott Company. The story is entitled "The Sin of Simon Gold." One needs to read but a few lines to discover that the initials of Simon Gold apply to Stephen Girard, and that the Sin was the bequest for his College. Just before expiring, Simon Gold cries out—"My will! I don't mean it. I change——" but death summons him. The Judge is merciful, however. The Sin is indeed forgiven, but the temporal punishment for it is banishment from God's presence for eighty-one years and the vision of what his College then was. The ghost wanders through the grounds and buildings of the College and finally comes to a room where a Catholic boy is dying. The poor lad is crying piteously for a priest, but of course none may enter

the College, and the imploring look on the boy's face changes to that of a trapped animal, and finally to a still sadder one as with an awful cry his soul passes forth to judgment. The ghost of Simon Gold then visits the chapel of the College and there hears "cruel words of praise and honor" that sting him "like avenging rods." The writer, Neil Boyton, S. J., gives us, I think, a faithful picture of the prevailing attitude of Catholics towards the College. He is gentle, nevertheless, towards Girard.

We also may feel like passing a gentle judgment upon Girard, but for reasons other than the legend of his deathbed and the summoned priest. For the early education of Girard was scanty. He was but fourteen years old when he adopted a seafaring life. He roamed much, settling down at length in the non-Catholic community of Philadelphia. His reading would naturally be in the French language, and its most popular works were those of infidels. Nevertheless he still clung, however feebly, to the religion of his fathers. In view of his opinionated character, it may be that he did not realize the full meaning of his exclusion of clergymen from his College. He should indeed have surmised the folly of postponing religious training to a "matured reason" in the life of the orphans. But the surmise could easily have been a faint one to a man who had been but poorly grounded in his own Catholic beliefs as a boy. If we add to this his lifelong affliction of blindness in his right eye, his unfortunate marriage to a woman who became insane and remained thus for twenty-five years, his view of the Hoganite schism and the other disturbed conditions of Catholicity in Philadelphia, his concentration upon commerce and banking, his deafness in later life and the gradual dimming of vision in his left eye, the attack of erysipelas of which Simpson tells us and the accident which occurred in the penultimate year of his life, we may find it easy to pass a lenient judgment on the religious aberrations of Stephen Girard.

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THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN BRITISH HONDURAS (1851-1918)

No complete history of the church in British Honduras has yet been written. A short sketch, giving the main outlines of the interesting story of Catholic growth and progress in this British possession of Central America, from the coming of the missionaries down to 1893, was written and published by the present writer. Unfortunately only one copy is left; only fifty having been printed. This sketch, which has been used in the present article, was based upon documents left by Bishop di Pietro and upon material gathered in Honduras and elsewhere.

British Honduras is the only English dependency in Central America. It is bounded on the North by the Rio Hondo, which divides it from Yucatan; on the South by the River Sarstoon, which separates it from Guatemala; on the East by the Caribbean Sea, and on the West by the frontier which extends from the Rapids of Gracias-a-Dios on the Sarstoon through Garbutt's Falls on the Belize River, and thence due North to the Mexican border.

Belize, the capital of the Colony, was first settled by a group of English wood-cutters in 1662. Scattered as they were through the forests, these early colonists had little thought of building churches. They were almost all Protestants. It was only in 1812, when the city of Belize had been regularly laid out, that an Anglican Church was erected at government expense. In the year 1822, the Baptist Church was built; the Methodist Church in 1825; and in 1850, the Presbyterian Church. There were then very few Catholics in Belize; but in Mullens River, a village a few miles south of Belize, there was a small settlement of Catholic refugees from Spanish Honduras. These were ministered to by a Franciscan, Fray Antonio, who came there in 1832.

The little group of Catholics living in Belize had no church, no school and no permanent resident priest until 1851. In that year, the Very Reverend Benito Fernández, O. S. F., Vicar-Apostolic of Jamaica, sent two Jesuits, Fathers Dupont and Dupeyron, to take spiritual charge of the Catholic congregation.

The special need for their coming arose from events which had taken place some three years before in Yucatan. Exasperated by the misgovernment of their Spanish masters, the Indian popula-

tion had arisen in revolt, and with ruthless barbarity had massacred the greater number of the Spanish inhabitants of Bacalar and the adjoining district. Those who escaped became refugees on our northern frontier, where the main body eventually settled, and where they opened up what had hitherto been an uninhabited wilderness—save for the axe of the wood-cutter—into a number of flourishing ranchos and pueblos. Others again went farther into the interior of the colony, or domiciled themselves in Belize.

This new population was entirely Catholic; and it was on the representation of their need of pastors, that priests were sent from Jamaica to help them. In 1853, Father George Avvaro, S. J., came; he remained until the appointment of Father Salvatore di Pietro in 1872. Every two or three years, missionaries came to add to the number of the clergy or to supply the place of those who had died or had left the colony. Churches and schools were built. Residences were established in eight new centres, and small chapels, sixty in number, were built wherever a few Catholic families could be gathered together. Seventy years ago the Catholic Church was almost non-existent or unknown, but at the present time Catholics form three-fifths of the population, or about 25,000. They live chiefly in the northern part of the Vicariate and are mostly descendants of the Spanish settlers from Yucatan. In the south the Caribs live in the seaside towns of Punta Gorda, Seine Bight and Stann Creek, and in the interior there is a large proportion of native Indians whose families emigrated from Guatemala in order to settle in British Honduras.

The Vicariate has not only grown in numbers, but in efficiency and in ecclesiastical formation; it has gradually evolved from a struggling dependent church into a compact diocese. Until 1888, it was subject to the jurisdiction of the Vicars-Apostolic of Jamaica, who from time to time, visited this distant part of their Vicariate; but the difficulties of communication with Jamaica were so great that a decree of Propaganda, dated June 16th, 1888 (analogous to that of 1884, by which British Honduras was declared an independent Crown Colony), separated Honduras from the Jamaica Vicariate. The Superior of the Mission, Father di Pietro, a Sicilian Jesuit, was appointed Prefect-Apostolic. While gratefully acknowledging this favor, the leading Catholics of the colony asked His Holiness, Pope Leo XIII, on the occasion of his Epis-

copal Jubilee, to give them the further boon of having a bishop. Their request was granted, the priest of their choice was nominated Vicar-Apostolic of British Honduras and Bishop of Eurea, January 14, 1893, and on April 16 in the same year, the Right Rev. Salvatore di Pietro, S. J., was consecrated in Belize by the Right Rev. Bishop Becker of Savannah, assisted by the Bishops of Natchez and Mobile.

Much of the progress in the Mission both spiritual and temporal was due to Father di Pietro, and now that he had been made bishop, he increased his efforts for the good of his people. During the five years of his episcopate, he made annual visits to the residences and to the stations, preaching and confirming, besides collecting money to pay off the debts incurred by building churches and schools. In 1898, he twice essayed to make his customary visitations of the north of the Vicariate, but each time, he was forced to return to Belize owing to serious attacks of heart trouble. On August 6, 1898, his feast day, a deputation of gentlemen came to congratulate him; the next morning, he asked to receive Holy Communion and to be anointed. Then began a long agony lasting nearly two weeks; he died on August 23. His funeral was largely attended by Catholics and non-Catholics alike. With the permission of the Government, he was buried in the Cathedral. In Bishop di Pietro's last testament, he named as Pro-Vicar the Rev. Frederick Hopkins, S. J., to take charge of the Vicariate at his death until news of an appointment should come from Rome. The Cardinal Prefect of the Propaganda confirmed the nomination, and gave the necessary episcopal faculties during the vacancy. On August 17, 1899, Father Hopkins was named by the Holy See, Vicar-Apostolic of British Honduras and titular Bishop of Athribis. He was consecrated in St. Louis, Missouri, November 5, 1899.

In December 1893, the Honduras Mission, which from the beginning had been attached to the English Province of the Society of Jesus, was transferred to the Fathers of the Missouri Province, who gradually replaced those from England. In April, 1899, Father William Wallace, S. J., was appointed Regular Superior and Pro-Vicar of the Bishop. He was followed by Father William Mitchell, S. J., in January, 1910, and in May, 1918, by Father John Neenan, S. J.

The progress of the Mission had had many checks and reverses in its formation. It had been established only a year, when in 1854, there came to Belize an epidemic of cholera, which in three months carried off a large number of Catholics, chiefly Italians, who had lately settled in the town. The zeal and edifying conduct of the priests in this calamity won for them universal respect and sympathy. This same year, Father Bertolio was sent to Corozal to open a second residence, but through the machinations of some excommunicated priests who had come from Yucatan, the missionary was forced to return to Belize. Later, repenting of their treatment of the priest who had been sent to them, the people of Corozal asked that another missionary might be allowed to come and dwell with them. Father Rossini went in 1858, but died after a year and a half, worn out by the many difficult journeys he had to endure. It was not until 1861, that the second residence of the Mission was established by Father Parchi. The troubles of Corozal were not yet over. An apostate Spaniard, turned Wesleyan, did much harm to souls by his preaching and distributing false Bibles and tracts. Knowing well the language of the Yucatecans and gifted with native eloquence, he deceived the simple people and led many to accept his teaching. The schism lasted for two years, but in the end the greater number came back, repentant to faith.

In July, 1856, the Mission in Belize met with a great reverse. Fire destroyed the northern end of the city of Belize, and the Fathers remained for nearly two years without residence, church, or school. A third residence, though hardly worthy of the name, was begun by Father Genon, S. J., in 1862, in Punta Gorda. This esteemed Belgian Father had the idea of uniting the widely scattered Carib population of the coasts of Spanish Honduras, Guatemala and British Honduras into one separate Mission, which should have its head-quarters in Punta Gorda. To forward this work he went to Belgium, put the matter before his countrymen, and came back with a small group of missionaries—three priests, a schoolmaster and a gardener. After a few months in Punta Gorda, one of the Fathers died, two returned to Belize, the gardener returned to Belgium. So ended the special mission for the Caribs; and when Father Joseph Woollett, S. J., Pro-Vicar-Apostolic of Jamaica, came to visit the Mission in 1871, the residence

of Punta Gorda was ordered closed on account of the extreme poverty of the congregation.

In 1862, Rev. Eugene Biffi, an Italian secular priest, (later Bishop of Carthagera), passed through Belize and seeing the difficulties the Fathers had in carrying on the Mission, offered himself as a helper. During the five years he spent in the Colony, he learnt the Maya (Indian) language, which gave him a great ascendancy over the Icaiche Indians. When these same Indians organized a raid into the Colony, he was sent by the Government to make a friendly settlement with them. To this priest and to Father Brindisi, we owe the beginning of a residence and church at Stann Creek, which were fully established in 1867.

In 1873, Father Avvaro, S.J., the first Superior of the Mission, died at Corozal. The people of Belize clamoured to have his remains brought to the capital, and permission was given to disinter the body and bring it to the city. On its arrival, the body was deposited in the church, and on the following day, there was a solemn Requiem Mass. In the funeral procession to the cemetery, the hearse was followed by the governor and by the chief citizens of the town, all wearing mourning to show their esteem and love for the deceased priest. After a few months, a handsome mortuary monument was raised to his memory at the cost of the inhabitants of Belize.

In 1874, Father John Pittar, the first English Superior of the Mission, came to British Honduras. His presence and the coming soon afterwards of other English Fathers, dispelled the foolish idea which some of the colonists held, that there were no English Catholic priests. Hence arose a custom of calling the Catholic Church, the *Spanish* Church. This year, however, was not without its reverses for the Mission. Father Antonio Ayerve had built a church at San Estevan and on the eve of Palm Sunday, when everything was ready for the opening, a fire broke out in a house adjacent to the church and in a few hours the building was entirely destroyed. Thus the good Father was left without a church and without resources. He was therefore obliged to return to the central residence at Corozal, where he died in June, 1874. Scarcely two months had passed, when yellow fever carried off two other Fathers in the same house. The new Superior, Father Pittar, recognized the sore straits in which the Fathers

were, and the need of funds to establish the Mission on a more solid basis. His appeals met with a generous response, and with the alms sent him, he was able to build a church and a house at Orange Walk. This new residence was placed under the charge of the indefatigable Father Parisi. Father Pittar likewise reopened the Residence of Punta Gorda and built there a more commodious church, which was again put under the care of Father Genon, who continued his labours among the Caribs until his death in 1878.

One of the great difficulties the Mission had to contend with, was to provide efficient teachers for its parochial schools. Belize Catholic school secured a good teacher in Brother Mark Quin, who came to the Mission in 1869, and continued to be its school-master until his death in 1879. His work was continued by his brother Richard. Meanwhile the school in Corozal, for want of an efficient master, had made but little progress, and many Catholic children had gone to the Methodist school, wherein some of them lost their faith. The coming of Father Henry Gillet in 1876, stopped this leakage, and so saved the Catholic youth of Corozal from a situation which might have been detrimental to their religion. Five residences had now been established under the care of eight Fathers: three in Belize, two in Corozal, and one in each of the residences of Orange Walk, Stann Creek and Punta Gorda.

A Catholic Association was formed in 1879, the chief purpose of which was to promote Catholic interests in the Mission. The principal gentlemen of the town of Belize became members and Mr. Henry Fowler, the Colonial Secretary, was chosen president.

With the coming of the new missionaries, the Mission flourished until 1881. A singular event took place that year, which caused some anxiety for a time. Father Henry Gillet, who had been teaching in the parochial school at Stann Creek, took advantage of the Easter vacation to pay a visit to the Izabal Lagoon. He had scarcely landed at Livingstone, when the telegraph notified Señor Rufino Barrios, President of Guatemala, of the arrival of the Jesuit Father, and asked for instructions. The next day, the priest was arrested and was taken under escort to Guatemala City, a journey of five days. As soon as he arrived, he was put into a dungeon used for those condemned to death, and

after two days without food, he was subjected to a strict interrogatory. Although the officials could find nothing against him he was transferred to the public prison of criminals, where he remained ten days, until he found the opportunity to communicate with the English Consul at Guatemala. The Consul sent his secretary to look into the case, and when he learnt what had taken place, he went in person to the president and asked for the priest's immediate release. On the following day Father Gillet was set at liberty, and conducted back to Izabal. Thence he returned to Belize.

One of the great difficulties in the way of spiritual progress in the Mission, is the language question. About three-fourths of the Catholic population are Spanish or Indian-speaking. Outside Belize and the two residences in the south, the language of the school is English and the language of the Church is Spanish, while the language of the home is either Spanish or Maya. The children in the school read English, though many do not understand it, but out of school, they speak another tongue. The missionaries, except two, are all English-speaking, so that they have to acquire two and sometimes three languages before they can be of efficient service in missionary work.

It was felt that the arrangement of having the Fathers teach in the elementary schools interfered seriously with other parish work. For many years the Superiors of the Mission had thought of sending for Sisters to undertake the education of the girls, but for want of money they could not carry out the wishes of the people of Belize. At last, however, Father di Pietro visited Europe to seek for missionaries and to collect money for the various works of the Mission. There he met the Reverend Mother of the Sisters of Mercy in New Orleans, and arranged with her to send, on his return to Belize, six Sisters of Mercy to teach the Belize schools. They came on January 20, 1883, and since that time they have worked faithfully and successfully, both in their Academy and in the Catholic Public Schools of Belize. The Belize Convent of Mercy received its subjects from the Mother-House in New Orleans. In August, 1900, the Sisters of Mercy opened another convent in Corozal; but after a year and a half this had to be closed, because the Mother-House was unable to send sufficient teachers for two convents. This same lack of subjects threat-

ened later the closure of the Belize Convent, but, on representation to the Holy See, this difficulty was overcome. Still no new teachers could be sent for the schools, and so in the course of time, it looked as though the convent would cease to exist. Under such circumstances, it was decided to make the Belize Convent an independent foundation. In 1914, those of the Sisters who elected to return to the Mother-House left for New Orleans, while the rest remained to carry on the work of teaching some five hundred children, with the assistance of postulants, who had come in answer to an advertisement in the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart*. Many applied; some came, some left; and with those who stayed there is now a Community of fifteen, two of whom are Lay Sisters.

At another residence, that of Orange Walk, a convent of the Sisters of the Third Order of Mount Carmel was begun. It lasted for about two years, but had to be closed on account of sickness among the Sisters. Nor was this the only misfortune which befell the Orange Walk Mission. At great personal sacrifice, giving much of their labor gratuitously, the people of the place had built a large church at the cost of five thousand dollars. In November, 1899, it was completely destroyed by fire, through the carelessness of an altar boy in the sacristy. This misfortune almost broke the heart of the Pastor, Father Piemonte, through whose exertions chiefly the church had been built. To console him, the people at once came forward and offered their labor and money to build a new stone church. In 1898, the Sisters of the Holy Family (colored) came to the Mission. They were put in charge of the Stann Creek Catholic School, where they still continue to do splendid work among the Carib population, both in school and parish.

Through the kindness of a benefactress, we were enabled to build a convent at Benque Viejo for four Sisters of the Congregation of Pious Missions. Since 1912, they have had charge of an Indian school, which has grown so steadily under their fostering care that we have had to build a much larger school to accommodate the school children. They have a roll of over two hundred pupils. Three more Sisters of the same Congregation are, since 1913, teaching a school with great success in Corozal. Thus has been solved the problems of procuring efficient teachers for our larger elementary schools.

Meanwhile, whilst we had been providing for our primary schools, there had been growing up among our people, and among good Catholics in the neighbouring republics, a desire to see established in Belize a school for boys and girls, giving a higher education. For this reason were founded in Belize: St. Catherine's Academy, which has now about one hundred and thirty pupils, twenty-five being boarders, and St. John's College, conducted by Jesuit Fathers. In 1917, the College registered one hundred and seventy-six students, of whom one hundred and five were boarders.

Both Academy and College began in a very humble way. A select school was started in the Belize presbytery with Father Cassian Gillet as the teacher. There were two boarders and twelve day-scholars. After a time the boarding school had to be given up, but the select day-school continued with varying fortune until 1895. Then, with fifty boys on the roll, a small building was begun at the back of the presbytery to accommodate the increasing numbers of students. The foundation-stone was laid by His Excellency, E. B. Sweet-Escott, C. M. G., the Acting Governor, and it was formally opened February 3, 1896. So began St. John Berchmans' College. It continued to grow and boarders from the republics of Central America came in such numbers that a new building to accommodate them had to be erected.

A site, fronting on the ocean, of twenty-five acres, was purchased from the Government, as the place for the new St. John's. There a handsome college has been built at an outlay of nearly one hundred thousand dollars. The main building is 262 feet long by 70 feet wide, the well-equipped gymnasium is 80 by 40 feet, whilst to the right of the main college building is the Fusz Memorial Chapel, attached to which is a spacious dining-room. The College more than meets the requirements of the Catholic youth of the colony; but the object in building it was likewise to give parents of the neighbouring republics the means of obtaining for their sons a solid intellectual and moral training without having to send them too far abroad. This object has to a great extent been realized, and the great body of students come from Guatemala, Honduras, San Salvador and Nicaragua, and a few from Mexico. These youths are being instructed and well founded in secular and religious knowledge, and it is confidently

hoped that, after their college course, they will exercise a beneficial influence in their respective countries.

Thus has this Mission of British Honduras grown in buildings, in numbers and in efficiency. But with the means to work, the fruit of the labors of the Missioners has, by God's grace, likewise increased.

The Vicariate of British Honduras is at present (1918) constituted as follows: there is one bishop, nineteen priests, four scholastics and four lay-brothers. All the priests are members of the Society of Jesus, except one. There are nine residences and over sixty outside stations. There is one college, one academy and thirty-six Catholic Public Schools. They are called Public Schools, because they accept the government standards for the lay branches of instruction, submit to inspection in these branches by the Inspector of Schools, and receive government grants-in-aid. There are four convents of religious women, all of whom teach in our elementary schools. The Sisters of Mercy came to Belize in 1883, the Sisters of the Holy Family to Stann Creek in 1898, the Sisters of the Pious Missions to Benque Viejo in 1912 and to Corozal in 1913.

Nor has the spiritual fruit of the work of the Missioners been behindhand. In the beginning of the Mission the few Fathers had to be content with baptizing, marrying and giving the sacraments without much instruction. There were no regular catechetical instructions, no properly constituted sodalities, and few Catholic schools. Comparing the work of the priests of 1882 with that of 1916, we see a marked progress. There were in 1882, nine priests, two lay-brothers, four residences, thirty-five stations, ten schools, eight hundred pupils, five hundred and forty-seven baptisms and seven converts. There are today thirty-six sodalities with one thousand six hundred and seventy-one members; the Apostleship of Prayer has five thousand one hundred and six associates, and there is now an estimated Catholic population of twenty-five thousand. The population of British Honduras has been of very slow growth, for there are no manufactories of any importance to attract laborers; and our young people, unless they become wood-cutters or Chicle bleeders, frequently leave to find work elsewhere.

The chief vices we have to contend with are drunkenness and

concubinage. These are difficult to eradicate. There is a constant influx of people from the neighboring republics. The people living near the borders of the colony and having no resident priests have grown up ignorant of their Catholic faith, and so readily fall into immorality. Their influence upon our native population is bad. As to the vice of drunkenness, hardly anything is done by the Government to put a stop to it, except the placing of a high duty on all alcoholic liquors.

As to the future of religion in British Honduras, the convents, with the religious as teachers in the schools, will have a salutary influence over women to make them respect the sanctity of marriage, and the sodalities with the increased frequentation of the sacraments will raise the moral tone among men. Still, with the present low standard of morality around them, there will be frequent lapses from virtue among the young, who begin well but oftentimes end badly.

The Vicariate is intimately connected with the Church of the United States inasmuch as it depends upon the Missouri Province of the Society of Jesus for its priests, while much of the progress made so far has been due to the unfailing generosity of charitable friends in North America.

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THE AGLÍPAY SCHISM IN THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

In a paper published in a recent issue of *THE CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW*, I said in speaking of the Aglípay Schism:

The uncertain status of the religious life in the islands is well exhibited by the Aglípay schism. This, however, had a political as well as religious side, which of course further complicated the matter. Gregorio Aglípay, a native of one of the Iloco provinces in the north of the Island of Luzon, and a duly ordained secular priest, had attained to considerable eminence under Archbishop Nosaleta during the closing years of the Spanish regime. During the revolution against Spain, which broke out in 1896, he pursued a somewhat devious course (the whole story of which is not yet fully known), in which he played off one side against the other with considerable astuteness. Shortly after the beginning of American control, Aglípay finally split with the ecclesiastical authorities, and largely through the influence of a fellow countryman, Isabelo de los Reyes, a layman of considerable force of character, though lacking in balance, headed a new church known as the Aglípay or Independent Filipino Church. An effort was made to give the new institution a national character, which caused the government to fear that, under cover of religion, the Filipinos were plotting a new revolt against American authority. The movement spread like wildfire at first. The majority of the masses and some of the upper-class people of the two Iloco provinces joined the schism, which also numbered followers in almost all the islands in which Christianity was professed. At one time Aglípay claimed over 3,000,000 adherents, but this was doubtless a gross exaggeration. In many places, however, whole congregations of the Roman Catholic Church went over to the new sect, and other congregations were violently split apart. The schismatics attempted to take possession of the churches and other church property, but they were compelled by law to return them to their former owner, the Roman Catholic Church. At the inception of the movement Aglípay and Reyes consulted the Protestants, especially the Methodists, who had gone to the Philippines shortly after the capture of Manila, and considerable advice was received from that quarter, as well as from the Episcopalians. But the movement soon grew beyond control, and Reyes by his dominating personality gave the new church a direction that it never would have taken under the sole tutelage of Aglípay. To Reyes, in fact, are due very largely the Constitution, the so-called Bible of the Independent Filipino Church, the Catechism, and other literature published under the auspices of the new organization, much of which is a curiously puerile mass of contradictory, plagiarized, and undigested material. In his efforts to depart as far as possible from the tenets of the old Church, Reyes obligated the Aglípay Church (on paper) to a course broader in many ways than that of the most radical Unitarian Church. In real practice, however, the ceremonies of the schismatic church, except possibly in one or two instances, have never deviated in any essential from those of the Catholic Church, and the same Mass may be heard today in both churches. The Catholic Church has maintained on the whole, aside from its effort to

regain possession of its property, a *laissez-faire* policy in regard to the schismatic church, and it is possibly partly due to this fact that the movement has greatly died out with the return of many of its adherents to the bosom of Mother Church. But it can not be denied that the schism was a matter of deep concern to the Church, for Archbishop Harty, until quite recently the head of the Manila Diocese and of the Church in the Philippines, remarked to the writer in 1910 that it was only the Providence of God that had saved the Catholic faith in the Philippine Islands.

It might be of interest to give the story of the schism in greater detail, for in it are involved many questions of importance in the Philippine Islands, and it touches broad principles at many angles. Warning must be given at the outset, however, that final judgment can not be yet pronounced in every particular because of lack of definite information to fill in certain gaps. Events are still too recent to be known in their entirety, and the whole cannot be seen with sufficient clearness to enable one to make those broad generalizations which the historian coming after a score of years may be able to make.

The roots of the schism are not hard to find. They were in part of long standing and in part of very recent growth.¹ On the one hand are involved various religio-political questions,² and on the other, the entrance of modern ideas into the Philippines and the growth of the feeling of nationality among the Filipinos. Little can here be said of these matters as they would lead too far afield, but some general consideration must be given to them. In them is comprehended the whole friar question which was debated with avidity pro and con during the closing years of Spanish sovereignty both by Spanish and Filipino writers, and which no less has often been discussed since 1898 in our own press.

The friar question grew up almost unconsciously, yet naturally. Spain's overseas colonies reproduced in their methods of governing very largely conditions already familiar in Spain. State and Church were one and indivisible, and every ecclesiastical person, by reason of this close union, was an agent of the govern-

¹ Aglipay (*Independent*, October 29, 1903), claimed that the Independent Church was already thirty years old, but this can not be substantiated. He referred, of course, to the execution of the three Filipino priests after the suppression of the incipient insurrection of 1872. This event, however, did in a measure prepare the way for the revolt from the Church.

² Rev. Ambrose Coleman, O.P., writing in *The American Catholic Quarterly Review* (April, 1905, pp. 368-381), says that the Aglipay movement was political instead of religious. Had he said that it was a combination of the religious and the political, he would have been more nearly correct.

ment. This had both strength and weakness—strength, as it allowed a consolidation of interests especially in the opening years of colonization; weakness, because it was bound in time to cause an intense internal upheaval.

In the Philippines, the Spanish Crown, enjoying the royal patronage,³ with its privileges and obligations, set about the conversion of the natives with right good will; and it can never be charged against Spain that it was faithless to the papal injunctions given in the year following Columbus's departure on his quest of discovery. In order to meet its obligations to evangelize newly discovered and occupied territory, the Crown, upon colonizing the Philippines, made use of the most readily accessible means, and this happened to be the friar organizations which already had the machinery for such an undertaking, but the intention was announced of replacing the friars as soon as possible by secular clergy. Thus the friar question came into existence.

The religious corporations, with their powerful organizations, were able to root themselves firmly in the soil and to exercise a not inconsiderable influence in public life, both governmental and social. Indeed, they became the center about which all native life revolved. Attempts to secularize the parishes in accordance with the oft-expressed injunctions of the Spanish Crown failed repeatedly, both because of the lack of a secular clergy, either Spanish or Filipino, and because of the opposition of the regular clergy, and it was not until the latter part of the nineteenth century that secularization obtained even a halting start. To the end of the Spanish regime, the religious corporations exercised by far the greatest influence in the Philippines.

This influence came in time, however, to be exerted for the orders themselves, rather than for the Filipinos under their charge or for the direct interests of Spain, and the struggle of the friars became one for the preservation of power. It has often been said with considerable truth that Spain had an army in

³ By special agreement, the Spanish Crown defrayed the expenses of religion in the Philippines, as in the American colonies, in return for which it was allowed to make ecclesiastical appointments. For this reason tithes were not collected in the Philippines. The possession of this power led on more than one occasion to a clash of interests between the civil and the ecclesiastical governments. On the transfer of the Philippines to the United States, it was argued that this power became inherent in the Government of this country—a ridiculous assumption.

every friar in the Philippines. The work of the friars can scarcely be measured, and it extended in many directions. Ambition, both corporative and personal, urged the friars forward, but after they had become firmly established in the land, that ambition too often took on a material tinge from which the purely religious suffered grievously—a by no means unnatural fault for any body of men to fall into, and especially men situated as were the friars in the Philippines. Accordingly they are found doing the very things that they condemned in others. Coming in time to look upon the Philippines as peculiarly their own, they resented any interference from outside their own ranks, whether from the secular clergy or from the government. Hostile to change in the *statu quo*, they became a bar to progress and the Philippines lagged lamentably behind the rest of the world.

It must not be thought that the friars were the only cause for the backwardness of the Philippines. The civil government must shoulder its part of the blame; but it is true that had the friars desired they could have changed the conditions, as they had the greatest power in the archipelago, and almost to the end of the Spanish regime, any movement headed by them was sure of success. The progress which they failed to sanction and introduce came into the islands in spite of them and the upheaval when it came centered about them.

They failed in two very essential matters: the building up of a responsible body of Filipino clergy⁴ who could take over the parishes and thus ensure the loyalty of Filipinos to the Church and to Spain; and in guiding reforms forced through the entrance of modern ideas which came in spite of friar protest. By neglecting to satisfy the natural feeling of a people who felt that they had been unjustly treated, or to guide an ever-increasing popular

⁴ The *Catholic World* of March, 1903 (lxxvi, 851, 852), commenting on the letter to the Philippines from Pope Leo XIII in 1902, says:

"It is Rome's purpose, and it has always been the traditional policy of Rome, to insist on the cultivation of a native clergy. Over and over again has the Propaganda insisted on the open-door policy for the native priests to even the highest responsibilities. There never has been any race which as a race has been debarred from the priesthood or even the hierarchy. If any people has been called to the Catholic Church it has also been called to the responsibilities and dignities of the clerical state.

"In the history of the Catholic missions this policy has not always been followed by some of the missionaries. An oligarchic form of spiritual government has been instituted and the native has been kept in tutelage.

"Hereafter in the Philippines the native clergy must be given opportunity to advance themselves in learning and in sanctity, and consequently in places of dignity and responsibility in the Church."

demand, they failed deplorably, and they were bound to be the victims of their own failures. Because their own growth had ceased, they endeavored to stifle growth in others, failing to see that by their lack of prudence and foresight they were endangering not only their own future but the future of Spain in the Philippines. They should have learned after their long years of tutelage of the Filipinos that those people are among the easiest to guide but the most difficult to drive. By attempting the latter, they roused against themselves forces that, joined with other reasons, in the end brought about the revolt against Spain. As the government of Spain in the Philippines was constituted, the religious and the political were so closely intermingled that an attempt against one was necessarily an attempt against the other. Thus it came about that the revolt when it broke out was not unmixed but was waged against Spain, although with hate chiefly centered upon the friar. Hence the demands for the expulsion of the orders, with some assurance that Spain would yield to these demands. The Spanish-American war prevented any such move and the transfer of sovereignty found the friars still in the islands and another nation in control of the destinies of the Filipinos. Politics began to play a larger share in the widening horizon of the Filipinos, but hostility to the friars still overtopped all other sentiments, and the schismatic church—the creature of agitation, whose watchword was resentment against the friars and which formed a part of the expression of a national life, sprang into existence, after events that had long been preparing.

Gregorio Aglipay y Labayen, from whom the schism took its name, was born in the pueblo of Batac, in the province of Ilokos Norte, May 9, 1860.⁵ His parents belonged to the peasant agricultural class, and were in moderate or even perhaps straitened circumstances. Until the age of sixteen, the young Gregorio attended the schools of his native village and aided his father with the work on the land, the chief crop of which was probably tobacco.⁶ In that year, a drought prevented the setting out

⁵ See Aglipay's own story in the *Independent* for October 29, 1903 (Vol. iv, pp. 2571-75). JOHN FOREMAN, *The Philippine Islands* (New York, Scribner's, 1906), and W. E. RETANA, *La Iglesia Filipina Independiente*, in *Por Esos Mundos*, April, 1908, give the date as May 7.

⁶ The tobacco industry had been a government monopoly since 1781. At the beginning it had ushered in an era of considerable economic prosperity, but long before the period of which we are treating it had become an intolerable burden on the people, and was a constant source of extortion

of the number of tobacco plants required according to the regulations of the tobacco monopoly, and in consequence both Gregorio and his father were arrested.⁷ On being released the former, partly due to this unpleasant experience and partly because his father had arranged for him a marriage not to his liking, went to Manila. There he supplemented his slender schooling with two years' study in a private school in the house of a Filipino lawyer, one Julian Carpio.⁸ This was followed by a course in the Dominican school of San Juan de Letran⁹ where he paid for his education and maintenance, in part at least, by working in the capacity of a servant. He proved an exceedingly apt pupil, and in due time was graduated in both philosophy and the arts, being regarded by his teachers with extreme favor both because of his application and his exemplary conduct. After graduation from the above institution, he entered the councilial seminary in Bigan, in the province of Ilokos Sur, where he studied for the priesthood, and attained in time the sub-diaconate in the Diocese of Nueva Segovia.¹⁰ In 1889, he was ordained in Manila, and sang his First Mass in the church of Santa Cruz, Manila, on New Year's Day, 1890.¹¹ Entering upon his active ministry, he served successively as assistant priest in the towns of Indang, San Antonio, and Victoria, situated respectively in the provinces of Cavite, Nueva Ecija, and Tarlac.¹²

When the Tagalog revolution of 1896 broke out against Spanish authority, he was stationed in the last-named town, but apparently took little or no active part in these early disturbances. So highly was he regarded in Manila, indeed, that, after the signing of the so-called pact of Biak-na-bat6, by which Aguinaldo and other leaders agreed to abandon the movement, on condition of the payment of a certain sum of money by the Spanish government, to him was assigned the task of "attracting" to the government one Makabulos, who had refused to sign the pact.

and injustice. According to the government regulations by which the monopoly was controlled, each holder or owner of land was obliged to rear a certain number of plants each year and could dispose of his product only to the government at a stated price. The monopoly was finally suppressed in 1881.

⁷ See FOREMAN, and RITANA, *ut supra*.

⁸ *Ibid.* The opportunity to attend this school and to receive his later education seems to have come through a relative in Manila.

⁹ Founded in 1626 by a layman and taken in charge by the Dominicans in 1640.

¹⁰ Established as a suffragan bishopric by papal bull of 1595.

¹¹ See *Independent* and FOREMAN, *ut supra*.

¹² See FOREMAN, and RITANA, *ut supra*.

The obstinate chieftain gave heed to Aglipay's representations and submitted to authority;¹³ but Aglipay himself, either because of these very negotiations or because of other actions, fell under suspicion in certain quarters. Being warned by a fellow priest that he was about to be arrested because of his liberal tendencies, of which he is said to have been admonished previously by the friars,¹⁴ he fled to Manila, where feigning illness, he was given asylum by the Canon of the Cathedral who had acted as his sponsor at the time of his ordination.¹⁵

Aglipay apparently lived quietly in Manila for some time, where he continued to hold the favor of the highest Spanish ecclesiastics and, probably through them, of the officials of the civil government as well. With the advent of the belligerent forces of the United States in Philippine waters the Filipino revolution which had never been completely suppressed, gathered new force. The Archbishop, Bernardino de Nozaleda, a Dominican, in fear lest all was lost as this new crisis appeared, sent Aglipay to carry his oft-quoted war pastoral to the Iloko provinces, in which he urged the natives to unite with the Spaniards in order by defensive warfare to repel the barbarous invader from their shores.¹⁶ From this time and for several years, Agli-

¹³ See RETANA, *ut supra*.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Foreman seems to be considerably confused as to Aglipay's movements after he left Victoria, and although Retana's account is not altogether satisfactory, for want of a better, I am forced to rely partly upon it.

¹⁶ RETANA, *ut supra*. Probably the pastoral issued on May 6, 1898, and which was cited by Aglipay in a manifesto of March, 1899, when he portrayed the archbishop's former attitude toward the Americans with his attitude at the time of the manifesto. In it, Nozaleda said: "You must not remain ignorant of him (referring to the North Americans) who now appears before you with so much pride and who, trampling down all right, desires to impose his rule upon us. It is the foreigner who wants to subject us to his cruel yoke. It is the heretic who desires to destroy our religion and tear us from the bosom of the Catholic Church. It is the insatiable merchant who, in the midst of the ruin of Spain and her possessions, desires to swell his fortunes. . . . Poor Spain, if the invader succeeds in his designs! Poor Filipinos, the day upon which the North American establishes a stable government! Poor natives, subjugated by a people who have not the Catholic faith of Spain, nor the paternal anxiety for the good of the country, nor the high sense of honor, nor the community of interests, nor the history mingled with yours for now more than 300 years, nor the mingled blood which flows through the veins of many of you and which on a hundred glorious days has been poured out for the common defense! Brothers bound together by a common bond; sons of the metropolis and of the colonies! Very soon you will see an impassable abyss between you and your proud friends. You will have no offices nor employments, nor will you share at all in the government and the administration of the cities. You will form a class apart, you will be held vile as Pariahs, you will be exploited like convicts sent to work in a new country; you will be reduced to the condition of bondsmen and even beasts and machines; fed a handful of rice or corn which your lord will throw in your face as a daily ration so that you may not be utterly deprived of the product of your sweat, while you can enjoy the pleasure of seeing him revel in the fruits and treasures of an estate which was yours and now is his! Ah, that is not the worst. Soon you will see your temples ruined, or converted into Protestant chapels where the God of the Eucharist

pay's actions cannot be followed with anything like the definiteness desirable, but the evidence presented implies such a curious and well-managed system of duplicity that although one must condemn its author, he must admire the astuteness with which he worked. Just what were his relations with the Filipino insurgents and with the ecclesiastical hierarchy at Manila and elsewhere, it is still impossible to say. He seems for a while at least to have played off one side against the other with a skill that still baffles a complete unraveling, and it may be that the whole truth is known to no other person than to Aglipay himself.¹⁷ Not the least wonder is that he should have been given so free a hand by both sides.

He was also commissioned by the civil authorities, or by the ecclesiastical authorities with the knowledge of the former, to go to the camp of the insurgents for the purpose of entering into

(oh, what a cruel misfortune) will not be enthroned, and where the image of the Virgin Mary, our most sweet and gentle mother, will not lean in kindly fashion over you. The cross will disappear from your cemeteries, the crucifix from your schools, and from your churches the ministers of the true God who made you Christians when they baptised you, and have so many times absolved you from your sins, who united you in holy matrimony, who will be present at your last hour to console and administer the last rites of the Church, and who, after your death, will apply for the good of your soul the prayers of the Holy Church. You, with your heroic faith and valor may go on keeping your hearts as Catholic as before, even more steadfast than before, who knows? But what will happen to your dear children, your darling sons, especially if their fathers fail them, in the midst of a Protestant nation, with Protestant legislation, rites, teachings, and habits, and a free exhibition and propaganda of every vice and error? Ah, what can one expect, but that at the end of half a century, there will be neither Christian practice or Christian belief anywhere in the whole country, nor any one who makes upon his forehead the sign of the cross. Poor Filipinos, lost in this life and lost in the eternal one!" See Report of Major-General E. S. Otis, September 1, 1899 to May 5, 1900, pp. 313-316, Part II of *Annual Reports of the War Department for the Fiscal Year ended June 30, 1900* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1900).

Aglipay later used this pastoral with effect against the Archbishop whom he denounced in scathing terms as a turncoat and traitor who had "allied himself with the traitor Otis and the inhuman Dewey, giving them counsel and instruction and ordering his brothers, the friars, to pass praying in and through the walled city animating the enemies of our religion and country and praying to the God of battles in their behalf"; and of the friars he said: "Among these memories there is one which will always be a black spot upon our history. It is the memory of the enlightened corporations which came here to the misfortune of our most beautiful soil, not to teach us divine doctrines, but to exploit us and deprive us of our Catholic faith. The members of the above-mentioned corporations (as if God himself had interfered in events so that we should recognize them for what they are and that our eyes should be opened) not only have been wanting in all shame as to abjure their nation, but have also trampled under foot the sacred religion which they professed—a religion which served them as a shield against the consequences of their insolence. They went so far as to lick up, if you will permit the expression, the filth which they had vomited upon those who were their bitterest enemies and who are now their dearest friends"—that is the Americans. Otis, who cites this in the above report, says that "when Nozaleda summoned him to submit, he prepared and published articles severely condemning the Spanish representatives of the Roman Catholic Church and abusive of Americans, thus gaining considerable influence over that part of the population dominated by Aguinaldo." Of the manifesto, Otis declares that it exhibits Aglipay's "talent at invective."

¹⁷ Aglipay's statements regarding his actions, as given in the *Independent* of October 29, 1903, are unsatisfactory, and until he chooses to speak more openly and at greater length, the entire truth will probably not be known.

negotiations with them for the Spaniards,¹⁸ but the train in which he had started was captured at Bigáa in Bulacan province, and both he and some Spanish soldiers were taken into custody. Aglipay, however, was almost immediately released by order of the insurgent general of that district, and returned to Manila.

At this juncture, Aguinaldo returned to the Philippine Islands. He had known Aglipay well in Indang before the outbreak of the insurrection of 1896, and now seems to have lost no time in getting into touch with him again. As a result of this, Aglipay seems to have acted as a go-between for Nozaleda and Aguinaldo, accepting the confidences of both, giving neither his own complete confidence, but probably leaning more evenly and sincerely toward the insurgent side, and going and coming between Filipinos and Spaniards as he wished.¹⁹ The results obtained on either side seem to be negligible, notwithstanding Nozaleda's appeal to the Filipinos through the forces of religion.

The Americans entered Manila as victors on August 13, 1898, and Aglipay who was out of the city at the time, found his entrance barred when he attempted to return. Thereupon he turned back to the insurgent camp, where he found a ready welcome. At the advice of Mabini, the "brains of the revolution", he was appointed military chaplain of the insurgent army, and finally by decree of Aguinaldo, October 28, 1898, he was appointed vicar-general of the whole archipelago.²⁰ On the fifteenth of the fol-

¹⁸ See RETANA, *ut supra*.

¹⁹ RETANA, *ut supra*, says that Aguinaldo sent one of his generals to confer secretly with Aglipay whom he asked to raise the provinces in the northern part of Luzon in favor of the insurgents, and that Nozaleda, to whom Aglipay communicated the matter, advised acceptance, for with Aguinaldo's pass, Aglipay could have ready entrance to the insurgent camp and thus win over the Filipinos to the Spanish side; while Aguinaldo, to whom the Archbishop's advice was communicated, also counseled acceptance, for with the Archbishop's pass, Aglipay would have more opportunity to raise the northern provinces. Aglipay (*Manila Times*, January 1, 1903, and *Independent*, October 29, 1903) claimed that in the summer of 1898, the Spanish Governor-General and the Archbishop sent him to the insurgents in order to gain their cooperation against the Americans—probably the occasion upon which he carried the latter's pastoral letter. See JAMES A. LEROY, *The Americans in the Philippines* (New York, 1914), I, 318.

²⁰ Aglipay declared (*Manila Times* and *Independent*, *ut supra*), that Bishop Hevia Campomanes, of the Diocese of Nueva Segovia, who was held prisoner by the insurgents in the Kagayan Valley in 1898 and 1899, conferred upon him authority to perform the duties of a bishop in that Diocese, that his general authority over the native priests in the province when acting as "military chaplain" under Aguinaldo was recognized, and that he was used as an agent by Archbishop Nozaleda at Manila. Some negotiations between the Spanish Archbishop and the insurgent camp is evident as Aglipay was not excommunicated until the first quarter of 1899 notwithstanding his assumption of power. However, a decree of Aguinaldo of October 26, 1898, denied recognition of appointments to parishes made by

lowing month, he is said to have been appointed ecclesiastical governor of his Diocese by Bishop Hevia Campomanes, then held as a prisoner in the hands of the insurgents.²¹ At any rate, whether he were legally appointed or not, Aglipay daily arrogated to himself greater authority over the native clergy.

Events in the political field added a new factor, or at least gave a changed direction to affairs in the Philippines. On December 10, 1898, was signed the Treaty of Paris, by which Spain yielded to the United States its sovereignty in the Archipelago. This instrument having once been signed, Spaniards in the Philippines, either lay or ecclesiastical, could no longer legally oppose the United States forces or policy. There was, therefore, no longer any reason for a rapprochement between the Spaniards and the revolted Filipinos. By the terms of the treaty, Spanish forces were immediately to be withdrawn from the Archipelago. Peninsular Spanish subjects might remain in the Philippines under the protection of the same laws as other foreigners. In case they chose to remain, they could preserve their allegiance to Spain by making declaration to that effect before a court of record within one year after the date of the exchange of ratifications of the treaty; but if no such declaration were made they were to be considered as having renounced their Spanish allegiance and to have adopted that of the Philippines. The one article of the treaty which touched upon religion was to be of immense import in the Philippines. It was a mere declaration that "The inhabitants of the territories over which Spain relinquishes or cedes her sovereignty shall be secured in the free exercise of their religion." The treaty was ratified by the Senate on February 6 by a majority of only two votes over the necessary two-thirds.²²

Nosaleda, so that the understanding certainly did not carry very far, in benefits conferred at least. See LeRoy, *The Americans in the Philippines*, i, 318, 319.

After the Americans had entered Manila, and with relations between them and the Filipino army growing more strained daily, it would be very logical for the Spaniards to hope for cooperation from the Filipinos against the invaders; and, given the close connection between State and Church in the Philippines, it would be natural for the ecclesiastical officers to attempt to further such a policy. This policy did apparently lead Nosaleda to wink at infractions of Church discipline and for the sake of future gains connive with the insurgents up to a certain point. But as a matter of fact, he was not the equal of Aglipay in astuteness and bungled matters on all sides. On the whole Nosaleda was not a strong man, and cannot be said to have been a worthy follower of the great Bishop of the Philippines, Domingo de Salazar, who was also a Dominican.

²¹ See *ante*, note 19.

²² See this treaty in various publications of the United States; and in MAXIMO KALAW, *The Case for the Filipino* (New York, 1916), Appendix A, pp. 249-250.

The negotiations in Paris had been closely watched by the Filipino insurgent leaders who had vainly endeavored to intervene therein. The signing of the treaty meant the downfall of their hopes for an immediate independence. As a consequence, relations between the United States forces and the insurgents, none too good at any time, became more strained, and it was easy to predict the ultimate rupture—a break made all the more certain because the insurgent leaders had been deluded with the hope that public opinion in the United States would at the last decide in their favor. On February 4, two days before the ratification of the treaty by the Senate, the threatened insurrection against the United States broke out.²²

No longer could the revolt be rightly called a protest against the Spanish friar, for while by the terms of the treaty the friars might remain in the islands, freedom of worship was, as seen above, specifically provided for, and the friar organizations were automatically barred from the political field, and their members no longer had any political rights other than those of lay persons. The insurrection now waged against the United States was political, and the rallying cry was "Independence" although the masses had only a very vague idea of what independence meant.

Aglipay, as above seen, remained in the insurgent camp, where the outbreak of hostilities against the United States found him, and where by reason of his natural astuteness and his religious character, he exercised considerable influence. After the capture of Malolos, the capital of the so-called Philippine republic, he accompanied the insurgent forces on their flight northward. To Aglipay is very largely due the participation of the Ilokos in the insurrection against the United States, for under the very eyes of the American forces he adroitly turned the people into the rebel ranks. Not only did he accomplish this, but he was able to collect many thousands of pesos for the insurgent cause, and finally he himself became one of the guerrilla leaders and led many forays and delivered many surprise attacks against the enemy. That he was a cause of trouble and apprehension is evident from the

²² This period has been well covered by LEROY, *The Americans in the Philippines*. See also CHARLES B. ELLIOTT, *The Philippines to the End of the Military Régime* (Indianapolis, 1916).

despatches sent to Manila by United States officers in the field.²⁴ Upon the failure of the insurrection, he was one of the last of the leaders to take the oath of allegiance to the United States.

All this has very little to do directly with the Aglipay Schism and the Filipino Independent Church, but it forms a very necessary background if one would see the roots of the schism. As soon as Aglipay had been appointed "military chaplain" of Aguinaldo's forces and vicar-general of the Archipelago, smarting, in common with the rest of the Filipino clergy, over the fact that Filipinos were not preferred or scarcely considered in the appointments to benefices, he began to assume the powers of a bishop or archbishop, and to manipulate the Filipino clergy as he wished. This assumption of power, although it was winked at for some time by Bishop Hevia Campomanes and Archbishop Nozaleda, and other acts, finally led to Aglipay's excommunication.²⁵ In March of 1899, Aglipay, quoting at considerable length from Nozaleda's famous war pastoral, rained invective upon the latter for his changed sentiments and actions now that

²⁴ See the despatches in *Annual Reports of the War Department for the Fiscal Year ended June 30, 1900*, part II, 329-334. Aglipay, in his article in the *Independent* (see ante), defended himself from the charge of cruelty and declared that war records in Washington prove his case.

²⁵ Aglipay was excommunicated April 29, 1899, and the sentence of excommunication was exposed from May 4 to June 5 in the archiepiscopal tribunal of Manila. The document fills three large printed pages and is entitled: "Sentence pronounced by the Ecclesiastical Tribunal of the Archbishopric of Manila in the trial against the priest of the said archbishopric, Gregorio Aglipay, for obstructing the exercise of the episcopal jurisdiction, and for various other crimes which he committed." The document recites that on November 22, 1898, Aglipay was summoned to appear, but as his address was not known the summons was without effect. Thereupon notices were affixed to the parish churches of Manila and its suburbs for ten days beginning on December 23. This likewise being without avail, peremptory summons were posted on January 9, requiring Aglipay to present himself under the penalty, in case of non-compliance, of being declared rebellious and contumacious. But this also served no purpose and the pronouncement was made. In the *expediente* drawn up against Aglipay, it was stated that on September 4, 1898, Aglipay, making use of the title "Military chaplain of the revolutionary army", and claiming plenary powers to confer with the Filipino clergy, sent a circular to the clergy in the province of Pangasinan of the Diocese of Nueva Segovia, in which he set forth that he considered it proper to appoint a provisional vicar general for the Diocese in view of the absence of the Bishop. Accordingly he made such an appointment. Also Aglipay published and distributed two circulars, October 21 and 22, respectively. The first was addressed "To the Filipino Clergy," and in it he attributed to himself the office of military vicar general and as such drew up a set of regulations for the guidance of the clergy. The second circular was addressed "To my very dear brethren of the Filipino Clergy", and in it Aglipay explained that he had been appointed military vicar-general by Aguinaldo and advised them no longer to recognize the Spanish prelates in charge of the dioceses. Aglipay was accordingly found guilty of usurpation of power. "The two circulars . . . with their schismatic tendencies and their constant appeals to the support of the civil power are directly for the purpose of separating the Clergy of this Archbishopric and that of the suffragan Bishoprics from their legitimate shepherds." The regulations promulgated by Aglipay provided that any Filipino priest who refused to subscribe to them should not be allowed to exercise his ministry. He was accordingly declared to have incurred major excommunication.

Spain was no longer in control.²⁶ On October 23, of the same year, an ecclesiastical assembly convoked by Aglipay in Tarlac, and to which came delegates from the several dioceses, approved Aglipay's appointment by Aguinaldo as head of the Filipino church, but declared adherence to Rome.²⁷ The next move of importance was the attempt to negotiate with the Pope by direct intervention through the papal legate in Spain, Monsignor Nava de Bontifé, these negotiations being conducted by one Isabelo de los Reyes.²⁸ These came to naught, but prepared the way more fully for the schism,²⁹ and Reyes, both in his report to Agoncillo, then acting for the Filipinos as their agent in Europe, and in his paper, counseled a break with Rome.

This, however, seems not to have met with Aglipay's approval, at least not immediately. In 1901, Reyes returned to Manila, where he immediately engaged in propaganda work. It was probably very largely at his initiative that Aglipay sought an interview with the Protestant ministers in Manila in the month

²⁶ See *ante*, note 16.

²⁷ Shortly after this assembly, the insurgents were forced to retire to the northern part of Luzon.

²⁸ The Ilokano, Isabelo de los Reyes, at present an official in the Government of the Philippines, was described by Taft in a report of November 10, 1902 (see *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1902, i, 39), as "an agitator of irresponsible and irrepressible character". LeROY, *Philippine Life in Town and Country* (New York, 1905, p. 166), says of him: "It is true that the chief agitator connected with the movement, Isabelo de los Reyes, is a hopeless craver of notoriety and a fluent but shallow demagogue, the last man one might wish to see exercising influence among his people, when their own future good is held in view. He, more than the leading clerics connected with the movement, clung with tenacity to the idea of launching it in 1902, and he has written into its *Doctrine and Constitutional Rules* a lot of fantastic ideas about Christian Socialism, being a socialist of the Latin-European school (so nearly as he knows what he is) and a free-thinker so far as religious faith or practice is concerned." See also LeROY, *The Americans in the Philippines*, i, 129; ii, 200, 215, 268. Reyes was arrested in Manila in 1897 as a dangerous person and deported to Spain, where he was held a prisoner until after the signing of the Treaty of Paris. From November 25, 1899 to June 10, 1901, he edited an anti-American paper in Madrid, called *Filipinas ante Europa*. During the time he has spent in the islands since then he has been identified with various movements, most of which he started himself. As will be seen, unless he was adroitly used by Aglipay (which may be possible) Reyes was chiefly responsible for the establishment of the Filipino Independent Church. RETANA, in *La Iglesia Filipina Independiente*, praises Reyes highly, but since the change of sovereignty in the Philippines, Retana, who had formerly denounced every Filipino effort and every Filipino who dared speak in favor of his people, has made a complete about-face, and his later writings are quite different, so that it is advisable to check up his information from other sources (a hasty examination of his *La Política en España* and his later *Vida y Escritos del Dr. José Rizal* is sufficient proof of this). Reyes, like many other Ilokanoes, is a man of considerable initiative and force, and in many ways a likable man, but he has been accused by many Filipinos of being somewhat of a poseur and a demagogue.

²⁹ Reyes in his negotiations with Monsignor Nava de Bontifé attempted to gain full recognition for the Filipino clergy, offering it is said that, were this granted, the friars held prisoners by the insurgents would be liberated. The nuncio's reply, according to Reyes, was "that even should the friars be beheaded, Rome would not appoint Filipino bishops and would not even appoint a special deputy to go to examine into the capacity of our priests." See RETANA, *ut supra*, p. 351.

of August, 1901,³⁰ in order to discuss religious affairs in the Philippines. The meeting was held in the office of the American Bible Society in the walled city. Aglipay, in describing the religious situation, denounced the friars in strong terms, accusing them among other things of systematic discrimination against the native clergy, and of having created great unrest among the Filipinos. He asserted also that he intended to head the independent church movement and asked the cooperation of the Protestants,³¹ saying that his program embraced a separation from the Roman Catholic Church and the preaching of the Catholic doctrine in its purity. To his overtures the Protestant ministers cautiously replied that they could not unite with any attempt that did not make the scriptures the rule and guide in doctrine and in life, at the same time urging him to study the situation more carefully and inviting him to join the Protestant movement. They pointed out that a program simply of negation and protest would lead nowhere.³² In taking his leave, Aglipay promised to consider the matter carefully.³³ No other meeting was evidently held between the schismatics and the Protestant ministers until after the schism was launched in 1902. After the new church was actually established interviews are said to have been held with the Episcopalians under Bishop Brent, from whom advice was received on several points. Any attempts made by the Protestants, however, to guide and control the movement were not altogether successful, and it is difficult to see how success could have been assured to them, with Reyes in virtual control. It was, indeed, very largely due to their advice that a wide distribution of the Bible was made by the schismatics among the Filipinos, and their influence can perhaps be detected in several other directions. But their hope

³⁰ See HOMER C. STUNTZ, *The Philippines and the Far East* (Cincinnati, 1904), p. 489. Stuntz was for several years the Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the Philippines. At the conference were present the Rev. J. C. Goodrich, agent of the Bible Society, the Rev. James B. Rodgers, senior missionary of the Presbyterian Church, the Rev. J. L. McLaughlin and Bishop Stuntz of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and Aglipay and Reyes, the last of whom Stuntz describes as "a Filipino gentleman of good education and an inveterate fondness for agitation".

³¹ Aglipay had previously subscribed to Nozalea's description of the Protestant heretics in his pastoral letter (see *ante*, note 16), and Stuntz records that he had often spoken of the Protestants as "the off-scouring of the earth." Consequently, what is described as "an indication of his intellectual hospitality" in seeking the interview is rather an indication that he was ready to continue his old tactics so strikingly shown by his shady negotiations between the Spaniards and the insurgents.

³² Stuntz, *id supra*, p. 490.

³³ *Ibid.* Aglipay was advised to consider the advisability of having a married clergy and of declaring against "mariolatry."

that the schism might eventually prove a half-way station to Protestantism has never been realized and never could be realized. It is true that Protestantism did gain some few converts because of the schism, but these were not sufficient in number to make any great difference either one way or the other.

Reyes, meanwhile, had succeeded in organizing the first labor union in the Archipelago—an organization thought by some to be anti-American (and it probably was)—in which he attempted to put into force the socialistic theories which he had absorbed in Europe. He proposed to make use of this body in his projected break with Rome, and it was, in fact, at a meeting of the union on August 3, 1901, that the schism was proclaimed.³⁴ Without his consent, Aglipay was chosen to head the movement, and a number of bishops were appointed. Either at this time or somewhat later, Governor Taft, Dr. T. H. Pardo de Tavera, and others were somewhat arrogantly appointed as honorary officials—an honor that it is needless to say was never accepted. Aglipay promptly refused to be a party to the schism, either because he considered the time as yet immature, or because he shrank from severing all relations with Rome. When Reyes insisted by saying that the Filipinos had a right to make use of the freedom of worship clause in the Treaty of Paris, and that the recognition of the Filipino clergy was an honor, Aglipay still refused and even published a manifesto on August 20, refusing to identify himself with the movement.³⁵

He was unable to stem the tide by this act, and many of the native clergy went over to the schism, especially those of the Ilokos provinces. The creation of Pedro Brillantes as Bishop of Ilokos Norte was made a special occasion by Reyes, who served in the capacity (perhaps self-appointed) of President of the Supreme Executive Committee, and this display had a great influence on the Filipinos who thus beheld one of their race receiving the high ecclesiastical honors which they had so long desired.³⁶ Aglipay's vacillation was soon to disappear, and finally refusing the advice of the Jesuits to submit quietly to his excom-

³⁴ RETANA, *ut supra*, p. 353; LeROY in the *Independent*, April 28, 1904, lvi, pp. 953-957.

³⁵ RETANA, *ut supra*, p. 353.

³⁶ The ordination was performed by twelve priests with all possible solemnity. The question of ecclesiastical authority seems to have been brushed aside lightly by Reyes and his assistants.

munication, in the hope of obtaining pardon from Rome,³⁷ he finally threw in his lot with the schismatics by signing (October 17, 1902) the third epistle of the new church,³⁸ and nine days later, he celebrated his first Mass as Obispo Maximo³⁹ of the Philippine Independent Church in the open air near the church in the suburb of Tondo.⁴⁰

In the meantime, events of considerable importance to the Philippines had been taking place in Rome. During several months of 1902, Taft, who had been sent to Rome, conducted his memorable negotiations for the purchase of the friar estates. During these negotiations the subject of the withdrawal of the friars from the Philippines was discussed. Taft dwelt on the objection of the Filipinos to the return of the Spanish friars as parish priests, and the lack of a sufficient number of secular priests. It was therefore proposed that native, foreign, or American priests be substituted for the friars.⁴¹ To Taft's proposal, the Vatican made reply that the proposal to withdraw the friars from the Philippines within a definite fixed period could not be accepted because this would not be justified by *force majeure*, and would violate rights granted by the Treaty of Paris and involve the Holy See in a dispute with Spain. The Vatican also asked how the Pope could order the withdrawal of the friars if the United States could not lawfully do so. A promise was made, however, to introduce the clergy of other nations gradually and that the friars should not return to the parishes.⁴² A verbal promise is said to have been made to remove the friars as soon as possible from the islands.⁴³

Had Taft been able to announce definitely upon his return to Manila that the friars were to be withdrawn, the schismatic movement would probably have slackened and soon have died of inertia.⁴⁴ Notwithstanding the *éclat* with which the schism

³⁷ RETANA, *ut supra*, p. 353; and LEROY, *The Aglipay Schism in the Philippines*, in the *Independent*, April 28, 1904, lvi, pp. 953-957.

³⁸ The first two epistles were signed by Reyes.

³⁹ Episcopus Maximus.

⁴⁰ STUNTZ, *The Philippines and the Far East*, p. 490; LEROY in the *Independent*, April 28, 1904, lvi.

⁴¹ The *Independent*, May 22, 1902, liv.

⁴² The *Independent*, July 10, 1902, liv.

⁴³ The *Independent*, January 1, 1904, lvi, pp. 13-18.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

had been launched in Ilokos Norte by the "ordination" of Bishop Brillantes and at Manila by Aglipay's formal adhesion, it had already begun to dwindle very markedly through the feeling of some of its foremost clergymen that the time had now come to make peace with Rome, on account of the failure of

Filipinos of standing to identify themselves in any great number with the movement which had been engineered by recognized radicals in politics and religion, and on account, too, of the discredit attaching to the political agitator who had been chiefly instrumental in launching the new movement.⁴⁵

But Taft was unable to make any statement to this effect. Toward the end of 1902, the new Apostolic Delegate to the Philippines, Monsignor Guidi, the successor of Archbishop Chapelle of New Orleans, arrived in Manila. On December 2, he published the encyclical letter (*Quae mare sinico*) written in September by the Pope to the Filipinos. There was an immediate upheaval. There was no longer thought of an accord with Rome. The schism received new recruits every moment from all parts of the Archipelago. Now the Independent Church received the impetus that was to bind it together and give it the force that might make it a serious antagonist of Mother Church. Filipinos, on finding that there was no hint in the letter of a withdrawal of the friars, declared that they were being fed once more on promises of secularization which would never materialize. They saw in the letter, indeed, as was said, only an intention on the part of the papacy to fasten the friars upon them forever.⁴⁶ Guidi's appointments of American bishops to take the place of the former Spanish prelates,⁴⁷ as well as his other efforts to please the Filipinos, had little effect, for the idea of nationalization of the clergy was fast rooting itself, and in the heat of the moment many, who in calmer moments would have hesitated to come to the breaking point, now threw off allegiance to Rome and joined the schism. Some slight consideration of the letter will not be out of place here.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ LeRoy, *Philippine Life in Town and Country*, p. 164.

⁴⁶ LeRoy (*Philippine Life in Town and Country*, p. 164) calls the publication of the letter a political mistake.

⁴⁷ Aglipay expressed the general feeling when he said (*Independent*, October 29, 1903): "We resent the sending of French, Italian, Hottentot, American, or any other friar-controlled priests to rule us."

⁴⁸ It is given in full in *The American Catholic Quarterly Review*, for April, 1903 (xxviii, pp. 372-379). See also LeRoy in the *Independent*, January 1, 1904, lvi, pp. 13-18. LeRoy says that this letter was too often ignored or interpreted too optimistically.

In his introduction, Pope Leo XIII congratulated the Philippines on the fact that

the change which the fortunes of war have wrought in civil matters . . . has affected religion also; for when the Spanish yoke was removed the patronage of the Spanish kings ceased, and as a result the Church attained to a larger share of liberty, ensuring for everyone rights which are safe and unassailable.

The first and second of the twelve sections in the letter created four new suffragan bishoprics, which were to be included in the Archbishopric of Manila, and the next two sections provided for the proper ecclesiastical chapters for all sees and the government of vacant sees.⁴⁹ Section five concerned the secular clergy, the letter ordering that the number of the native clergy must be increased by the several bishops, but extreme care should be exercised in their appointment, and they were to be men of piety and character and worthy the trust of spiritual charges. Those who proved most efficient were to be gradually given the more responsible posts. Priests were enjoined not to mix in party strife, and in a very special manner not to become involved in worldly affairs. Complete harmony should prevail among all, seculars and regulars, this to be further incited by means of occasional synods convened by the bishops, while the triennial retreat was counseled as an efficacious means for preserving priestly fervor.

The next section advised that each diocese have its own conciliar seminary, the administration of which was to be entrusted by the bishop "to one of the clergy, whether secular or religious, who is distinguished for his services and experience in governing, and for holiness of life." Students for the seminaries were to be selected with care, and some of the best men were to be sent to Rome for education there. The Holy See, it was promised,

will do its share in the most effective way to advance the secular clergy in higher learning and better ecclesiastical training so that, in good time, it may be worthy to assume the pastoral charges now administered by the regular priests.

⁴⁹ It was enjoined that there should be a College of Canons attached to the Metropolitan Cathedral of at least ten persons, whose support was to be provided for by the Apostolic Delegate. In case the suffragan sees found it impossible to have a College of Canons, each bishop was to have consultors in their place, who should be men of piety, learning, and practical experience and who should be chosen either from the regulars or seculars. This section was objected to strenuously by the Filipinos, who said that all such consultors would be friars.

Section 7 praised the Dominican University of Santo Tomás (founded in 1610) in high terms and confirmed it as a pontifical institution of equal rank to other pontifical universities. The next section had to do with the regular clergy, and was as follows:

Yielding to the opportunities of the new order of things in that region the Holy Apostolic See has decided to make suitable provision for the religious men who look to a manner of life proper to their Institute, devoted entirely to the duties of the sacred ministry, for the advancement of public morality, the increase of Christianity and other peaceful intercourse. We commend earnestly, therefore, to the members of the Religious Orders to discharge holily the duties which they have assumed when pronouncing their vows, "giving no offense to any man". We command them to keep their rule of cloister inviolably; and wish therefore that all should be bound by the decree issued by the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars, July 20, 1731, which Clement XIII, our predecessor confirmed by Apostolic letters *Nuper pro parte*, August 26, the same year. The rule and boundary of the cloister are those which are laid down in another decree issued with the approbation of Pius VI by the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, August 24, 1780. For the rest, the Religious who labor in the Philippines must remember to treat with great reverence and honor those whom the Holy Ghost hath placed to rule the Church of God; and bound together with the secular clergy by the closest ties of concord and charity, let them hold nothing more pressing than to work hand in hand, throwing all their energy into the work of the ministry and the building up of the body of Christ. Furthermore, to remove every element of dissension, we wish that in the Philippine Islands the constitution *Fernandis* of Benedict XII, dated November 6, 1744, and the other *Romanos Pontifices*, May 8, 1881, in which we decided certain points in dispute between the Bishops and Missionary Regulars in England and Scotland, be observed.

By section 9, the Bishops, after conferring with the superiors of the several orders, were to determine those parishes that were to be given to regulars; and any question that could not be settled privately was to be referred to the Apostolic Delegate. The next section provided for missions and advised that it was desirable that one house with capacity for eight religious men be founded in each province. These men should be obliged to visit the towns and villages in order to exhort the people to better life. Mission stations were in time to become Prefectures or Vicariates-Apostolic. This section also provided for the collection of alms. The last two sections enjoined obedience to ecclesiastical discipline and reverence for those in authority.

The letter was criticised from one end of the Philippines to the other as being pro-friar and as giving no relief to the Filipinos. Guidi, who was a man of great good sense, counseled that the wishes of the people be met so far as possible, but he was unable to stem the tide of revolt aroused again by the letter. The excitement caused by the formal launching of the schism, great as it had been, was not equal to that brought about by the resentment against the letter and the fear lest friar rule be once more established. The consequence was that many who would have nothing to do with the schism before now embraced it eagerly, and it grew rapidly. In Ilokos Norte, there were only three priests who held out with their congregations.⁵⁰ It is asserted, however, that no priest joined the movement unless followed by his congregation.⁵¹ Aglipay claimed over 3,000,000 adherents,⁵² but this number is altogether too high. LeRoy,⁵³ with more conservatism, and probably with far more correctness, places the number at about 2,000,000; while Stuntz⁵⁴ places it at only about 1,500,000. The governor at Malolos said that 80 per cent of the people of his province were Roman Catholics and the remainder Aglipayans and Protestants.⁵⁵ As a matter of fact, most of the people were loyal to Rome, but were hostile to the friars and joined the movement as a protest against what they felt to be an injustice or because they simply followed their leaders. Devins observed that the chief success of the movement lay in towns where the priest and the people were not on good terms, and thought that the personal feeling entered largely into the matter of secession.⁵⁶ It was claimed that as many as 200 Filipino Roman Catholic priests went over to the schismatic church,⁵⁷ and this is probably not far from correct, for the new organization made a powerful appeal to the growing feeling of nationality and personal ambition. The movement was Filipino throughout and Filipinos who refused to join the schism were called unpatriotic, with the result that many who had little or no

⁵⁰ STUNTZ, *Philippines and the Far East*, p. 491.

⁵¹ H. PARKER WILLIS, *Our Philippine Problem* (New York, Holt, 1905), p. 212.

⁵² *Independent*, October 29, 1903.

⁵³ *Philippine Life in Town and Country*, p. 165.

⁵⁴ STUNTZ, *Philippines and the Far East*, p. 492.

⁵⁵ JOHN BANCROFT DEVINS, *An Observer in the Philippines* (Boston, 1905), p. 80.

⁵⁶ *An Observer in the Philippines*, p. 80.

⁵⁷ LEROY, *ut supra*, p. 165.

religious concern gave it their adherence.⁵⁸ It is easily seen how the national sentiment might make officials apprehensive of another armed revolt, but as a matter of fact, danger from this source was never very great, although many of the rising party of Nationalists belonged to the new church.

The movement was lacking in one very great essential. It was without any great, compelling moral or religious force. Indeed no great demands of a religious or moral nature were made upon those who joined it, and this easy program brought many adherents. The general average of morality among the native Filipino clergy during much of the Spanish regime was not high. The American clergy has succeeded in introducing a far higher standard than prevailed before. While Aglipay himself has never been accused of immorality, he failed to set up a moral standard either for the priests of his church or for the people. The cockpit, gambling and other vices were allowed free course both among clergy and laymen.⁵⁹ Young priests were ordained "with somewhat startling ease and carelessness in the seminaries" opened by the schismatics, and fitness was not always considered a requisite, either in training or in character.⁶⁰

Not only was this so, but the church was built on a false foundation, for while the printed rules and other published material gave the organization a far different setting than that possessed by the faith its adherents had abandoned, in actual practice the ritual has remained the same, the Mass, indeed, being "adopted in its entirety as celebrated by the Romanists",⁶¹ although beliefs as announced are at wide variance with the teachings of the Church. The doctrines of the new church were set forth by one of its prominent members, who was probably none other than Reyes himself, as rationalistic and conforming rigorously to the

⁵⁸ STUNTZ, *id supra*, p. 490.

⁵⁹ STUNTZ, *id supra*, p. 494. AMBROSE COLEMAN, O. P. (*American Catholic Quarterly Review*, April, 1905) says that "neither clergy nor laity know what they believe and are drifting."

⁶⁰ LeROY, *Philippine Life in Town and Country*, p. 165; JOHN FOREMAN, *The Philippine Islands* (New York, 1906), p. 606.

⁶¹ *Doctrina y Reglas Constitucionales de la Iglesia Filipina Independiente* (Manila, Imprenta-Tipografía de Modesto Reyes y Cia, 1904), p. 13. REV. AMBROSE COLEMAN, O.P. (*American Catholic Quarterly Review*, April, 1905), says: "The real absurdity is that the Aglipayans, while denying fundamental doctrines and rejecting the Nicene and Athanasian creeds, keep up all the Roman ritual, cultivate modern devotions, practice the cult of the saints, and carry their statues in procession, pray for the dead and offer up the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass. Their actions do not accord with their speech. They denounce in public what they themselves publicly practice."

results of modern science.⁴² Darwinism was accepted and harmonized with the biblical doctrine. The Trinity was denied, but a belief expressed in the Trinity of attributes and names. The explanation of this idea accepted by the new church was said to be entirely new and peculiar to the church itself. All this was said to be based on scriptural text plus rationalistic writings. The doctrine of original sin was denied, as well as the view that such sin was expiated through Jesus Christ; although it was maintained that Jesus Christ's sacrifice redeemed humanity from its own errors, weaknesses, and passions by means of divine attributes and inimitable example, but not by the actual material sacrifice. In its rules and constitution, the schismatic church, said this informant, aimed to establish the more pure democracy and common holding of wealth which Jesus Christ preached and the Apostles practiced—this being clearly part of the socialistic tenets foisted in by Reyes. The veriest layman can readily understand the contradiction between such sentiments and the taking over of the Mass as celebrated in the Catholic Church. This was part of the false basis on which the church was builded, for the practices of the organization said one thing and the declaration of principles another. But it is probably a fact that in very few instances was there any conception among the members of the church or of the priests other than those of the teaching of Rome. There was no frank attempt, so far as can be seen, to make expressed beliefs and practices harmonize. Thus expressed beliefs were in some instances more at variance with the tenets of the Catholic Church than are the doctrines of any other Christian church, yet Aglipayans could at any time go back to the old Church and scarcely know the difference so far as actual practices were concerned. There was often a glib juggling of ecclesiastical words and phrases that sounded loudly but meant little.

Much of the published material of the church is an attempt to set forth the peculiar views of the chief founder, but it is doubtful whether he himself, in many instances, could give a satisfactory explanation of what has been written and compiled. The haste with which much of the material was put together, and lack of scholarship and proper foundation, account for its

⁴² WILLIS, *Our Philippine Problem*, p. 209.

curious and often amusing and contradictory ideas. Among the most interesting of the published material of the organization are the six epistles, the first two of which were signed by Reyes and the last four by Aglipay. The first epistle, dated September 29, 1902, was addressed to the bishops-elect of the new church and outlined the method of episcopal consecration to be followed.⁶³ The next epistle of October 2, was a reply to Bishop Alcocer, who had denounced the schism. In it strong protest was made to the bringing in of foreign priests and the education of a Filipino clergy advocated. That of October 17 was a declaration of principles, in which it was stated that "we have separated from Rome not only through the very human question of the expiation of the Filipino clergy in ecclesiastical dignities and possessions, but also and chiefly through the imperious necessity of reëstablishing the worship of the only true God in all its splendor and the purity of His most holy word", while various beliefs and practices of the Roman Catholic Church were condemned. Parts of this epistle were embodied in the *Doctrina y Reglas Constitucionales*. The fourth epistle (October 29, 1902) advised the formation of various organizations in each province and municipality, and emphasized the need of priests. Efforts were to be made to gain possession of churches, parochial buildings, and cemeteries, of which Filipinos were the legitimate owners, and new churches should be built. Excommunications by Roman Catholic prelates should be disregarded. The epistle of December 8, was a long attack on the encyclical of Pope Leo XIII, and the last one (August 17, 1903), denounced as illogical the action of certain Roman Catholic Filipinos in the diocese of Jaro who revolted against the papal discipline but continued to acquiesce in Catholic dogma. In this epistle, which was signed by Aglipay and thirteen bishops, Aglipay took occasion to review the short history of the schism. He declared

Our church is Catholic, that is, universal, because it is in reality profoundly cosmopolitan by conviction and sentiments, considering all men, without distinction, as Sons of God, and takes the name "Filipino Independent

⁶³ Of the new church and its attitude toward consecration, DEWINS (*An Observer in the Philippines*, p. 254), says: "Aglipayanism is spectacular rather than substantial. A deposed priest styling himself Archbishop, and placing other priests in bishoprics, is amusing rather than edifying. Apparently, the man, while dead in earnest, does not see the incongruity of assuming and transmitting ecclesiastical authority with no organized body behind him, and he goes forth armed only with uncertain power."

Church" simply to characterize this group of freemen, who within the aforesaid universality admit servitude to no one.

He who teaches doctrines contrary to those ideas that favor our liberty and our progress cannot be a good Filipino or friend of our people, for he leads us into slavery and brutishness.

Among other published writings are the following: *Doctrina y Reglas Constitucionales de la Iglesia Filipina Independiente*, Manila, 1904; *Oficio Divino de la Iglesia Filipina Independiente*, Barcelona, 1906; *Lecturas de Cuaresma para la Iglesia Filipina Independiente*, Barcelona, 1906; *Biblia Filipina*, Barcelona, 1908 (published in parts but never finished); *Calendario de la Iglesia Filipina Independiente para . . .* 1908 (perhaps an annual publication). The second and fourth are compilations, etc., by Reyes, and are very curious publications, well worth examination if one cares to see what was gravely handed out to the adherents of the new church as of the deepest concern for the rule of life and conduct. The first is, as its title indicates, a book of rituals, and contains selections from the scriptures with elucidations, etc.; and the second, so far as published, is a treatise on the creation and on the origin of religion. Of all the writings, the *Doctrina* and the epistles (published in one pamphlet) are the most important. In addition to the above material, Aglipay also had an official organ called *La Verdad* (the truth), for which he claimed a circulation of 10,000.

The formal launching of the new sect in Manila had aroused intense excitement, but, as seen above, an apathy was fast succeeding to the first enthusiasm. The fuel supplied by the encyclical letter of Pope Leo XIII was eagerly seized upon by the leaders of the movement, and they sought in every way possible to accentuate the fear of friar domination. With the organization that had already been built up, they were able to manipulate matters very shrewdly and skilfully, and before long the Aglipay Church had received an impetus that has carried it (though with decreasing membership and influence) to the present day. They were helped by the freedom of worship ushered in with the American Government, but freedom of worship was not understood, either by Aglipayans or Roman Catholics. On the one hand the Aglipayans appealed to the Government asking that the friars be withdrawn, and on the other, the Roman Catholics asked the

suppression of the Independent Church. Taft, in his report of November 10, 1902,⁶⁴ shortly after the launching of the movement, tells how he answered these requests:

I have taken occasion to say, whenever an opportunity occurred, that the Insular Government desired to take no part whatever in the religious controversies thus arising; that it would protect Father Aglipay and his followers in worshipping God as they chose just as it would protect the Roman Catholic Church and its ministers and followers in the same rights. But that, if the law was violated by either party, it would become the duty of the government to step in and restrain such lawlessness.

And he adds with great truth:

In the heat and zeal of religious controversies, it is not always possible to prevent the followers of the movement at least from stepping beyond the law, and if the movement is to spread throughout the Archipelago, we may expect disturbances at various points.

The controversies centered, in general, on the ownership of the churches and other ecclesiastical edifices and property, and this led to Taft's so-called "proclamation of peaceable possession." The revolting congregations generally claimed the buildings and property on the ground that they belonged to the people because they had been built by their labor. Aglipay declared that the Filipinos distinguished between the land acquired for cultivation and the church buildings and convents; and that it was not a question of the ownership of lands acquired with good title. But the churches and convents, he said, were the indisputable property of the Filipinos. One of the Filipino arguments was as follows:

Every dollar of money was collected by the Government of Spain by taxing the people to erect the churches, and the labor was done by *polista*, each person being compelled by the Government to work fifteen days or pay the equivalent. There is not a human being in possession of his senses, knowing the facts, who would suggest that because the Roman Catholic priests were servants of the State that therefore State property belongs to an Italian in Rome. Rome never put a dollar into the parish buildings.⁶⁵

That is, the argument amounted to saying that because the Spanish Crown had exercised the royal patronage in ecclesiastical affairs in the Philippines, that patronage descended to the United States by the transfer of the rights of Spain to the latter country—an argument that is absurd because the Constitution

⁶⁴ *Third Annual Report of the Philippine Commission*, I, p. 39.

⁶⁵ *Independent*, October 29, 1903.

of the United States expressly forbids governmental intervention in religious matters. At times the Roman Catholic prelates and priests allowed themselves to be carried beyond the bounds of prudence in excess of zeal; and the same was equally true of the party of the Independent Church.⁶⁶

It was early settled that the only recourse of either party in the controversy lay in the courts. An opinion handed down by the solicitor general, December 9, 1902, on the question of the "ownership and possession, under canonical law, of chapels erected in barrios, for the celebration of mass by a priest of the Roman Catholic Church at stated intervals" was as follows:

The chapels referred to in the present inquiry, although erected for the benefit of the residents of the respective barrios, from the fact that they are open to the public, are unquestionably entitled to be considered as public oratories. As such, they are sacred ecclesiastical places. Their ownership, according to the commonly accepted opinion of canon law writers, vests in the Roman Catholic Church of the Philippine Islands, their administration pertaining to the priest or Catholic minister appointed by the bishop, subject to the supervision of the said bishop, and to the eminent domain of the Roman pontiff. All this is without prejudice to any right of patronage that may have been acquired. The priests who administer said chapels have the right of possession thereof, and the holding of the keys by a patron or other person is not a possession adverse to that of the administrator, but, on the contrary, is a right exercised in behalf of said administrator or of the Catholic Church.⁶⁷

And on the 23d of the same month, another opinion was handed down on the following matter:

A parish priest in actual possession and actually administering a parish church of the Roman Catholic Church, leaves the Roman Catholic communion and joins the Independent Filipino Catholic Church, remaining in possession of the parish church and refusing, in obedience to the orders of the Catholic Bishop of the diocese, to yield possession to a newly appointed priest of the Roman Catholic Church directed to act as parish priest and to take possession of the church.

Is it the duty of the Civil Governor, or of the provincial governor, or of some executive officer of the peace of the pueblo, on demand of the Bishop of the Roman Catholic Church, to put the new priest having the authority of the Bishop of the Roman Catholic Church in possession of the parish church, or must the Bishop appeal to judicial proceedings to dispossess the apostate priest and secure possession of his new agent, the new parish priest of the Roman Catholic Church?

In answering this question, the solicitor-general said:

⁶⁶ See *Independent*, April 28, 1904; STUNTZ, *The Philippines and the Far East*, p. 495; and AMBROSE COLEMAN, O.P., in the *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, April, 1905.

⁶⁷ *Official Gazette* (Manila, 1902), p. 6.

In the present case there is a controversy between the schismatic priest and the Roman Catholic Bishop with respect to the possession and consequent administration of the parish church. The former claims the right to remain in possession of and to administer the parish church in the name of the Filipino Independent Catholic Church, the said Church believing itself to have the right to said parish church by the change of belief of the priest and the parishioners; and the latter claiming that the parish church as the property of the Roman Catholic Church in the Philippine Islands, should continue to have such character the schismatic priest, therefore, having no right to continue in the possession and occupancy of said church, and claiming the right to appoint a priest of the Roman Catholic faith in substitution of such schismatic priest.

The determination of such a function is not a matter of the executive power. Its determination comes within the province of the Courts of Justice by reason of their functions. To deprive the schismatic priest of the possession of the parochial church, and deliver such possession to the new Roman Catholic priest, would imply an examination of the question as to which of the contending parties has the right to the possession and administration of each parochial church, and a decision that such right belongs to the Roman Catholic Bishop—functions purely judicial not executive.

Article 46 of the Civil Code still in force in these islands provides that: "Every possessor has a right to be respected in his possession; and should he be disturbed therein, he must be protected or possession must be restored to him by the means established in this law of procedure." This provision protects the possession, and refers, not only to the civil possessor, that is to say, he who is in possession as owner, but also to the natural possessor, or he who is simply the holder of a thing. Further, the provision refers principally to the possession in fact, and against the disturber of such possession, and the Law of Civil Procedure formerly in force in these Islands provides the remedy of injunctions, summary trials, which were held and decided solely upon the fact of possession.

Continuing, the solicitor-general, based his opinion upon two precedents handed down by the attorney-general of the United States,⁶⁸ and concluded by saying:

In view of the foregoing considerations, I am of the opinion that it would not be proper for the Executive to intervene in the question at issue. The Bishop of the Roman Catholic Church must appeal to the courts in support of his claim.⁶⁹

These opinions furnished a basis for Taft's proclamation of peaceable possession. In his report of November 10, he said:

Most of the churches in the Philippine Islands were built by the labor of the people of the respective parishes and devoted to the Roman Catholic Church;

⁶⁸ The first was an opinion handed down on October 11, 1838, in regard to the capture of a ship owned in the United States, which was captured as a blockade runner but which escaped to New Orleans; restoration to capture was demanded of the Executive of the United States by the blockading nation. The second, dated November 3, 1843, was a demand made by the owner of an abducted slave. In each case it was stated that the Executive could not restore possession. See *Opinions of the Attorneys General* (U. S.), iii, p. 377, and iv, p. 269.

⁶⁹ *Official Gazette*, for January 7, 1903, p. 7.

but the people have a sense of ownership, and when a majority separate themselves from the Roman Catholic Church and accept a new faith, it is difficult for them to understand that they have not the right at once to dispossess the priest of the Roman Catholic Church and place in custody and use of the edifice their newly made curé. In order to prevent constant recurrence of disturbances of the peace I have had to take a firm stand with the leaders of the movement by impressing upon them that forcible dispossession of a priest of the Roman Catholic Church, for years in peaceable possession of the church and rector's house, is contrary to law, and would be prevented by the whole police power. The leaders of the movement assure me that they have no desire to violate the law and wish to keep within it, but that their followers at times are hard to control. I have said to them that if they claim title to the churches, they may assert it through the courts, and if successful, will secure not only the confirmation of their title but actual possession.⁷⁰

There was more or less disturbance throughout the islands because of the Aglipayans' attempts to take possession of the churches, and the demands of the Roman Catholic Church for their restoration. This led at times to unseemly strife, but the matter was greatly simplified by Taft's proclamation.⁷¹ On the whole, the propaganda of the schismatics has been kept within the law,⁷² and the Roman Catholics by their recourse to the courts have received back most, if not all, of their churches. In consequence of the necessity of appeal to the courts, the schism diminished greatly, and since with the lapse of time, the fundamental reasons that lay at the bottom of the schismatic church became weakened, the institution has continued to diminish in numbers and importance, and is becoming an incident.⁷³

⁷⁰ *Third Annual Report of the Philippine Commission*, ii, p. 39.

⁷¹ After Aglipay had celebrated his first Mass, the women of the church of Pandacan, a suburb of Manila, locked their priest out of the church and refused to give up the keys to the Roman Catholics. Aglipay on the invitation of the women celebrated Mass in the church. Taft sent for Aglipay's counsel whom he informed of the unlawful action of the women, and directed that possession be yielded to the proper owner. The women refused to deliver the keys to the owner, whereupon, Taft held an interview with the leaders and ordered them to hand him the keys. This they did with the remark that they would give them to the Governor but not to the fraile. It was after this event that the opinions cited above were handed down, and may have had their origin from this event. *Third Annual Report of the Philippine Commission*, i, p. 39.

Of the proclamation of peaceable possession, STUNTZ (*The Philippines and the Far East*, p. 491) says that it was issued with perfect justice and consummate adroitness. Its operation "quieted public clamor, and trouble was averted".

⁷² LAROC, *Philippine Life in Town and Country*, p. 166.

⁷³ See the *Hearings before Committee on Insular Affairs* on "Catholic Church Claims in the Philippine Islands," held January 16, 20-23, 1908, in the House of Representatives (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1908); and the *Congressional Record*, 60th Cong., First Session, February 14 to March 7, 1908 (Vol. xliii, Part 3). The history of the schism was brought out by the questions of the committee. See especially, the decision of the Supreme Court of the Philippines on the appeal from the decision of Berlin vs. Ramirez, by which the right of the Roman Catholic Church to church edifices constructed originally for the use of the communicants of the Roman Catholic Church was affirmed. The case had been first brought in the court of First Instance in 1904 and the decision of the Supreme Court of the Philippines was made in November of 1906. This case had considerable influence in the decrease of the ranks of the Independent Church. See also *Independent*, January 3, 1907.

There has been an attempt in the above pages to show how and why the Aglipay Church came into existence, and to tell something of its history. Due in large part to hostility toward the friar orders, a hostility, moreover, carefully fostered in the masses by the leaders, the new church became a protest against abuses real and fancied. The political element in the organization was not small, for the church was in great part an expression of the growing feeling of nationality. Its spiritual force has been slight, and its moral demands very few.⁷⁴ The leaders of the schism flirted with the ministers of the Protestant churches, who while extremely cautious about endorsing the project of the Independent Church, had hopes that Protestantism might have a great impetus because of the schism—a hope that has not been realized although some indirect returns were received.⁷⁵

The schism has been of benefit to Catholicism in the islands. It did cause a greater effort on the part of those who worked for the regeneration of religion,⁷⁶ and today the Roman Catholic Church is in a better position because of the Filipino Independent Church. The Roman Catholic Church has had the good fortune to have some men in the Philippines who have had the sympa-

⁷⁴ This was well understood by the Protestants. BRUNZ (The Philippines and the Far East, p. 495), says: "I am not without hope that Aglipay will yet take a more advanced spiritual and moral ground."

⁷⁵ BRUNZ (The Philippines and the Far East, pp. 494, 495), says: "The Aglipay movement helps the Protestants by detaching tens of thousands from nominal connection with the Church of Rome. Our preachers get a hearing with them, and thousands of them accept the word and are saved. . . . These people would never have left the Roman Catholic Church to become Protestants, feeble as was the hold of the Church upon them; but once outside and hungry for spiritual food, they hear and are saved. Aglipay loosens the fruit from the tree, and we gather it." DAVIES (An Observer in the Philippines, p. 211), in an interview with Aguinaldo, asked him what he thought of Aglipay's work. Aguinaldo replied that he considered it a step in the right direction, but a movement only of the second grade. In time the movement would become first grade and lead into the Protestant Church. It is not an uncommon Filipino characteristic to say the things one wishes to hear.

⁷⁶ Of the movement, BRUNZ says (*cf. supra*, p. 488): "Whatever may be the future of the movement it has rent the old church in twain from top to bottom and now holds the attention of Catholic leaders to a far greater degree than Protestantism, for the reason that just now it is more to be feared by Catholic leaders than Protestantism." He says also (*ibid.*, p. 496): "The Independent Philippine Church has come to stay. Just how strong a hold it will be able to keep on the multitudes which have flocked to the standard of revolt against the pope cannot be foretold. But it may be reckoned with as a permanent factor in the religious future of the Philippines." See also LEROY, *Independent*, January 1, 1904, and *Philippine Life in Town and Country*, p. 164. REV. AMBROSE COLEMAN, O.P. (*American Catholic Quarterly Review*, April, 1905), predicted that "It may go on for a time in its blundering way, but eventually the more intellectual of its members will drift into atheism and the bulk of those whom it gains among the common people will fall back into the practices of heathenism from which they were weaned by the Spanish friars." Father Coleman was unduly pessimistic. The obvious direction for the majority of the Aglipayan communicants to take if they leave the Independent Church is back to the old church which they had formerly known. Such a course as that predicted by Father Coleman would mean that the more than three centuries of Spanish religious tutelage had been of no effect. He himself said that Aglipay, even after his break with Rome, still believed all Rome's teachings, and he was probably correct.

thetic nature requisite for the task before them—such an one was the late Archbishop—and these zealous servants have been able to accomplish much good work. Some of the men sent over, as is natural, have not left there an altogether grateful remembrance among the people. There is a rare opportunity for the Roman Catholic Church to accomplish work of a high order among the Filipinos, who are of an exceedingly ideal temperament, but the greatest of care must be exercised and the greatest of sincerity be always manifest. Those who know the Philippine Islands need not be told that what has happened there once may happen again. The schism has died down largely because the conditions that fostered its rapid growth have either changed or lost in importance. Given an occasion, it might easily be revived, and this notwithstanding the careful work of Church leaders of the last decade and a half.

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MISCELLANY

BORINQUÉN

Early Days of the Church in Porto Rico

Porto Rico was discovered by Columbus on his second voyage, in 1493, and conquered by the famous seeker for immortal youth, Ponce de León, in 1508. The Indian name of the island was Borinquén, and the aborigines, who soon disappeared under the Spanish system of colonization, were called by the Spaniards "Borinquenios." These terms are now used symbolically and poetically as epithets of the island and its inhabitants, being evidence of the tendency among the former American dependencies of Spain to adopt as typical of the respective countries indigenous, rather than Spanish, ideals and legends, and to glorify the original inhabitants of the land rather than the conquistadores, without, however, detracting from the honors justly due the latter.¹ So to us "Borinquén" may typify pioneer days in the beautiful island, romantically called "the land of perpetual June."

As in all the Spanish colonies, the civilizing and Christianizing ideal went hand in hand in Porto Rico. One of the glories of the Spanish colonizing period is the missionary zeal which characterized almost all the exploring and colonizing expeditions, and which has done much to wipe out the memory of the cruelties and injustice practised by the conquistadores. With each expedition went the priest, to bless and sanctify the undertaking, to say the first Mass in the new land, and often to be the protector of the helpless Indians against his harsher companions. So it is not surprising to find as early as 1493, in a Bull of Pope Alexander VI (May 4, 1493) instructions to the rulers of Spain (who were recognized as having the right of patronage in the Indies) to "send to the said mainlands and islands good, God-fearing men, learned, wise, and skilled, to instruct the natives and inhabitants in the Catholic faith and teach them good customs, applying to it all due diligence." Queen Isabel, in her famous testament, likewise urged upon her daughter Juana the fulfilment of the apostolic mandate. Under date of November 16, 1504, was issued the bull *Illius fulciti praesidio*, which established three Sees in the Indies: the Hiagustensian (metropolitan), the Bagustensian, and the Magutensian. This Bull, however, did not take effect, being repealed by the Bull of August 11, 1511, which

¹ This tendency is especially strong in Peru and Chile, where the Incas and Araucanian Indians are so glorified.

suppressed the dioceses previously created, substituting those of Santo Domingo, Concepción de la Vega, and San Juan (Porto Rico), under the See of Seville as Metropolitan.

For these three Sees were named respectively Don Francisco García de Padilla, Don Pedro Suárez Deza, and Don Alfonso Manso. Of these only the latter two were ever consecrated, Bishop Padilla dying before being consecrated, and his successor, Bishop Geraldino, not being appointed until 1516. Bishop Suárez de Deza did not reach his See until after 1516, so that Bishop Manso, who arrived at Caparra, Porto Rico, in 1513, was the first bishop of the Indies to reach his diocese, and consequently the first bishop in America. This seems borne out by contemporary evidence. (Cf. BRAU, *La Colonización de Puerto Rico*, p. 377.)

The life of this bishop is given in some detail in the episcopology which follows. It is worthy of note that he occupied the See longer than any of his successors (twenty-six years), and that much of his episcopate was passed in conflict with those tendencies which the Church had to combat almost universally during the colonizing period: excesses due to the thirst for gold, cruelty towards the natives, enslaving of the Indians, enmities and dishonorable conduct by the conquistadores towards each other. This truly epic struggle between the Christian missionary ideal and the selfish, wealth-seeking, worldly ideal, a struggle of which the saintly Bartolomé de las Casas was the great protagonist, was waged in Porto Rico as in other lands of the New World, with Bishop Manso as the apostle of right. This "great man and holy person," as González Fernández de Oviedo calls him, used all the faculties and powers he possessed to restrain the fierce, passionate, warlike conquistadores, and succeeded in destroying, or at least lessening, grave and sinful abuses, especially the practice of usury. His campaign against usury brought him into bitter conflict with persons concerned, who were powerful enough to bring complaints against him to the Council of the Indies. The passage of time finally eradicated this, as it has many another, evil.

The historic position of the Church as the patron and protector of learning and the ever-fostering promoter of education is well illustrated in Porto Rico. Hardly had conditions in the new colony settled down to a fairly orderly basis, when the bishop established the Hospital of San Ildefonso, the first in the island, and a Grammar School (*Escuela de Gramática*). This school was, of course, a "grammarschool" in the ancient sense, a cathedral school on the order of those conducted throughout the Middle Ages, and whose historic place in England has only recently been prop-

erly recognized.² The curriculum included the humanities, philosophy, and elementary theology. In spite of the lack of priests, the sparseness of the population, the uncertain communications, and the general poverty and insecurity of the island, the school lived and flourished, so that under the episcopate of Bishop Manso's successor we find four of its graduates, natives of the island, receiving Holy Orders, having apparently completed all their studies within the colony. These young men, Gonzalo Domingo, Francisco Díaz de Lepe, Sebastián Sanabria, and Francisco de Liende, were ordained probably in 1548. Under later episcopates many other young men educated in Porto Rico took up the Master's work, and in a sense this school may be said to be the embryo of the present seminary, now happily re-established under the enlightened and progressive administration of the present bishop, Right Reverend William A. Jones, O. S. A. Throughout the history of the diocese constant appeals are made by the bishops to the pastors of the island to teach "not only Christian Doctrine, but also the letters of the alphabet (reading) and writing." In the work of educating the people the Dominicans for many years played a leading rôle.

This brief sketch could not fittingly conclude without a reference to the antiquity of this diocese, now for twenty years under the American flag. When one realizes that its foundation antedated by approximately 100 years the first settlement of the English in America, and that it has actually celebrated its Fourth Centennial (any sort of centennial being of considerable rarity in the Americas), some conception is gained of the historic interest it affords. Nor is the interest wholly historical; its life is the life of the Church in miniature—the struggle with poverty, and evil, and indifference, the years of faithful toil and abnegation, and the ultimate success which must crown the efforts of its present wise government.

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² Cf. LEACH, *The Schools of Medieval England*. New York, 1915.

DOCUMENTS

EPISCOPOLOGY OF PORTO RICO

*A Catalogue of the Bishops who have occupied this See, including Bishops-elect who did not take possession*¹

I. May, 1513. Dr. Don Alonso Manso. Secular priest. Native of Beceril de Campos. Licentiate in Theology. Chief sacristan of the Chapel of the Sermo, Prince Don Juan. Canon magistral² of Salamanca. First bishop of Porto Rico and first Inquisitor General of the Indies (first bishop in America). Chosen by Pope Julius II for the Magutensian see (island of Hispaniola) by the bull *Illius fulciti praesidio*, dated November 16, 1504, which did not take effect. Nominated by the Catholic Monarchs Ferdinand and Juana, by virtue of the bull *Universalis Ecclesiae* of July 28, 1508, which conceded to the kings of Castile and Leon the perpetual right of patronage and nomination for the Indies. Chosen bishop of Porto Rico by Pope Julius II by the Bull *Romanus Pontifex* of August 8, 1511, establishing this diocese. Entered into a concordat with the Catholic Monarchs in Burgos, May 8, 1512. Established his cathedral from the archiepiscopal palace of Seville, his metropolitan See, Sunday, September 26, 1512. Took possession of his diocese in May, 1513. Named Inquisitor General of the Indies January 7, 1519. Nomination ratified by Catholic Monarchs May 20, 1520. Founded hospital of San Ildefonso for the poor, according to the wish of the Catholic Monarchs, and in it a grammar school (Humanities) which was the first educational institution in Porto Rico. Consecrated in his cathedral in 1529 the bishop-elect of Santo Domingo, Don Sebastián Ramírez de Fuenleal, president of the Real Audiencia (first consecration held in the New World). Died September 27, 1539. Buried in his cathedral, on the gospel side. His tomb, of alabaster, with his statue, recumbent, a lamb at his feet, existed until 1625, when it was destroyed by the Dutch, when they sacked and burned the city.

II. July, 1542. Don Rodrigo de Bastidas y Rodríguez de Romera. Secular priest. Native of Santo Domingo, according to contemporary documents, and of Seville, according to an investigation made by Brau. Son of the discoverer of Tierra-Firme and first "adelantado"³ and governor and captain-general of Santa Marta, Rodrigo de Bastidas. Dean of Santo Domingo and many times purveyor and vicar-general in *sede vacante* and *plena*. First bishop of Coro and Venezuela (1532-1540). Governor of Venezuela *ad interim* (1540-1542). Nominated for the see of Porto Rico by the emperor Charles V, Sep-

¹ This valuable document was compiled by Ángel Paniagua Oller for the volume *Sinodo Diocesano del Obispado de Puerto Rico*, published in Porto Rico, 1917. The translation is the work of Henry Grattan Doyle, A. M. (Harvard), Instructor in Spanish, the Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.

² A "canónigo magistral" is the holder of a canonry the occupant of which must have attained the doctorate.

³ The "adelantado" was the governor of an outlying, newly settled country.

tember 16, 1540. Chosen and preconized in Rome by Pope Paul III, 1541. Took possession of his diocese in July, 1542. Planned the construction of the present cathedral upon bases of sumptuous grandeur, but lacking the necessary resources its building remained at a standstill after the completion of the main chapel and its appurtenances, as well as the two lateral chapels, reducing the plan for its construction for the future. In his time (January 31, 1545) by bull of Pope Paul III, the Archdiocese of Santo Domingo became metropolitan See of Porto Rico, which diocese had been up to then suffragan of that of Seville. Held in 1547 the first synod of Porto Rico. "A person of great capacity and great reputation, and a great ecclesiastic, and of very good life." He was called in his time "the good bishop." He promoted public instruction very much; he asked of the emperor the abolition of the Holy Office in the island and solicited tax exemptions for agriculture and the reduction of the administrative personnel. Gave Holy Orders to the first four young Porto Ricans, sons of conquistadores and first settlers, to follow the ecclesiastical state, pupils of the grammar school (*Escuela de Gramática*) and of the classes in theology established by the Preaching Friars in the Convent of Santo Tomás de Aquino (St. Thomas Aquinas). Because of his advanced age he resigned this diocese May 6, 1567, remaining in Santo Domingo to live a retired life on the income of the considerable fortune left him there by his father, the adelantado, of which he made the most charitable use. He was not (as Fr. Inigo Abbad says erroneously, confusing him with his successor Don Francisco Andrés de Carvajal) promoted to the archiepiscopal See of Santo Domingo, for there is no document to support this, nor does he figure among the prelates of that metropolitan See, occupied at that time by Don Francisco Juan de Aleolares, Dominican. Died before 1570, being buried in the chapel belonging to his family in the cathedral of Santo Domingo, it being possible to read on his tomb the words "*Epis. S. Joanni*," which proves our assertion.

III. Don Francisco Andrés de Carvajal. Franciscan. Native of Alcántara. Student at the College of San Pedro y San Pablo of Alcalá. Guardian of the Franciscan monasteries of Guadalajara and Alcalá. Confessor of the queen, Doña Isabel de la Paz. Preconized June 2, 1568, Governed the diocese scarcely a year. Promoted to the Archbishopric of Santo Domingo November 4, 1568, receiving the pallium July 19, 1570, and died in his archdiocese in 1586. As, apparently, this bishop was only at the head of the diocese for the term of approximately one year, being promoted immediately to the metropolitan See of the Indies, doubtless on that account his brief pontificate, with the lapse of years, has passed unnoticed by the chroniclers, his memory being forgotten and his personality confused with that of his predecessor Bishop Bastidas, attributing to the latter the rise and promotion of Carvajal, and suppressing the name of Carvajal in the catalogue of the bishops of Porto Rico. We suppose it to be on this account that he has not figured until the present in the various indices and catalogues of the prelates who have governed this diocese.

IV. March, 1572. Maestro Don Fr. Manuel de Mercado. Member of the order of St. Jerome. Chosen bishop of Porto Rico and preconized in Rome by Pope St. Pius V, December 15, 1570. Consecrated in Seville. Took possession

of his diocese in March, 1572. Found the island in a great economic crisis, for which he urged reasonable remedies. Severe in ecclesiastical discipline, he put a stop to abuses and corrupt practices which arose during the prolonged inoccupancy of the see which preceded his pontificate. He was trying to group in one town the settlers scattered along the banks of the Coamo, when he was promoted to the see of Panama by the bull of Pope Gregory XIII, granted in the consistory held March 28, 1576, and received in July, 1577.

V. August 17, 1577. **Don Fr. Diego de Salamanca.** Augustinian. Chosen and preconized by Pope Gregory XIII. Took possession of his diocese August 17, 1577, landing at the port of Guánica. Carried out the project of his predecessor, erecting the parish church of Coamo and obtaining in July, 1579, the royal charter of foundation of said town, with the name of San Blas de Illescas. Constructed with his own funds the exterior steps of the cathedral, and established and blessed the cemetery of the cathedral, which existed until 1813 on the present site of the building which the houses of the legislature occupy. Renewed the inquisitorial procedure suppressed during the episcopacies of Bastidas, Carvajal, and Mercado. Resigned the mitre in 1587, and returned to Spain, leaving in Porto Rico a niece whom he brought with him, Doña Ana de Salamanca, married to Juan Ponce de León y Loáisa, great-grandson of the famous conquistador, whereby the succession of this house was continued.

VI. January 12, 1591. **Don Fr. Nicolás de Ramos y Santos.** Franciscan. Born in Villasabariego, near Carrión de los Condes, December 6, 1531. Son of parents of the poorer class, only the precocious intelligence and quite unusual talent of this illustrious prelate could have facilitated his career, and brought about the dignity to which he attained. Student in the college of San Pedro y San Pablo (Alcalá de Henares). While sub-deacon he took the habit at the Franciscan monastery at Valladolid, March 16, 1546. Professed May 17, 1550. Professor of Theology among the religious of his order. Obtained great fame with his work: *Assertionem Veteris Vulgatae Lectionis Juxta Decretum Sacrosancti Concilii Tridentini*, of which part 1 was published in Salamanca in 1576 and part 2 in Valladolid in 1577. His erudite work, *De Regulis Sacrae Scripturae*, proclaims his vast learning. Chosen provincial of La Concepción in 1579, he remained so until 1583. Nominated in May, 1588, by Philip II for the Porto Rican See, chosen and preconized in Rome by Pope Sixtus V, he took possession of his bishopric on January 12, 1591, his jurisdiction being extended as far as Cumaná. As censor of the Holy Office, he renewed the inquisitorial proceedings which his predecessor had begun, but this was the last bishop who exercised the office of Inquisitor in Porto Rico. In 1592 he was promoted to the See of Primate of the Indies, in which he died in 1599. He left written in Porto Rico a few works which the carelessness of men, rather than that of time, has not permitted us to know.

VII. **Dr. Don Antonio Calderón.** Secular priest. Native of Baeza. Arch-deacon of Santa Fé de Bogota. Chosen March 5, 1592. Took possession of his diocese in 1593. On his voyage to Porto Rico, the vessel having been boarded by an English corsair off the island of Santa Cruz, he lost the little that he

brought with him. When in November, 1595, this place¹ was attacked by a strong English fleet under the command of the celebrated corsair and admiral, Sir Francis Drake, Bishop Calderón carried out to the full the duties incumbent on him, hastening to most dangerous posts in order to exhort the defenders of the town, and assigning priests to them for divine service. Promoted to the See of Panama, he went to occupy it at the end of 1597, and from there, in 1605, to Santa Cruz de la Sierra, in the viceroyalty of Peru, where he died.

VIII. September 5, 1600. **Don Fr. Martín Vázquez de Arce.** Dominican. Native of Cuzco. Nephew of Rodrigo Vázquez de Arce, president of the royal council of Castile. Student and rector of the College of San Tomás, Seville, where he was when the bishopric was conferred upon him. Entered into his episcopate on Margarita Island, September 5, 1600, and from there proceeded to this cathedral (San Juan) in 1603. Died January 13, 1609, leaving his estate (20,000 ducats) to the church. Buried under the main altar of the cathedral, on the epistle side. If Bastidas was not the first American bishop, as contemporary documents state and Brau denies, certainly Bishop Vázquez de Arce, born in the ancient capital of the Incas, emperors of Peru, was the first American bishop of Porto Rico.

IX. **Don Fr. Alonso de Monroy.** Of the Order of Mercy. Provincial of his order in Spain, was chosen by Pope Paul V, and consecrated Bishop of Porto Rico; but he was unwilling to come to his bishopric. Died in Seville and was buried in the Convent of Mercy. In the epitaph of his tomb one reads that he was chosen Bishop of Porto Rico.

X. 1610. **Maestro Don Fr. Francisco Díaz de Cabrera y Córdoba.** Dominican. Native of Córdoba, of the illustrious line of Díaz de Cabrera, a distinguished branch of the Ponce de Cabrera family, of Córdoba; second son of Don Baltasar Díaz de Cabrera y Córdoba, eleventh Lord of the House, Castles, and Properties of Torres Cabrera, and of Doña Catalina de Corral y Frías; brother, therefore, of Don Alonso, the first-born of the House, of His Majesty's Council; and brother likewise of Don Fernando, gentleman in waiting and governor of the estates of Flanders. Monk of Santa María del Monte, on the outskirts of Córdoba. Chosen and preconized in Rome by Pope Paul V. for the Porto Rican See, he took possession of it in 1610. Promoted to the See of Trujillo, he left to occupy it in 1613.

XI. 1615. **Maestro Don Fr. Pedro de Solier y Vargas.** Augustinian. Native of the village of Barajas, in the archdiocese of Toledo, where he was born in 1574, the son of Pedro Solier de Reinosá and Doña Ynés de Vargas; descendant of Mosen Arnaldo de Solier, a French knight, who was created a grandee of Castile by the king Don Enrique II, and also descendant of the famous Jofre de Loáiza, conqueror of Córdoba. He professed in Salamanca February 13, 1594. Went to the Philippines in 1598. Expounded theology in Manila in 1603. Returned to Spain as Commissary-Procurator of the province, being made "maestro"; nominated by Felipe III for Bishop of Porto Rico, and chosen and preconized in Rome by His Holiness Paul V, November 17, 1614. Took

¹ San Juan, Porto Rico.

possession in 1615. Promoted to Archbishop of Santo Domingo by the same Pope in 1619, he died a year after his installation. In his time, September 12, 1615, occurred a terrible hurricane, which destroyed part of the roof of the Cathedral.

XII. 1623. Dr. Don Bernardo de Balbuena y Villanueva. Secular priest. Born in Valdepeñas (Ciudad Real) November 20, 1568; his parents were Gregorio de Villanueva and Doña Luisa de Balbuena, distinguished nobility of that place. He placed the maternal family name before the paternal either as just homage of consideration to his uncle and patron, Don Diego de Balbuena, canon of the cathedral of Mexico, or by obligation inherent in an heir in the female line, a frequent occurrence at that time. He went to Mexico at a tender age, and was educated there under the auspices of the aforesaid uncle, with such notable profit, that at the age of sixteen years he won a prize in the great contest held in that city in 1585. He wrote *El Bernardo*, *La Grandeza Mexicana*, and *El Siglo de Oro*¹, which brought him just and merited fame as a poet of the first order and a prose-writer of parts. Obtained the degree of Doctor of Theology in Sigüenza in 1608, and that same year was named Abbot of Jamaica, where he remained until 1620, when he was chosen Bishop of Porto Rico by Pope Paul V. Consecrated in Santo Domingo in 1622 by the Most Illustrious Archbishop Don Fr. Pedro de Oviedo, he took possession of his diocese in 1623, in which year he vainly urged the erection of a nunnery for noble and poor young women, daughters and granddaughters of conquistadores, settlers, etc. Two years later he had the great grief of seeing his library and manuscripts destroyed in the sacking and burning of this place by the Dutch under the command of Baldwin Henry in which were destroyed also some of his unpublished works. Died October 11, 1627, leaving to the Church his not inconsiderable fortune, and arranging for his burial in St. Bernard's Chapel of this cathedral, which was to be constructed out of his own funds, and which is today the baptistery.

XIII. Dr. Don Juan López Agosto de la Marta. Secular priest. Native of Tenerife, learned and of serious habits, great preacher, rich and generous dean of Mérida, in Yucatan. Prebendary and doctoral canon in Tlaxcala, by competition. The date of his election and that of his coming to Porto Rico are unknown. He gave great alms to the Church and to needy people. In 1633, on his pastoral visit to the outlying parts of his diocese, being on the island of Margarita, he contributed a thousand ducats to help the Franciscans who were trying to establish a monastery on that island. Shortly afterwards he was promoted to the See of Caracas.

XIV. 1636. Dr. Don Fr. Juan Alonso de Solís y Mendoza. Carmelite. Native of Salamanca, son of Pedro de Solís and Doña María Feliche de Mendoza,

¹ *El Bernardo* is an epic treatment of the slaughter of Charlemagne's rearguard, under Roland, at Roncesvaux, in which Bernardo del Carpio, a legendary Spanish hero, is the aggressor rather than the Saracens. It ranks with *La Araucana* of Alonso de Ercilla and *La Cristiada* of Diego de Hojeda as the best of the Spanish epics. According to Quintana "no Castilian poet gives so great a margin for reproof and censure, but also perhaps none offers so many occasions for praise and admiration." The unevenness of the poem, its mingling of tiresome prolixity with passages of harmonious beauty, lofty ideas, and real poetic feeling, is due to the youth of the poet. *La Grandeza Mexicana* describes the times of the conquistadores; *El Siglo de oro en las setas de Ercilla* is a pastoral poem. (Translator.)

Señores de Cemprón, Retortillo, y la Granja, of the highest nobility of that city, whom he succeeded in their estates. Councillor of Salamanca, he married in 1593 Doña María Manrique de Lara, daughter of the Señor de las Amarjuelas, Don Bernardino Manrique de Lara. He became a widower in 1606, two daughters, Doña Feliche and Doña María, being left to him. He then renounced his estates and the world, and took the Carmelite habit at San Andrés. He was Master in Theology, preacher and definer of his province, and prior in the monastery of San Silvestre, of Ávila. Chosen and preconized at Rome by Pope Urban VIII in 1636, he took possession of his diocese in the same year, finding on the island, as governor, his nephew Don Iñigo de la Mota y Sarmiento, Knight of Santiago. He was so industrious that in the pastoral visit that he made to the outlying parts of his diocese he personally baptized more than ten thousand Indians. He died April 19, 1641, leaving his property to the Church. He was buried in the Cathedral of this city (San Juan) in the main altar and on the Gospel side, where his nephew, the governor, Don Iñigo de la Mota y Sarmiento, dedicated a slab to his memory, with a beautiful inscription in Latin.

XV. June 13, 1644. Don Fr. Damián López de Haro y Vallada. Trinitarian. Native of Toledo, in whose cathedral he was baptized September 27, 1581, son of Antonio López de Haro and Doña Catalina de Valladolid. Professed in Toledo February 28, 1599, having studied there Grammar and Philosophy, and in Salamanca Sacred Theology, as a result of which he came to be an eminent theologian and professor of ecclesiastical sciences. Ministered in the monasteries of la Guardia, Zamora, Arévalo, Cuenca, Talavera and (twice) in Madrid. Visitador (inspector) in Andalusia; provincial of Castile, Leon, and Navarre, and definer of the last. The city and ecclesiastical chapter of Zamora drew up a petition to Philip IV, urging his nomination for bishop of that diocese, but His Majesty named him for that of Porto Rico; he was preconized February 9, 1644, and consecrated in the church of the Trinitarians in Madrid five days later. Arrived in Porto Rico and took possession of his diocese June 13, 1644. Held Synod in his cathedral Sunday, April 30, 1645, adopting measures to correct abuses, reform manners, and stimulate piety; and finished this synod, which was the second held in Porto Rico, May 2, it being approved by their Majesties Sept. 5 of the same year. Constructor and restorer, he erected anew the episcopal edifice, which was then in the street of San José, adjoining the cathedral, and which had been burned by the Dutch in 1625. He made his pastoral visit not only to the parishes of the island, but also to those of the annexes; and being in the island of Margarita, in August, 1648, attending with charitable solicitude those attacked by the pest which at that time overran these islands and had made 600 victims in Porto Rico, he died in the aforesaid month and year, honored by the esteem and affection of his people.

XVI. Don Fr. Hernando de Lobo Castrillo. Franciscan. Chosen and preconized by Pope Innocent X, he took possession of his diocese in 1650. No other data is available on this prelate, except that he died in Porto Rico on October 18, 1651, being buried in his cathedral.

XVII. July 3, 1654. Maestro Don Fr. Francisco Naranjo. Dominican. Was in Mexico when he was chosen by Pope Innocent X, on September 3, 1652, Bishop of Porto Rico, and it was so communicated to the chapter by His Majesty in a letter of that date. On July 3, 1654, in the name and by authority of said bishop, who was still in Mexico, Canon Don Diego de Torres y Vargas, professor and vicar-general of the diocese, took possession of it. The bishop did not come. He died in Mexico October 18, 1655, news of his death reaching Porto Rico March 31, 1656, whereupon on the same day Torres Vargas presented his resignation as governor of the bishopric, but the chapter reelected him immediately.

XVIII. May 30, 1659. Don Francisco Arnaldo de Issasi. Chosen by Pope Innocent X, December 25, 1657. Took possession of the mitre through his representative, the Licentiate Don José de Bilbao y Bracamonte, on February 25, 1659, and personally on his arrival May 30 following. By his exaggerated punctiliousness in matters of ritual and etiquette on the stated feasts, he caused the people, following the governor, Don José de Novas y Moscoso, to abandon the church on said feasts, the preachers not having anyone to whom to address their sermons. He died April 4, 1661.

XIX. Dr. Don Manuel de Molinedo. Chosen Bishop of Porto Rico by Pope Innocent X, in 1663, but did not come to his bishopric, thereby continuing the ecclesiastical government of this diocese in charge of the dean, Don Diego de Torres y Vargas Zapata, elected by the chapter on April 4, 1661.

XX. June 21, 1664. Don Fr. Benito de Rivas. Benedictine, of the monastery of San Pedro de Cerdeña. Chosen and preconized by Pope Innocent X June 4, 1663, he took possession of his diocese June 21, 1664. He brought to his cathedral precious relics of the martyrs of Cerdeña, which are preserved to this day in his reliquary, and to which he dedicated a chapel which he had built in the cathedral. On the twentieth of September, 1665, on absenting himself for his pastoral visit, he named as ecclesiastical governor the dean, Don Diego de Torres y Vargas. He died August 27, 1668.

XXI. April 27, 1671. Don Fr. Bartolomé García de Escañuela. Franciscan. Chosen by Pope Clement X, he authorized the president of the ecclesiastical chapter of the diocese to take possession of the See in his name, which was done on April 27, 1671, and later personally took possession on August 24, 1673. He ordered the taking of a statistical census of the diocese, which is the only one that we possess of the XVIIth century, and which the parish priest Don Juan Guilarte de Salazar carried out by his command. Promoted to the See of Durango, in Mexico, during his absence the ecclesiastical chapter, having received official news of the appointment, declared this bishopric a vacant See June 5, 1676.

XXII. February 20, 1679. Dr. Don Marcos Arista de Sobremonte. Secular priest. Native of Caracas. Chosen by Pope Innocent XI, the dean, Don Luis Muriel y Castro, took possession in his name and by his order February 20, 1679. On January 24, 1680 he gave to the chapter statutes of his own, obliging all to a strict fulfilment of their duties. Died at Cumaná August 10,

1681; but because of lack of news, the See was not declared vacant until May 6, 1682, the chapter electing as governor of the diocese, Archdeacon Don Cristóbal de Pastrana.

XXIII. June 23, 1684. Don Fr. Francisco de Padilla. Mendicant. Native of Peru. Took possession June 23, 1684. Vigorous, upright, brilliant, charitable, he cast out of the cathedral church the inappropriate mulatto dancing choirboys, who profaned that holy place. Handled the church funds with extreme exactness; arranged the ritual of the feasts and holy offices in conformity with the sacred canons; and in 1690, because of a horrible epidemic of African smallpox, which cut off a great number of lives, he established in his house a free apothecary's shop and provided food for the needy, going in person to the aid of the dying when the number of priests was diminished by the pest. Promoted to the See of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, in his native land, the See was declared vacant May 5, 1695, and on May 7 the precentor, Dr. Don Martín Calderón de la Barca y Quijano, was elected capitulary vicar.

XXIV. Don Fr. Bartolomé García. Chosen Bishop of Porto Rico by Pope Innocent XII in 1696, he did not reach his bishopric; the vicar, Dr. Don Martín Calderón de la Barca, who had been promoted to the archdeaconship, continued to govern the diocese from September 13 of that year.

XXV. Maestro Don Fr. Gerónimo Valdés. Basilian monk. Native of Gerona. Chosen Bishop of Porto Rico, but before taking possession was promoted to the See of Santiago de Cuba, and consecrated in Madrid December 23, 1705; arrived in Baracoa in 1706. Died in Havana March 29, 1729, at the age of eighty-three years.

XXVI. Don Fr. Urbano López. Trinitarian. Bishop of Porto Rico, he resigned the bishopric without going to the diocese.

XXVII. May 19, 1706. Don Fr. Pedro de la Concepción Urtiaga y Salazar. Franciscan. Native of Querétaro, in the vice-royalty of New Spain. Chosen Bishop of Porto Rico by Pope Clement XI, he was consecrated in his native land, where he remained some time without being able to come to his diocese. Took possession May 19, 1706. He issued the penalty of excommunication against those who, under the pretext of amusements and horse-races on the feasts of Saint John and Saint James, committed scandalous and demoralizing excesses. Drew up constitutions, and established a conciliar college in the Hospital of la Concepción, but it did not have success. Held a diocesan synod in his cathedral June 18, 1713, the third celebrated in Porto Rico; but doubtless did not publish the synodal report, and it is not known what was agreed in it, nor if it was approved by His Majesty, as that of López de Haro was. This bishop, energetic, industrious, and intelligent, died in his diocese in 1713, and is buried with the other bishops in the cathedral.

XXVIII. Don Fr. Raimundo Caballero. Cistercian Benedictine. Came to Porto Rico, and died within two or three months, without being consecrated.

XXIX. June, 1719. Dr. Maestro Don Fr. Fernando de Valdivia y Mendoza. Augustinian. Chosen by Pope Clement XI. Came to Porto Rico and took possession of his diocese in June, 1719. Defended and protected, as

Bishop Urtiaga had done, Captain Henríquez, iniquitously persecuted by the governor, *ad interim*, Dario Granados, in conspiracy with the treasurer Pozo, whom the bishop accused before His Majesty. This virtuous prelate died on Sunday, November 25, 1725, Dr. Don Martín Calderón de la Barca y Quijano, dean, qualifier of the Holy Office, purveyor, and vicar-general, remaining as governor of the diocese as a vacant See.

XXX. August, 1728. Don Fr. Sebastián Lorenzo Pizarro. Basilian monk. Chosen by Pope Benedict XIII. Took possession in August, 1728. He was the first bishop who in his visit to the provinces reached the Orinoco, where the natives, Carib Indians, had killed a French bishop who tried to establish himself among them. He purchased of Doña María de Amézquita y Ayala the houses where he built the episcopal palace, and went to live in it in 1733, a decision which His Majesty approved by royal cedula of November 1, 1738, devolving after his death, which occurred July 23, 1736; Don Juan Lorenzo de Matos, purveyor and vicar-general, commissary of the Holy Crusade, remaining as governor of the diocese as a vacant See.

XXXI. 1738. Don Fr. Francisco Pérez Lozano. Basilian monk. Chosen by Pope Clement XII. Entered Porto Rico in the year 1738. Went to Caracas to be consecrated, and afterwards made a visit to the provinces. Died on the island of Trinidad before returning from his consecration; and Canon Don Francisco Martínez, named provisory judge and vicar-general by the ecclesiastical chapter as soon as it had word of the death of Bishop Pérez Lozano, which occurred in 1741, remained as governor of the diocese as a vacant See.

XXXII. April, 1745. Don Fr. Francisco Plácido de Bejar y Segura. Basilian monk. Chosen and preconized in Rome by Pope Benedict XIV, he took possession of his diocese in April, 1745, and after great disappointments, caused by a brother, he died two months later, without having been consecrated, June 24 of the same year, being buried in the sacristy of the main chapel of his cathedral.

XXXIII. Don José Martínez. Secular priest. Canon of Caracas. Chosen Bishop of Porto Rico by Pope Benedict XIV, he did not accept the charge.

XXXIV. December 18, 1749. Don Francisco Julián de Antolino. Secular priest. Prebendary of Palencia. Chosen Bishop of Porto Rico by Pope Benedict XIV he took possession of his diocese December 18, 1749. Promoted to the diocese of Santa Ana, in Venezuela, in March, 1753.

XXXV. Don Pedro Martínez de Óneca. Secular priest. Native of Gallipienzo in the valley of Aibar, in Navarre. Chosen January 7, 1756. Visited the whole diocese. In his zeal to elevate morals and defend the humble, he overstepped the limits marked by the royal patronage of the Indies, and as the governor, Guazo, firmly maintained his prerogatives, the bishop excommunicated him: an extreme measure, which would have brought serious consequences, had not both contenders died, Bishop Óneca on April 22, 1760.

XXXVI. 1762. Don Mariano Martí. Secular priest. Native of Catalonia. Chosen by Pope Clement XIII, he took possession of his bishopric in 1762. Visited the whole diocese. Greatly improved the cathedral, in which

he built the finest chapel. Consecrated in the latter the Bishop of Comayagua. Was very zealous for ecclesiastical discipline, and a lover of the poor. Was promoted to Caracas, where he died Feb. 20, 1792, the precentor Don José Maysonet remaining as capitular vicar in the vacant See.

XXXVII. Don José Duarte. Chosen Bishop of Porto Rico, he died without coming to his diocese, which the aforesaid precentor Don José Maysonet continued to govern, as a vacant See.

XXXVIII. May 25, 1772. Don Fr. Manuel Jiménez Pérez. Benedictine monk, of the monastery of Santa María la Real of Nájera. Native of the village of Soto, in la Rioja. Chosen by Pope Clement XIV in 1770, the ecclesiastical chapter was informed of it on February 14, 1771. He reached Porto Rico May 25, 1772, and took possession of his cathedral on the first of June following. He made his pastoral visit to the adjunct islands and provinces as far as the upper Orinoco; gave many ornaments, chalices, and other alms for monasteries and for repairing different churches; erected many parishes; built at his own expense and endowed the Hospital of Our Lady of the Conception, with a capacity of five hundred beds for as many patients; rebuilt the episcopal palace which had been in ruins for many years; visited a second time the churches of the island and had missions preached every year for all the towns of his widespread diocese; suffered with admirable mildness and constancy persecutions and opposition in order to protect the poor and to lessen concubinage and scandals. He was affable with all, humble and modest in his mien; he never left off the habit and way of life of the cloister, practicing the same observance as if he lived in it. On Sunday of each week he sent all the money that there was in his palace to the charities which he designated, leaving most of the time not even the bare necessities for his house to eat the following day. He died August 20, 1781, and was buried in the presbytery of the cathedral. There is extant an oil painting of him, made by the Porto Rican painter, José Campeche.

XXXIX. August 30, 1785. Dr. Don Felipe José de Trespalacios y Verdeja. Secular priest. Native of Avilés. Chosen by Pope Pius VI on June 25, 1784, and consecrated in the cathedral of Santo Domingo. Took possession of the See August 30, 1785. Consecrated in his cathedral, in August, 1788, the illustrious Fr. Fernando de Cadizana. Occupied his See until 1789, when he went to the island of Cuba, where he died October 16, 1799, being the first bishop of the new See of Havana.

XL. July 11, 1790. Dr. Don Francisco de la Cuerda. Secular priest. Chosen Bishop of Porto Rico by Pope Clement VI, he took possession July 11, 1790. Consecrated, on May 27, 1792, the bishop-elect of Guiana, Dr. Don Francisco de Ibarra, and on December 22 of the same year, the Most Illustrious Sr. Don Remigio de la Santa. Proposed a geographical plan of the island, indicating the best sites for founding towns and churches. He wished to make the church of Santa Ana into a parish. In May (according to Brau on June 1) of 1795, he resigned his bishopric.

XLI. March 30, 1796. Don Fr. Juan Bautista de Zengotita y Bengoa. Mendicant. Native of Berriz, in Vizcaya. Chosen by Pope Sixtus VI on June

2, 1795, and consecrated in Madrid November 14 of the same year, he took possession of his See on March 30, 1796. To him fell the lot of witnessing and contributing to the glorious defense of Porto Rico, attacked in April and May, 1797, by an English army under the command of Lord Ralph Abercromby, and by a fleet of sixty vessels commanded by Sir Henry Hawey. Died November 1, 1802, being buried in his cathedral in the chapel of St. John Nepocumene, today the chapel of Jesus the Nazarene; the dean Don Juan Lorenzo de Matos Colón, provisory judge and vicar-general of the diocese, remaining as governor of the See.

XLII. July 27, 1803. **Dr. Don Juan Alejo de Arizmendi y de la Torre.** Secular priest. Native of San Juan de Puerto Rico. The first, and until the present, the only Porto Rican who has enjoyed this dignity in his native land. Born July 17, 1757. Son of Don Miguel Antonio de Arizmendi, Regidor Perpetuo (life councillor) of this city (San Juan), and of Doña Juana Isabel de la Torre y de Castro, of the most ancient and distinguished nobility of Porto Rico. Studied theology and canon law in the University of Caracas, where Bishop Don Mariano Martí, who had been bishop of this diocese (XXXVI) ordained him as deacon. Received the priesthood in Santo Domingo, capital of Hispaniola, at the hands of the bishop-elect of Porto Rico, Dr. Don Felipe José de Trespalacios (XXXIX), who had gone to that cathedral to be consecrated, and accompanied the bishop on his voyage to Porto Rico, being shipwrecked off the shores of Arecibo July 16, 1785. Confessor and director of the Carmelite nuns. Bishop Don Francisco de la Cuerda (XL) named him purveyor and vicar-general of the diocese. Without his asking it and without consulting his wishes, he was recommended by His Majesty to Pope Pius VII for the episcopate of this island on March 13, 1803, and having been appointed and preconized in Rome as Bishop of Porto Rico, was consecrated in the cathedral of Caracas, taking possession of his diocese on July 27, 1803, amid the enthusiasm and congratulations of his fellow-countrymen. This worthy prelate was simple, modest, and amiable; he maintained with firm hand ecclesiastical discipline and morals, of which he himself had always given the highest example. He bought with certain church revenues and with his private funds the large plot where the Conciliar Seminary is, in order to devote it to this end, and seconding the initiative of Bishop Zengotita (XLI), zealously undertook the establishment and construction of the said seminary, a noble plan which his early death prevented him from seeing realized, and which remained suspended until the time of Bishop Gutiérrez de Cos, who was able to finish it. This virtuous prelate had the sad prevision of his own death; on taking leave of the cathedral clergy, to go up to the island on his pastoral visit (September 6, 1812), he said with emotion, "until we meet in the Vale of Jehosaphat." After going over almost all of the island, he fell ill at Hormigueros, in whose modest hermitage he always desired to be buried, but his friends wished to bring him to his palace, which his grave state of health did not permit; he died at Arecibo on October 12, 1814, being buried provisionally in the hermitage of Monserrate. The following year (March 31, 1815), his remains were translated, to be buried permanently in

his cathedral, in the chapel of St. Bernard, today the baptistery, where they still rest. The slab which covers his mortal remains bears the following epitaph: *Hic, Amabilis, Religiosus, Integer, Zelotipus, Misericors, Eruditus, Novator, Decoratus, Impigerque, Primus, Antistes, Patrius, Jacet. R. I. P.* To govern the diocese as vacant See the chapter named the licentiate Don Nicolás Alonso de Andrade y San Juan, precentor, purveyor, and vicar-general.

XLIII. February 16, 1817. Dr. Don Mariano Rodríguez de Olmedo y Valle. Secular priest. Native of Guancargui, in Peru. Nominated by His Majesty for bishop of this diocese on May 21, 1815, and consecrated in Madrid August 4, 1816. In consequence of a decree of the Cortes of December 12, 1820, he resigned the bishopric, and had to pass to the island of Santo Domingo, Dr. Don Manuel Joaquín Santaella, canon, purveyor, and capitular vicar, remaining as governor of the diocese as vacant see until April 25, 1823, when the precentor Dr. Don José Lorenzo Rendón was elected for the said charge. With the triumph of the absolute regime Dr. Don Mariano Rodríguez de Olmedo y Valle recovered his bishopric, and again took possession of his see December 4, 1823. Promoted to the archbishopric of Cuba by royal decree of October 8, 1824, he named as ecclesiastical governor Dr. Andrade (October 31, 1824), and left for his new diocese. On May 17, 1825, Dr. Andrade handed over his jurisdiction to Dr. Gutiérrez de Arroyo, archdeacon, but the diocese having been declared vacant by royal decree of July 20, on account of approval having been given to the archiepiscopal bulls of Olmedo, Dr. Don Nicolás Alonso de Andrade y San Juan was named definitively as ecclesiastical governor, purveyor and capitulary vicar on September 9.

XLIV. July 18, 1826. Dr. Don Pedro Gutiérrez y Cos. Secular priest. Native of the city of Piura in Peru, where he was born October 24, 1750. Appointed and preconized as Bishop of Porto Rico by Pope Leo XII in June 1826, he took possession of his diocese July 18 of the same year. He finished the construction of the Seminary and opened it on October 12, 1832, the establishment of which, solicited from 1712 by Bishop Urtiaga, obstructed then by the military government, and zealously undertaken by Bishops Zengotita and Arizmendi, especially by the latter, was to lead to the inclusion in its professorial halls of such competent and venerable teachers as Fr. Ángel de la Concepción Vázquez, native of Juncos, and Dr. Don Juan Francisco Jiménez, of Cabo Rojo. This good bishop died April 9, 1833, Dr. Don Nicolás Alonso de Andrade y San Juan remaining as ecclesiastical governor, purveyor, and vicar-general of the vacant See.

XLV. Dr. Don Miguel Laborda y Galindo. Secular priest. Canon of Zaragoza. Appointed Bishop of Porto Rico by His Holiness Gregory XVI in 1833. This bishop, like several others, did not take possession of his diocese, but it is not just that on that account the ecclesiastical chronicles should be silent concerning him, and that his name should not figure in catalogues of the prelates of Porto Rico; with all the more reason as he left a generous and charitable trace of his election to this diocese, the equal of which is not to be found among the other bishops-elect who did not occupy their Sees; he bequeathed to

twelve poor men and twelve poor women of this city 3,840 reales, which were distributed fittingly, according to the accounts of those favored, of which there is evidence under date of November 14, 1870 in the capitulary archives. Doctor Andrade continued as ecclesiastical governor until his death on August 21, 1845, when he was succeeded by Dr. Don Juan Francisco Jiménez.

XLVI. December 31, 1846. Don Fr. Francisco de la Puente. Dominican. Native of Saldaña, in Old Castile, where he was born April 2, 1779. Appointed Bishop of Porto Rico by Pope Gregory XVI, he was consecrated in Madrid October 28, 1846. He reached Porto Rico December 31 of the same year, but did not take possession until January 5, 1847. The illnesses which he suffered in this island obliged him to obtain permission to go to Spain, where he arranged his transfer to the See of Segovia (1848) where he died in 1854. After his transfer the licentiate Don Dionisio González de Mendoza remained as ecclesiastical governor and capitulary vicar in the vacant see.

XLVII. February 10, 1849. Dr. Don Gil Esteve y Tomás. Secular priest. Native of Torá, in Catalonia, where he was born December 16, 1798. Appointed and preconized in Rome as Bishop of Porto Rico by Pope Pius IX on July 3, 1848. Consecrated in Tarragona October 8 of the same year, he reached Porto Rico February 10, 1849. He governed this diocese until the second of August, 1853, when he went by permission to the Peninsula, leaving as ecclesiastical governor Father Don José Oriol y Costa, who governed until May 16, 1855, when the chapter elected Dr. Don Gerónimo Mariano Usera y Alarcón. While in Spain, Bishop Gil Esteve was promoted to the See of Terranova, where he died in 1858. In the meantime, by royal order received August 4, 1855, this diocese was declared a vacant See and the licentiate Don Dionisio González de Mendoza was elected to govern it, which he did until January 8, 1856, when Dr. Don Gerónimo Mariano Usera y Alarcón, dean of the cathedral, was named, who governed it until August 5, 1856, on which date he was succeeded in said government by the very intelligent Dr. Don Antonio Cerezano, who figured later with such honor in the cathedral of Santo Domingo. Bishop Gil Esteve in his short episcopate showed his capacity, his industry, and his virtue. He reorganized the seminary, obtaining by royal decree of May 2, 1851 the right to confer the degree of Bachelor in Philosophy, created special chairs, and chose excellent professors, as a result of which this seminary rose to the highest standing among the teaching centers of the whole island. He reconstructed in great part the cathedral and the episcopal palace, and edited a catechism of Christian doctrine which for many years was the textbook throughout the island.

XLVIII. May 27, 1857. Don Fr. Pablo Benigno Carrión de Málaga. Capuchin monk. Native of Málaga, where he was born February 13, 1798. Son of Don José Carrión and Doña María de Luna, both of the noblest stock of that city, and, on the paternal side, of naval ancestry, a career which this great bishop of Porto Rico was to follow in his youth, and whose showy uniform he exchanged, by an irresistible vocation, for the coarse wool of the sons of St. Francis, receiving the habit on October 5, 1816, and professing on the sixth of the same month, taking the name of Pablo. Confessor of the auxiliary bishop of Santiago in Galicia. Master of novices in Seville. In compliance with the desires of his

younger sister, who was married in Porto Rico, he transferred his residence here, reaching the island on February 18, 1842. Named priest administrator and coadjutor of the parish of San Germán. Rector of the Conciliar Seminary, he obtained by royal order the academic validity of the degrees of Bachelor of Arts which the seminary conferred. He resigned the rectorship and requested the parish of Vieques as a kind of retirement, to which his heart, made for the cloister, aspired. Designated for the mitre of Porto Rico by his predecessor, Bishop Gil Esteve, against his will and solely through obedience he accepted the appointment as Bishop of Porto Rico. Nominated by Her Majesty Isabel II, and appointed and preconized in Rome by Pope Pius IX on December 21, 1857, he was consecrated in Madrid in the royal chapel on March 7, 1858, his patroness being the queen herself, by whom all the expenses were borne. Arrived in Porto Rico May 27, 1858, in the steamship *Almogaver*. Dr. Father Don Diego de Alba had already taken possession in his name and by his order on the tenth of the same month. He brought the Jesuits to Porto Rico, to whom he entrusted the seminary and the Church of San José. On July 20 he blessed the recently constructed church of the Carmelite Sisters; on the twenty-second he declared abolished the old dependent parish of the chapter, and in its place created another which was to function independently of the chapter, although with the same name and appellation, and at the same time erected the new parish of St. Francis in the church and former monastery of the Franciscans. In December, 1862, he proposed the acquisition of the present beautiful pavement of the cathedral. On June 19, 1863, he presented to the cathedral the statue of St. John the Baptist, which he sent for from Spain, and brought from Spain in the same year the Sisters of Charity, who have rendered such useful services.

In August, 1865, he founded with his own funds the Infant Asylum, to which he donated, as a holy relic, the head of St. Marianus; previously he had sent to the cathedral the body of St. Pius, martyr, which he brought from Rome and had obtained from Pope Pius IX. On November 5, 1865 having finished the work of restoration of the Cathedral Church, he was consecrated with due solemnity. In September, 1869, he attended the Ecumenical Council at the Vatican as representative of his diocese. Orator, academician (active member) of the Royal Academy of Belles Lettres (Buenas Letras), Knight Grand Cross of Isabel the Catholic, and Archbishop-elect of Santiago de Cuba, which he did not accept. He had a tragic end, dying as a result of the overturning of the carriage in which he was riding, on his last pastoral visit, while leaving Fajardo for Luquillo, on November 29, 1871. His body was brought to this city and received burial in the crypt of the bishops in the Chapel of Providence.

XLIX. March 5, 1875. Don Fr. Juan Antonio Puig y Monserrat. Franciscan. Native of Felanitx, in the island of Mallorca, where he was born July 20, 1813. Received orders and professed in his order by the year 1823, and came to Porto Rico, fixing his residence in Ponce, by 1840, founding there an excellent primary school and some classes of secondary education, which had great success in that vicinity. He personally acquired universal sympathy on account of his affable character. He later traveled in Europe and the United States, perfecting himself in the knowledge of the French and English languages.

He was later pastor in Patillas, Juana Díaz, and Aguadilla, and in 1861 was named parish priest of Our Lady of Los Remedios. In 1869 he was elect-deputy to the Cortes for the district of the capital city by the votes of the Conservative party. His old friendship with General Prim obtained for him the nomination for Bishop of Porto Rico, and he was preconized on January 16, 1874. He took possession March 5, 1875, and during his episcopacy occupied himself with a strong hand with ecclesiastical discipline. He was faithful to friendships, simple and plain in his dealings, very generous, and this caused him to be badly deceived by subordinates. He died January 2, 1894 and is buried in the crypt of the bishops of Porto Rico, in the Chapel of Providence.

L. November 11, 1894. Don Fr. Toribio Minguella de la Merced. Augustinian. Native of Igea de Cornago, in Logroño, where he was born in April, 1836. In 1854 he took the habit of his order and in 1859 he was ordained priest. He was sent to the Philippines by his superiors; discharged important offices as parochial commissary, provincial vicar, rector of the college of San Millán de la Cogulla, definitor, voting prior, and chronicle of his order. In May, 1894, he was proposed by Her Majesty for the See of Porto Rico, and having been preconized by His Holiness Leo XIII, he received consecration on August 5 of the same year, and took possession of his diocese November 11. On March 24, 1898, he was preconized Bishop of Sigüenza, taking possession on June 13 following. A man of extraordinary talent and vast learning, he enjoyed fame as a savant, no less than as an eloquent sacred orator. His numerous scientific and literary works, as well as his pastorals, full of evangelical unction, testify to his piety and wisdom.

LI. Don Fr. Francisco J. Valdés. Augustinian. Native of Asturias. Named in 1897, he resigned without taking possession on account of the change in national sovereignty of the island (Spanish-American War).

LII. December 20, 1899. Dr. James Humbert Blenk, S. M. Native of Neustadt, kingdom of Bavaria, where he was born July 28, 1856, the son of James Blenk and Catherine Wigman, Protestants, in which communion they remained until their death. He was the youngest of seventeen children and a twin, but his twin brother died at six months. This German family migrated to New Orleans, and there the boy, James, surrounded by Catholic influences, and himself of a mystic, though practical temperament, adopted the Catholic religion, and with such fervor, that he entered the ecclesiastical state with an irresistible and devout inclination. He was baptized at twelve years of age, and later entered the Redemptorist Order. He studied at Charlewx, Mich. The Marist Fathers, whose order he had entered, sent him to France to make his novitiate, and afterwards to the Catholic University of Ireland. On August 16, 1885 he was ordained priest by Archbishop Redwood, New Zealand, a notable Marist, and was assigned to Louisiana. As professor in Jefferson College he excelled in such a noteworthy way that he was named president of the college in 1891. He was named for various and delicate missions in France, England, and Ireland. In February, 1897, he was named pastor of the parish of the Name of Mary, in Algiers. When Monsignor Chapelle was named Apostolic Delegate of Cuba and Porto Rico, he named

Fr. Blenk as auditor of the delegation, and later recommended him as Bishop of Porto Rico, as the man called by his talent and ability to discharge such an honorable, and in those days so difficult a, task. Appointed for this diocese, he was consecrated on July 2, 1899, and took possession on December 20. He worked consistently to rescue his diocese from the pitiable state into which the change of sovereignty had plunged it. The island had been swept by a hurricane, which had caused terrible damage; by great patience he collected \$30,000 to relieve the needy poor. In his time the lawsuit of the Church with the State over the properties of the Church usurped by the government was settled favorably, and thus he raised funds with which he made headway against the great expenses which they had caused. Among the many good things which he did, there are two, however, which have lent themselves to various interpretations and commentaries, although somewhat unjust. One is the removal of the Carmelite nuns to San Germán, but this is explained by the ruined state of their convent; and the other is the suppression of the seminary, which, however, the lack of resources for its maintenance, and the small number of seminarians, which then existed, etc., might justify. This good prelate, a linguist par excellence, had a good command of the Spanish language, and delivered sermons in that language with relative ease. When Archbishop Chapelle of New Orleans died, he was promoted to that diocese, and left Porto Rico April 20, 1906, leaving in the island a most pleasant impression of his episcopate because of his virtues, his talent, and his amiability, and his transfer was deeply regretted, although there was sincere joy over his deserved promotion. He died in New Orleans April 20, 1917.

LIII. March 6, 1907. Dr Don. Guillermo Ambrosio Jones y Hurley. Augustinian. Native of Cambridge, New York, U. S. A., where he was born July 21, 1865, son of Mr. Thomas Jones and Mrs. Mary (Hurley) Jones. Made his special studies at Villanova College, Pennsylvania. Received the priesthood at the hands of the Most Rev. Patrick J. Ryan, Archbishop of Philadelphia, on March 15, 1890. Held the following charges: assistant in St. Augustine's parish, Philadelphia; assistant in St. Nicholas's parish, Atlantic City, N. J.; master of novices of Villanova monastery; rector of the parish of Santo Cristo del Buen Viaje, Havana, Cuba; president of St. Augustine's College, Havana, Cuba, where he was when he was appointed and preconized in Rome by Pope Pius X as Bishop of Porto Rico, on January 12, 1907, and consecrated in the cathedral of Havana by Mgr. José Aversa, Archbishop of Sardés and Apostolic Delegate of Cuba and Porto Rico, assisted by the bishops of Havana and Camaguey, February 24, 1907. He arrived in Porto Rico and took possession of his diocese March 6, 1907. On March 4, 1908, he authorized the transferral of the remains of Juan Ponce de León from the former monastery of St. Thomas Aquinas, today the parish church of San José, to the cathedral, which transfer was carried out August 12, 1908, in solemn procession, by all the city, in symbolic celebration of the fourth centenary of that famous day on which Christian civilization began in Porto Rico. On September 29, 1910, in his cathedral. Bishop Mgr. Vuylsteke, Dutch Dominican, appointed to the See of Curaçao was consecrated. The consecration was performed by Archbishop Aversa, who

happened to be in Porto Rico, assisted by Mgr. Jones and Mgr. Berrios. In 1911 the bishop erected as a parish, with the title of San José, the former conventual church of St. Thomas Aquinas. On April 13, 1912 he embarked for New York to join the other pilgrims and travel to Rome to make the visit *ad limina*, which he accomplished with all felicity. He organized the celebration of the Fourth Centenary of the erection of this diocese, the oldest in America, with a magnificent civil-religious festival which began on Wednesday, the nineteenth of February, and ended on Tuesday, the fourth of March, 1913, the following prelates, invited by Bishop Jones, attending: His Eminence Cardinal Farley, Archbishop of New York; His Grace James H. Blenk, Archbishop of New Orleans and former Bishop of Porto Rico; His Excellency Sr. Don Francisco Barnada y Aguilar, Archbishop of Santiago de Cuba; Sr. Don Manuel Ruiz y Rodríguez, Bishop of Pinar del Río; Bishop John Edward Gunn, Bishop of Natchez; Rev. Fr. Tomás Lorente, vice-provincial of the Dominicans of New Orleans; and the suite corresponding to these prelates and high personages of the Catholic Church, who for the first time in the historic life of Porto Rico had been able to meet on this island at such a fortunate moment. On Tuesday, March 25, was erected and blessed by the Bishop the magnificent marble monument installed in the cathedral by the Spanish Club (Casino) of San Juan de Puerto Rico to guard the venerated remains of the conqueror, settler, and first governor of Porto Rico and discoverer and first governor (adelantado) of Florida and Bimini, the illustrious Ponce de León. On April 20, 1913, the Bishop blessed and handed over to the Carmelite Sisters of the Convent of San José of this city, who were temporarily in San Germán, their present convent of Santurce, which he had built for them, with all the conveniences and comfort that modern times demand. On May 15, 1913, he consecrated the beautiful Gothic chapel of the College of the Sacred Heart, established in Santurce. He re-established in January, 1915, the seminary suppressed during the previous episcopate, whereby he opened anew the doors of the Church to the sons of the island. Finally, becoming aware of the need of new constitutions by which to regulate this diocese, both because of the time which had passed since the last synod and because the change of sovereignty in Porto Rico implied a complete transformation in the ecclesiastical order, he conceived the idea of holding a diocesan synod, which was realized with all felicity and with the greatest success during the ninth, tenth, eleventh and twelfth of January of the present year (1917). This synod will fix for a long time the regimen which is to preside over all the acts of the ecclesiastical life of the diocese. This great prelate, who to his great intelligence and industry adds the most fortunate aptitude for economic questions, increased and assured the revenues of the Church which are rather slender in Porto Rico, and he has been able to arrange the income and expenditures in such a way that not only can all the parishes develop with a certain ease, but also in such a way as to permit him to provide for aged and poor priests, who find the most secure and kindly asylum in his episcopal palace, which has been converted by his noble generosity into the hospice for virtuous and infirm old age.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Virgin Islands of the United States of America. Historical and Descriptive, Commercial and Industrial Facts, Figures, and Resources. By Luther K. Zabriskie, formerly Vice-Consul of the United States of America at St. Thomas. New York: G. P. Putnam and Sons, 1918. Pp. xvii+339.

The former Vice-Consul has written a very pleasing and instructive volume on these much discussed islands. That the purely historical suffers in such close intimacy with the raw facts of imports and exports does not lessen the value of his work. Perhaps unconsciously, Mr. Zabriskie has given us the proper critique of his work in the quotation from Jourdan with which he prefaces his book: "Reader, let this little taste that I have given thee of the Summer Islands satisfie thee for the present . . . Hastie occasione of business doth make me write somewhat hastilie, and leave out many things which were fitte to be spoken of . . .". In spite of the superficial treatment given to the history of the islands, it must be admitted that we have in this volume the "first comprehensive treatise on the Virgin Islands of the United States of America," as the author not unjustly calls his book.

The Danish West Indies passed into the possession of the United States in March, 1917. A farewell Service at the Reformed Dutch Church on Sunday, February 18, 1917, was the requiem of Danish rule, and on Saturday, March 17, the official transfer was made at St. Thomas. The ceremony was somewhat spectacular, but something special was needed to gloss over the crude bargaining of the United States for these islands. The sale was attempted in 1867, but miscarried; forty years later, it failed again. The expression of opinion as given in the newspaper accounts of the day are significant of the public feeling aroused. One editor speaks of the "nightmare" that will no longer disturb them. There is a grim humour in the attitude taken by the United States Government from the day that Seward first proposed the purchase of the islands from Denmark, but the "bargain days in Islands" were over on March 17, 1917, and the many humiliations the American Government had caused came to an end. The Great War was needed to emphasize the necessity of possession. The "Farewell

to Dannebrog . . . Welcome to Old Glory" closed a regime of over two hundred and fifty years. "It is but natural," one observer wrote at the time, "that one's emotions on such an occasion should be stirred to their depths, and as the old flag came down, tears filled the eyes of our women, and strong, robust men shook as the tears rolled down their cheeks—it was a sad sight, cutting to the heart, made more solemn perhaps by the sound of the guns in the Royal salute, while the band played the Danish national anthem. But quickly ran up the Starry Banner, and again the hearts of the people were cheered. In deep hopes for the future they saw the Stars shine out."

The Virgin Islands of the United States of America, as their new official title reads, constitute some fifty or more independent islands. Columbus, we are told, named the islands after St. Ursula and her virgins. Only three of these are of sufficient importance either to the historian or to the commercial traveller. These are St. Thomas, St. John, and St. Croix. The history of Thomas begins with the arrival of Erik Smidt, the Dane, on March 30, 1666. Nearly two hundred years had passed since Columbus had sighted it, but beyond a few carvings on a rock, some stone chisels, and other trivial relics, all trace of the inhabitants up to Smidt's coming had disappeared. In 1701, Father Jean-Baptiste Labat, a Dominican missionary, visited the island, and with his *Nouveau Voyage aux îles Françaises de l'Amérique* (Paris, 1722), our first authentic history of the islands begins. From that date down to the sale, it is a record of great trade, numerous fleets of shipping vessels, colossal fortunes made and lost, and then a long period of lean years, when the beautiful harbor of St. Thomas lay deserted and the town of Charlotte Amalie slumbered, dreaming of the great days that were past. St. Croix is called the Garden of the West Indies. At one time it was the seat of government for the Danish West Indies. Discovered also by Columbus, we hear nothing of the island until 1625, when Dutch and English colonists came to the island. Its history and its fate have been closely identified with those of St. Thomas. The island of St. John was first formally taken possession of by Denmark in 1684, but colonists did not come until 1816, when the first came over from St. Thomas. The population of the three islands amounted in 1911 to 27,086. In 1791, the total population was 31,426, and

in 1835 the number had increased to 43,178. Since that date, a steady decrease in the population has taken place. The religious statistics contains the following figures: English-Episcopal, 9,050; Catholics, 7,369; Moravians, 5,543; Lutherans, 3,206; Methodists, 1,174; other, 744.

The purpose of the purchase can best be told in the report of Vice-Admiral Foster:

St. Thomas lies right in the track of all vessels from Europe, Brazil, the East Indies, and the Pacific Ocean bound to the West Indian Islands or to the Atlantic States. It is the point where all vessels coming from any of the above stations touch for supplies. It is a central point from which any or all of the West Indian islands can be assailed, while it is impervious to attack from landing parties, and can be fortified to any extent. The bay, on which lies the town of St. Thomas, is almost circular, the entrance being by a neck guarded by two heavy forts, which can be so strengthened and protected that no foreign power can ever hope to take it. St. Thomas is a small Gibraltar of itself and could not be attacked by a naval force. There would be no possibility of landing troops there, as the island is surrounded by reefs and breakers, and every point near which a vessel or boat could approach is a natural fortification and only requires guns, with little labour expended on fortified works. There is no harbour in the West Indies better fitted than St. Thomas for a naval station. Its harbour and that of St. John, and the harbour formed by Water Island, could contain all the vessels of the largest navy in the world, where they would be protected against an enemy. In fine, St. Thomas is the keystone to the arch of the West Indies. It commands them all. It is of more importance to us than to any other nation.

The book contains chapters on Steamer Service between the islands, Harbour Facilities, Imports and Exports, Banks, Currency, Sanitation and Public Works, Agriculture, Sugar Cane, and Manufactures. The last eight chapters deal with the Sale and Transfer of the Islands: "Few sections of the world," says the author, "provide more interesting material for the writing of books, but comparatively little use has been made of this material up to the present time." Mr. Zabriskie has written a very entertaining story out of these materials and has enhanced his book with many photographic illustrations. Here and there in his volume there is a reference to his material, but a list of sources and books for the student would have added value to his work. The historical student hopes that, in Jourdan's phrase, "ere it be long thou shalt have a larger relation thereof."

Santo Domingo: A Country with a Future. By Otto Schoenrich.
New York: Macmillan Co., 1918. Pp. xiv+418.

This rather pretentious book with its still more pretentious title: *Santo Domingo, a Country with a Future*, is badly disappointing. Mr. Schoenrich happens to have a personal acquaintance with Dominican affairs "derived from observation on several trips to the Dominican Republic and Haiti, from friendships formed with prominent Dominican families during a residence of many years in Latin America, and from experience as secretary to the special United States Commission to investigate the provincial condition of Santo Domingo in 1905, and as secretary to the Dominican Minister of Finance during the 1906 loan negotiations." This assuredly should have given the author, or rather, traveller, for his volume is written as one describes a country from the foreigner's viewpoint, an intimate and necessarily a sympathetic appreciation of the historical factors in Dominican history. The volume can be divided into two parts: an historical sketch from 1492 down to 1918, consisting of six chapters; and an ethico-social and topographical study in sixteen chapters. The historical sketch is a travesty. War, carnage, revolution, assassination, murder, ecclesiastical chicanery, exploitation of the Indians, and slavery, make up the story's prominent features. We have that elusive character, Father Boil, hurdling through the opening pages, insisting that sanguinary vengeance be taken for stealth on the part of the Indians, and conspiring with de Margarite to overthrow Diego Columbus. There are few words of commendation for anyone. Archbishop Nouel, of Santo Domingo, who became provisional President of the Dominican Republic in 1912, is, however, given credit for singleness of purpose, while in office. This first part of the volume gives the impression that Santo Domingo is a land without a creditable past, and one regrets the narrow view the author takes of its history, and especially of everything connected with the Catholic Church in the island.

This regret is heightened by the fact that the second half of the book is an excellent description of the island. The Dominican Republic is almost as large as New Hampshire and Vermont together, less than half the size of Cuba and more than five times

the size of Porto Rico. The island has never been carefully surveyed, nor have its geological formation and mineral wealth ever been thoroughly studied. The metals found most frequently are gold, copper, iron and coal. Very little mining has been done so far. The United States Commission of Inquiry to Santo Domingo reported in 1871: "The resources of the country are vast and various, and its products may be increased with scarcely any other limit than the labor expended upon them. . . Taken as a whole, this Republic is one of the most fertile regions on the face of the earth. The evidence of men well acquainted with the other West India Islands declares this to be naturally the richest of them all." Despite this, as Mr. Schoenrich points out, the country's wonderful resources are today in almost virgin condition; in the greater part of the Republic they remain untouched, and in the remainder the beginning of development has scarcely been made. Here and there the author spoils his description with facetious scenes: ". . . and at the great Azuta church I found a goat in the vestibule looking reverently in." The claim is made in the chapter on *The People*, that within a decade after its discovery by Columbus, the Spaniards had practically killed off the million natives they found there in 1493. "The vindictive Father Boil," who was "a nuisance," reappears in the chapter on Religion. The Inquisition is likewise brought on the scene, and we are told that "there are in the clerical body a number of black sheep far too fond of the pleasures of the flesh." Father Billini, the Vincent de Paul of Santo Domingo, is given praise that is exceptional in a book of this character. Occasionally statements such as this are met with: "The less educated people of the cities and most of the country people not only hold the priests in great respect, but are blindly superstitious. It is common to find crosses in the courtyards of country houses, placed here to keep evil spirits away. Frequently also, three crosses are seen in conspicuous places near the roadside or even in the middle of the road. They are supposed to propitiate the Almighty, and pious persons mumble prayers as they pass them." Evidently, the author has never travelled in European countries and does not recognize the *Calvaire* or its meaning. He assures us that another peculiarity of Dominican Catholicism is its tolerant attitude towards Freemasonry. "It is not unusual for persons who are recognized as

fervent Catholics to be at the same time enthusiastic masons." These statements can be understood in the light of the author's lack of perspective, and are excusable as evidences of a shallow grasp on his subject; but there can be no legitimate excuse for the assertion that: "As in Spanish colonies, it was not the policy of the Spanish government in Santo Domingo to foster popular education." In the next sentence we are told of the establishment of the University of St. Thomas Aquinas in San Domingo City in 1558. There is a very interesting chapter on *The Remains of Columbus*, and the reader will find here for the first time a complete account of this controversy. The weight of evidence, the author holds, is strongly in favor of the Dominican contention. "It seems that, in spite of the acts of men, fate has permitted the remains of the Discoverer of America to repose in the principal Cathedral of the island he loved."

The author had an unusually attractive theme. He has not succeeded in contributing to the literature on Santo Domingo anything more than an ephemeral description of the people and of their romantic history.

The Life of John Cardinal McCloskey, First Prince of the Church in America, 1810-1885. By His Eminence John Cardinal Farley. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1918. Pp. vii +401.

It is now almost twenty years since the late Cardinal Archbishop of New York published the initial chapters of this Life of America's first Prince of the Church. Since that time, as he tells us in the Preface, the increasing demands of official life left him very little leisure for the work. From 1872 to 1884, the eminent author was Cardinal McCloskey's Secretary, and with true biographical instinct it was his custom during those twelve years to write down with little delay the records of conversations with Cardinal McCloskey and others. The result of this labor of love consists of several well-filled note-books and diaries, all of which were used in this biography. For the part taken by Cardinal McCloskey in the life of the Church in America during the forty years of his episcopate, the author personally searched or had searched the ecclesiastical archives of New York, Baltimore, Albany, Newark, Rochester, and Buffalo. Cardinal McCloskey

preserved very few of his own personal papers and hence the letters and incidents collected by the author have an added value because of their rarity.

The volume is divided into nine chapters, dealing successively with the Cardinal's early years in New York, his student days at Mount St. Mary's and in Rome, his years in the Vineyard of New York, where he was pastor of old St. Joseph's and President of St. John's College, Fordham, his elevation to the coadjutor-bishopric of New York during the middle years of Archbishop Hughes' occupancy of that great See, the seventeen years he spent as first Bishop of Albany, his succession to Archbishop Hughes in 1864, his elevation to the College of Cardinals in 1875, and his death in 1885, with a final chapter devoted to his inner life.

The underlying principles of John McCloskey's life as a boy, a collegian, a seminarian, a priest and bishop, were a loyal attachment to the Church and a childlike love for the Presence of God. His humility was obvious to all except to himself. "His modesty of speech, his benignity of manner, his great personal simplicity of heart, may not be to the eyes of the world," we are told, "the outward dress of a fearless and uncompromising disciplinarian or of a strong masterly personality in affairs of the Church and State. His dislike for public display and his careful avoidance of everything that might bring him before the public gaze are probably the most salient aspects of his character." His retiring disposition, however, did not exclude him from taking a very active part in all the important movements of the Church during those difficult years of reconstruction after the Civil War. He was undoubtedly one of the most prominent figures at the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore in 1866. Although the youngest Archbishop present, he was chosen to preach the opening sermon. Cardinal Gibbons describes the scene in his *Retrospect of Fifty Years* and relates the fact that a few moments before Archbishop McCloskey ascended the pulpit, a telegram was handed to him announcing the destruction of his Cathedral in New York by fire. "His Eminence preached in his usual tranquil and unruffled manner," writes Cardinal Gibbons, "and when I expressed to him the next morning my surprise at his composure, he replied: 'The damage was done, and I could not undo it.'" All the prelates present at the Council regarded Cardinal McCloskey as a man of

uncommon prudence and judgment. Possibly his most far-reaching part in the Council was his appeal for the foundation of the Catholic University of America which came into being a generation later.

It is highly significant of Cardinal McCloskey's independence of thought that he voted *non placet* at the Vatican Council on the question of papal infallibility. He was not opposed to the dogma of infallibility in itself, but declared himself against the expediency of defining it as an article of faith at that time. In speaking of the Vatican Council, Cardinal Gibbons, in his charming frankness of historical narrative, tells us in his *Retrospect*: "Never have I heard such plain speaking in my life; never have I seen men apparently more violently attached to their own opinions, nor less ready to give way to their opponents. There were times, indeed, when the excitement rose to fever heat, and when one was reminded of some of the earlier Councils, as, for instance, the Council of Chalcedon. But all the excitement was but the outward and visible manifestation of the burning zeal within, and when once the decision was taken and the Bull containing it promulgated, not one Bishop of that assembly forsook the See of Peter and the Catholic Church."

Bishop McQuaid, who was proverbially slow to praise, summed up Cardinal McCloskey's life in these words: "He was a prince among princes, a man of learning and of fine parts, and well adapted to smooth over the asperities of the past and quell opposition by the meekness and gentleness of his manner." Cardinal McCloskey occupied the See of New York at a time when the readjustments of life and thought after the Civil War required a most skilful guide and a prudent watcher on the Towers of Israel. His greatest success lay in harmonizing factors which threatened even then to become unmanageable and which indeed cast many shadows of unhappiness over the episcopate of his successor, Michael Augustine Corrigan.

The volume is well written and has been printed in excellent style, a credit to the publishers. Certain minor discrepancies and errors, typographical and otherwise, have crept in, but these can be corrected in a second edition. By a misspelling James "Fenwick," is given for the eminent architect Renwick, on page 348; a letter to Archbishop Hughes on page 198 is dated 1869, for 1859;

Dr. Pise is spoken of as Constantine Pise, he is usually known as Charles Constantine Pise; the date of Mrs. Seton's reception into the Church, as mentioned on page 13, is based on an uncertain calculation; and the well-known signature of James McMaster is minus the initial of his middle name Alphonsus, without which, the publicist never felt completely at home. In the Preface the Prince-Consort is mentioned as Tennyson's "King." These and other minor inaccuracies mar somewhat the excellent character of the book.

The best tribute in the volume to Cardinal McCloskey is as follows:

Cardinal McCloskey was above all, and through all, and in all, a man of God. He never sought the applause of the world or the honors of the Church. Life's great ends—peace of soul with God and preparation for the Kingdom above—were his constant thoughts. It was his to occupy the highest place within the gift of the Sovereign Pontiff. It was his to rule the great Archdiocese of New York, during those twenty years of reconstruction that followed the Civil War. It was his to conciliate opposing elements both within and without the Fold, at a time when both Church and State needed all their forces to cope with the tide of immigration which was flowing into the country. New York loomed large in those days on the social and political horizon of the United States; and to him, who by general consent was looked upon as the first citizen of the metropolis, came many of the heaviest burdens which then harassed our land. And yet no trouble ever robbed him of his soul's serenity. No difficulty ever marred the sweet tenderness of that face. He drew to himself all those that loved both God and the children of God. Thousands of unseen charities left his hands without the knowledge of anyone, even of those closest to him. There are living today some among the New York clergy, who were ordained by Cardinal McCloskey, and who hold his name in benediction. He is still remembered by all as a prelate who combined in a very remarkable way the high dignity of his office with the affectionate gentleness of a child.

It was these qualities of mind and heart which prompted the author to apply to Cardinal McCloskey the tribute Tennyson paid to Albert and to see in the dead Cardinal a constant wearing of "the white flower of a blameless life." Cardinal McCloskey lived a well-balanced life—one in which he used all the talents given him by the Creator as a divine gift placed in his hands for the betterment of his fellowmen and for his own eternal happiness.

California: The Name. By Ruth Putnam, with the collaboration of Herbert I. Priestley, Ph. D., University of California Publications in History, Vol. 4, No. 4. University of California, Berkeley, 1918. Pp. 71.

When St. Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Society of Jesus lay convalescing at the Castle of Loyola, after the siege of Pampe-luna, he asked for some of the books on knight-errancy, chiefly the celebrated romance *Amadis de Gaul*. This was in the year 1521, and the romance in question was well-known for a century preceding that date. The equally famous sequel, *Las Sergas de Esplandian*, had been added by Montalvo about 1470, and it is highly probable that the whole book as we have it now was as well read by romantic spirits like Loyola, as Robinson Crusoe has been in our day. The saintly founder admitted that the idea of keeping a night-watch at Mont Serrat came to him from his recollection of the romance.

It is to this medieval novel that Miss Putnam directs her readers in her very entertaining story of the origin of the name: *California*.

Some fifty years ago Edward Everett Hale came upon the word California in Montalvo's sequel. In the *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society, of April, 1862, the conjecture was put forth that here at last was the origin of the name. The different surmises in the matter are described by the author in an Appendix. "If it be assumed," Miss Putnam writes, "that the name was taken bodily from *Las Sergas de Esplandian*, where did Montalvo find it, and, if he coined it, what were his materials?" One of the answers is that of Dr. George Davidson who examined the evidence in 1910. His paper on the *Origin and the meaning of the name "California"* appeared in the *Transactions and Proceedings* of the Geographical Society of the Pacific, of that year. His conclusion is that Dr. Hale's clue is the correct one. Dr. Davidson believed that Montalvo coined the word from Greek roots; but consultation with various Greek scholars does not result in the confirmation of this conjecture. Bancroft had another theory; and an anonymous writer in the *San Francisco Chronicle*, (June 19, 1893), holds that it comes from *Cal y forno*, *cal* meaning *lime*, and *forno*, an *oven* or *kiln*. Others hold that the origin of the word is to be seen in *Kalifat*, the Arabic for *province*. Still

another hypothesis would credit the word as coming from Caliphurnia, Caesar's wife. All these conjectures, even the last, are not above suspicion. Miss Putnam traces the use of the romance *Amadis de Gaul* and finds that it might have been known to the early Spanish explorers, and hence she inclines towards Dr. Hale's theory. The name came finally to be given to the whole Pacific Coast as it was then known: Lower California and Upper California. It is interesting to note that as late as 1679 the geography of the Two Californias was as obscure as the origin of the name. Urbano Cerri's *Relazione* to Pope Innocent XI, speaks of California as "a great Island in the South Sea." Until some other discovery is made, Miss Putnam's question: "Who did then put 'California' on the map?" (p. 345) will still have to be answered by Dr. Hale's theory.

Archbishop Purcell and the Archdiocese of Cincinnati. A Study based on Original Sources. By Sister Mary Agnes McCann, Ph.D. Washington, 1918. Pp. 107.

This dissertation was submitted to the Faculty of the Catholic Sisters College at the Catholic University of America, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy. It may justly be termed the first-fruits of the harvest the University is confident it will reap from the field of American Church History.

Sister Mary Agnes is not only the historian of her community, —the Daughters of Charity of Cincinnati, but will always have a prominent place among the historians of the Archdiocese, whose great metropolitan she describes so well in these pages. She has been fortunate in having lived for many years at one of the chief Catholic archives-centres of the United States—Mount St. Joseph on-the-Ohio, near Cincinnati.

John Baptist Purcell, first Archbishop of Cincinnati, was born at Mallow, County Cork, Ireland, on February 26, 1800. At the age of eighteen he left his parents and home and crossed the Atlantic to enter upon his studies for the priesthood. His first two years in Baltimore were spent as private tutor in one of the best families of that city. On May 20, 1820, he entered Mount St. Mary's College, Emmitsburg, as student and professor. Here he remained for three years, the companion of a group of students

and ecclesiastics who have left indelible tradition upon the American Church—Dubois, the President of the College, later Bishop of New York; Bruté, the saintly spiritual director of the students, who became Bishop of Vincennes; John McCloskey, the first Prince of the Church in America; Dr. Pise, who later became Chaplain of the United States Senate; John Hughes, first Archbishop of New York; and Father Michael de Burgo Egan, the beloved nephew of Bishop Egan of Philadelphia. Mother Seton, the Foundress of the American Daughters of Charity, was still living when he entered the Mount, as its alumni love to call it; and thus as a young man in his early twenties he came into intimate touch with those whose names will ever be linked with the actual formation of Catholic life in the United States. On March 1, 1822, young Purcell accompanied Father Bruté to France, where he continued his course of theology at the Seminary of St. Sulpice, in Paris. Ordained to the priesthood on May 21, 1826, he returned to the United States in 1827, accompanied by a future Archbishop of Baltimore, Samuel Eccleston. Dr. Purcell first taught at the Mount, and in October, 1829, became President of the College. In 1833, he was consecrated Bishop of Cincinnati, succeeding Bishop Fenwick, O.P., Cincinnati's first Ordinary. The new bishop found Cincinnati a city of about thirty thousand inhabitants, most of them emigrants from the eastern States. For a man of culture and erudition, as Bishop Purcell undoubtedly was, the most pleasant surprise of all was the high standard of education which even then prevailed in the State. The Sisters of Charity, with whose fortunes his name is inseparably connected, had opened a free school in Cincinnati in 1829; and in 1830, the Dominican Sisters had begun another in Somerset, Ohio. Literary culture flourished on all sides, and Bishop Purcell quickly became its foremost exponent. One of the most salient events of his episcopate is his controversy or religious debate with Mr. Alexander Campbell. The history of the Purcell-Campbell Debate, which was published at Cincinnati in 1837, was to be found in the old days on almost every Catholic bookshelf. Nowadays it is forgotten, and one rarely comes across the volume. Cincinnati was erected into a metropolitan See in August, 1850, and Bishop Purcell became its first Archbishop, receiving the Pallium from the hands of Pope Pius IX, in Rome.

It is unfortunate that his long years as Archbishop (1850-1883) have been clouded by the serious financial disaster which threatened for a time materially to cripple the Church in Ohio. The author's explanation of this tragedy is as follows:

The Archbishop had always been opposed to the care of money and Father Purcell [his brother] a man of very high literary taste, shunned such responsibility, but during the financial panic of 1837, when there was almost a universal suspension of payments by banks and a general distrust of the money market, the sterling honesty of Archbishop Purcell and his brother, Father Edward, had induced thousands of their fellow-citizens to urge them to receive deposits and use them for the needs of the diocese. In the days of the Civil War other sums were added and Father Purcell's notes promised 6 per cent., the legal interest in Ohio.

In the period of reconstruction after the war, Father Purcell ceased taking loans and tried to free himself from the burden of earlier deposits, but the people insisted on leaving their money in his hands. Previous to the collapse of 1878-1879, there had been a series of financial crises, property had depreciated, and securities had lessened in value, so that, finally, when smaller banks, like those of Adae, Hemann, and Bussing, closed their doors, the people were thrown into a panic and a run was made on Father Purcell. In ordinary times, the affair might have been adjusted with less difficulty; for the priests of the diocese, the religious communities, the members of the hierarchy and individuals, immediately offered help. Collateral and property might have been converted into cash and debtors required to pay the amount of their loans, but panic reigned.

The Archbishop during all these years had left the care of the temporalities to his brother, reserving for himself, in particular, the moral, intellectual, and spiritual growth of his diocese; he now insisted on turning over everything available to the creditors. In the hope of doing justice to all, he made an assignment, affixing his name to the document at the Academy of Mount St. Vincent, Cedar Grove. John B. Mannix, Attorney, was the assignee; Charles Stuart and John Holland were witnesses. The Reverend Doctors Byrne and Callaghan were present as attendants of the Archbishop.

The assignee was the recipient of all the moneys, whether debts or donations. Eager to free the Archbishop from the weight of sorrow so suddenly thrust upon him and in the hope of relieving the diocese of its burden, he invested the money of the creditors in what seemed to him gilt-edged securities, but they proved worthless, and made the debt still heavier. The Court then appointed, as assignees, Judge Tafel and Attorney Miller, non-Catholics. Many complications followed, but no better results in the liquidation of the debt. By the persistent efforts of the clergy and the Archbishop's Counsel, order was brought out of chaos, true notes were separated from false, the Court came to a decision on the amount due and it was paid in a reasonable time, but not until it had cost

the diocese the lives of three men: Archbishop Purcell, Father Edward Purcell, and Doctor Francis Joseph Pabisch, the president of Mount St. Mary's of the West.

When the Archbishop, overwhelmed by the disaster and hoping some younger person might be appointed who could cope with the trouble sent his resignation to Rome in January, 1879, the Holy Father, Pope Leo XIII, through Cardinal Simeoni, announced on March 21, that he would not accept the resignation but would give a coadjutor. The Right Reverend William Henry Elder, Bishop of Natchez, was appointed Coadjutor Bishop of Avara and reached Cincinnati on March 3, 1880.

Fourteen years of litigation, at times bitter in the extreme, followed the financial crash of 1878, and with the help of his brethren in the episcopate, the debt was reduced and finally all was paid off during the administration of his successor, Archbishop William Henry Elder. Archbishop Purcell died on July 4, 1883.

Sister Mary Agnes' work is not, strictly speaking, a biography. That no doubt will come when she has had leisure to arrange the great collection of Church papers of which she is the custodian. But we have in her study an intelligent and careful use of letters and documents published here for the first time. Through these *Journals* and *Letters* from which she has culled so many interesting facts and side-lights for the story of the Church in Ohio, we are able to see how noble was the attitude of these pioneers who had to lay the foundation stones of a great archdiocese and how beautifully human they were in their dealings with all about them. A good working bibliography is added to the books, and before many months have passed it is hoped that we shall possess a complete *Life and Times of Archbishop Purcell*, worthy to be placed alongside her excellent study: *The History of Mother Seton's Daughters of Charity*.

NOTES AND COMMENT

With the cordial approbation of the Archbishop of Chicago, the Illinois Catholic Historical Society has issued the first number of its quarterly, the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*. Illinois is celebrating two great anniversaries this year: one, the centenary of the Statehood of Illinois, and the other, the seventy-fifth anniversary of the foundation of the Diocese of Chicago. A *Foreword* by Father Siedenburg, S. J., tells the reader that the need of an historical review is notably apparent in such States as California, Maryland and Illinois. "The glorious history of Catholic Illinois," he says, "has but few worshippers because for the most part, it is a hidden shrine. But those who knew some of its glories and were interested to know more, regretted that it did not have a medium to bring them to light." The founding of the Illinois Catholic Historical Society in February, 1918, brought into one association historical scholars and writers such as Father Gilbert Garraghan, S. J., Rev. Frederick Beuckmann, Rev. J. B. Culemans, and Mr. Joseph Thompson, who is editor-in-chief of the new Review. It was apparent to all that the present year of centennial was a propitious time in which to begin such a publication. It would be hard to signal any one of the articles of the first number as possessing more historic worth than the others. The whole number is valuable. Much of it is first hand. Father Garraghan's article on *Early Catholicity in Chicago (1673-1843)* is singularly worthy of merit, and will form a splendid contribution to local Catholic history when finished. Mr. Thompson furnishes two articles: one on *The Illinois Missions*, and the other on *Illinois' First Citizen—Pierre Gibault*. Father Beuckmann, who is rapidly making his name as the historian of his diocese, offers an interesting account of *Civil and Religious Jurisdiction in Illinois*. Two well-known historical scholars—Dr. Clarence W. Alvord and Mr. William Stetson Merrill—are among the contributors. *A Chronology of Missions and Churches in Illinois (1675-1844)* contains a list of all the Catholic centers and is a geographical guide to the growth of the Church in this section.

The problem of an historical review is complex in the extreme. Three things are necessary: writers, abundant material, financial support. It is notorious that at no period of Catholic historiography in this country were efforts of an historical nature adequately supported. Our two oldest Historical Societies, those of New York and of Philadelphia, would long since have ceased publication were it not for generous persons who support them. Today with the high cost of print-paper, of printing, and with the added charge for mailing, the financial aspect of such a venture seems to be a hazardous one. There will always be a limited number of paying subscribers. Interest in history is not widespread, interest in American history less, and interest in American Catholic history least of all. Publications of such eminent worth as the *American Historical Review* and the *Historical Outlook* cannot depend upon subscriptions to carry them along year by year. Comes the question of historical materials. That these exist in abundance for the old Illinois Country there is sufficient

evidence in the work already done by Dr. Alvord. What is of pressing importance is a group of scholarly writers trained in historical research and composition. It is idle to hope for a high standard of excellence unless those who are interested in historical work have also had training in historical method. It is this lack of training which gives an ephemeral character to most of the work done by Catholic writers of history. Many traditional pages have crept into the Book of Deeds of the Church in America, and there is no advance in reiterating them. Training cannot be had outside the historical laboratory. The master must be constantly with his disciples. *Primus inter pares* he must sit among them, developing each one according to his talents. If then great Catholic centers in the United States mean to reawaken the dead past as this group of scholars in Chicago is attempting for the archdiocese, it must look beyond its own circle for followers. And these followers must be trained. Every Catholic Historical Society should have a skilled archivist and librarian and one or two members on its editorial staff who have been trained in the school of historical methodology.

It would be interesting to know from what authentic source the Hon. Isaac Siegel of New York culled the following statement which was made in his speech on the Selective-Draft Law before the House of Representatives on April 15, 1918.

In 1805, when the treaty of peace [with France] was signed, Pius VII, who was then occupying St. Peter's chair in Rome, issued a statement to the world in which he said that the new Republic, the United States of America, had done more for humanity in that war than all the Christian nations of Europe put together. So you see, my friends, over one hundred years ago, when we were still a humble nation trying to uphold and maintain a fitting station among the free countries of the world, we were fighting the cause of humanity.

In Memoriam: The Clerical Bead Roll of the Diocese of Alton, Illinois, published by the Rev. A. Zurbonsen, pastor of the Immaculate Conception parish of Quincy, Ill., contains a brief biographical sketch of all the priests who worked in that part of the Illinois vineyard. Among the numerous ecclesiastics whose life and labors in the diocese are enshrined in this Book of Remembrance, the Rev. Augustine Tolton, the first colored priest in the United States deserves a place of prominence. He was born at Brush Creek, Missouri, on April 1, 1854. His parents moved to Quincy, Ill., in 1861, and Augustine Tolton was educated at St. Peter's parochial school and St. Francis' College. His unusual ability attracted attention and he was sent to the College of Propaganda Fide, Rome, where he was ordained to the priesthood on April 24, 1886. Father Tolton returned to Quincy, and was given charge of a parish made up entirely of the colored Catholics of the city. In 1889, he was transferred to St. Monica's Church, Chicago, where a larger field of activity awaited him. His unstinting zeal proved too much for a physique which had never been strong, and he died at the age of 43, on July 9, 1897.

The article: *The Historical Records of Scandinavians in America*, published in the *Minnesota History Bulletin* for May, 1918, brings to light the fact that in spite of all that has been written "this field has been but little cultivated." We need first of all the comprehensive collection of all the materials for the history of the Scandinavian element in the New World; and the writer suggests that the rich sources already known to scholars be assembled at some central depository. How valuable some of this material is, can be gathered from the fact that the only copy of Ole Nattestad's volume: *Beskrivelse over en Reise til Nordamerika, Begyndt den 8de April, 1837 og skrevet paa Skibet Hilda samt siden Fortsat paa Reisen op igjennem de Forende Stater i Nordamerika, af Ole Knudsen Nattestad Fra Nummedal*, published at Drammar, in 1839 (31 pp.), is in the Library of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Scholars were searching for this little pamphlet for years, when this copy was discovered in Norway in 1900. There is surely here a work of love for the Twin Cities of Minneapolis and St. Paul, since the great bulk of the Scandinavian population in the United States radiates from these two centers. Fortunately, the University of Minnesota has begun to cultivate the field of the Scandinavian countries, languages and literatures. The cooperation of the Minnesota Historical Society gives fine promise of successful monographs in this subject.

Father Arthur E. Jones, S. J., of St. Mary's College, Montreal, who died on January 19, 1918, was one of the most skilled archivists in America. He was associated with Dr. Thwaites in editing the *Jesuit Relations*, and made important contributions to that great series. His chief work was in connection with the Huron Missions and the *Fifth Annual Report* of the Department of Archives of Ontario contains the results of his long years of research under the general title *Huronnia*.

One of the best pages in *The Fortnightly Review* in recent years, is the well-written and instructive article by Father Rothensteiner *On The Writing of Parish Histories*. An appeal was made in the January (1916) number of the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW to all pastors who were celebrating the Golden Jubilee of their parishes that year to read the Rev. Dr. Cox's handy little volume: *How to Write the History of a Parish* (London, 1895). Dr. Cox wrote for England, where a wealth of topographical records, manuscripts and books exists for many of the pre-Reformation parishes. The American clergy will find in Father Rothensteiner's pages a number of valuable suggestions for this special sort of research work. Recently the Rev. Dr. Theobald Spetz, C.R., published a history, entitled: *The Catholic Church in Waterloo County*, a part of Hamilton Diocese in the Province of Quebec. Dean Harris contributes the Preface. "It is a pity," writes Dr. Spetz, "that someone had not undertaken this work fifteen or twenty years ago, when many of the old settlers were still alive." The work of writing a Parish History is not difficult, providing a strict adherence to a given method be kept. There are, generally speaking, three parts to the work: first, the collection of the material; secondly, the critical appraisal of the material; and thirdly, the actual work of composition and printing. In the

matter of collecting material, sufficient attention is not usually paid to the fact that persons in the parish may have newspaper clippings, photographs, letters, etc., which would give life to the past history of the locality; nor is sufficient attention given to oral tradition. The oldest parishioners have memories of the early days. These traditions could easily be controlled. Former pastors and assistants may throw light on little known events of the parish. The Parish History should not be written as if the congregation had lived apart from the civic community. Histories of the State and of the city or county often add material of value to the parochial setting. In gathering the facts from the source-material collected, the system of using uniform cards (five by eight inches) is the best. One fact only ought to be put on a card. The card should contain references to the sources from which this fact has been obtained, and all references should be full and exact. These cards can be arranged either in order of time, of place, or of subject-idea. The writer should read all around his subject. Facts need atmosphere in which to live. They should be seen in the light of current history. Accuracy is absolutely necessary. Where doubt exists, care should be taken to inform the reader. All facts should be tested. Even in such a small matter as dates, the utmost care is necessary. Recently, we were given a copy of a Parish History, written by a careful student; it was later controlled page by page by one who had spent many years in arranging a correct chronology of Catholic events in that part of the country. Every page that contained a date, needed correction by this second hand. Parish history is not a concatenation of religious events. No community is ever the same after the opening of a Catholic church or school. Even real estate men know that truth. And the parochial life should be seen through this civic prism. The story of educational efforts, of Catholic social action, and of civic movements should have a place in such a work. To write a Parish History may be more difficult than to collect the material necessary. The story should first be written chronologically without any attempt at style. The divisions into chapters or parts ought to be quite natural. Once the whole framework of the story is complete—complete in this sense, that it is a full and accurate account of the parish—embellishment may take place. There should be an Appendix of the more valuable documents, such as excerpts from the Church Records, and good photographs should be liberally scattered through the pages. A bibliography of all that has been written on the parish or on parish events will add to the value of such a volume. Lastly, there should be an Index. It is rare that one is found in this class of historical works. Copies of all Parish Histories should be sent to the Diocesan Chancery, to the local libraries, to the Library of Congress, to the libraries of all near-by institutions, and to the National Catholic library which has been inaugurated at the Catholic University of America.

In this connection may be mentioned with praise the *Memorial Sketch of Bishop William Louis Du Bourg and What His Coming meant in St. Louis*, compiled from original sources by the Rev. Dr. Souvay and Father Holweck—a booklet issued under the auspices of the Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis. Bishop Du Bourg won all hearts at once “by

his majestic presence combined with general humility and great kindliness of manner." Dr. Souvay's articles in the *REVIEW* on the early days of the Church in St. Louis are an evidence that a complete *Life of Bishop Du Bourg* is both possible and desirable.

The Missouri Historical Society Collections contain many papers for the student of the Catholic history of that State. Many interesting *Journals* have been published in the series, and there are several papers of permanent worth on the French *émigrés* of 1848. The Spanish days of Missouri history have been dealt with in more than one number of the Society's *Quarterly*. One important paper is that by Rev. J. J. Conway, S.J., on *The Beginnings of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction in the Archdiocese of St. Louis (1764-1776)*, published by the Society in 1897.

An Historical Sketch of St. Benedict's Parish, Atchison, Kansas, 1858-1908, by the Rev. Gerard Heinz, O.S.B., displays an intelligent advance over the *editio typica* which seems to dominate parochial historians in the United States. There are chapters of real interest on the *Baptismal Record* and the *First Pew Register*. The former is well described, and the method used by Father Heinz in tabulating its contents might serve as a model for all similar publications. Photographs of all persons and places of importance in and around the parish are given in the volume. An Index would have added prestige to the book.

At the Centennial Celebration of the State of Missouri, held at Columbia, Mo., on January 8, 1918, the Rev. John Rothsteiner, Secretary of the Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis, spoke upon *The Missouri Priest One Hundred Years Ago*. St. Louis was then a city of about two thousand inhabitants; and when the first bishop, Dr. Du Bourg, came to St. Louis, the Church that was to serve as his Cathedral was a little log structure, the episcopal residence a little stone house with two rooms, and the furniture was barely sufficient. Father Rothsteiner says:

How the Church has prospered during the century since his coming, how the great institutions of learning and charity, pre-eminently the Seminary of St. Mary's at the Barrens and the ever flourishing University of St. Louis, sprang into being under his fostering care, how the congregations multiplied and were served by a numerous and faithful clergy, how successive cathedrals reared their proud spires and domes to heaven, how the light of the gospel was carried out from his foundation to the Indians of the plains as far as the Rocky Mountains, how diocese after diocese was established within the wide territory once entrusted to his care, and how the Upper Louisiana of old has become, under God's Providence, the home of as many episcopal sees as there were parishes within its bounds one hundred years ago—all this is a matter of deep wonder and interest, and Bishop Du Bourg's influence can be traced in all its manifold currents. . . I hope I have shown what I set out to show: that our state is better, nobler, richer in the things of the mind, more prosperous because more upright and dutiful, more deserving of our love, and more deeply beloved for the ministry of the "*Missouri Priest, One Hundred Years Ago*."

Has the *Catholic Encyclopedia* answered the wants so strongly expressed by John Gilmary Shea some thirty years ago in an article entitled: *A National Catholic Library*, published in the *American Catholic Quarterly Review* for January, 1886? "The time will come," he says, "when utter ignorance of Catholic doctrine and Catholic Life will be considered disgraceful, but it is not so now; and men well informed in every other branch of knowledge except a knowledge of the religion of their own ancestors, every day with the utmost serenity gravely enunciate statements that a Catholic child could refute." Dr. Shea believed that what the country lacked was a central clearance house to which queries could come from all parts of the country, and the heart of this clearance house would be "a grand central Catholic library, to be gradually enriched with every work of merit in dogmatic, moral, mystic, and ascetic theology, biblical literature, and linguistic, patristics, liturgical and ceremonial, canon law, church history, hagiography, and biography." As a means of making the library useful to Catholics and others throughout the country, he says: "If our projected University [The Catholic University of America] were in operation, as we hope soon to see, a body of Fellows might be established attached to a great library, with a salary, whose duty it would be to make researches, answer queries, and where necessary send a work to the regular subscribers of the Library."

Thirty-two years have passed since Dr. Shea saw this noble vision. The "grand central Catholic library" has not yet come to the doors of America's greatest Catholic educational institution. "Some of our liberal-minded men ought to take up the question of the great University library as their especial part of this work, and leave its shelves loaded with the lore of the Church's nineteen centuries of existence, as the noblest monument to preserve their memory when they depart, and to hand down their name with honor to future generations. No family could wish or have a more enduring monument than a department in such a library, founded and maintained by it, bearing to all time the family names. In thousands of books that department would in time be referred to by name till its reputation was as wide as the Church itself." The Fellows spoken of by Dr. Shea have not yet begun to frequent the University campus, but the possibility of the Library is nearer than many suppose, and once the present war is over, there is every hope of seeing reared in majestic proportions a Library which will not only answer the purpose spoken of by the late eminent historian but serve in other ways to link Catholic thought and action with the Catholic University.

As a beginning of one department of this "grand central Catholic library," namely, the *National Catholic Library* which will contain all that has ever been printed on or about the Church in the United States, there has been recently installed in one of the large rooms of Divinity Hall the *Rev. Arthur T. Connolly Library of Americana*. There in one room are gathered some six thousand of the rarest books on American history, duplicate copies of which exist only in the British Museum and the Library of Congress. A catalogue of this valuable collection will be issued in due time. Meanwhile, historical students in the United States are welcome to its use. Queries will be gladly answered, and references or quotations made and verified. The *Connolly Library* as it will always be known, will also be the *Academy of American Church History*.

But to return to the *Catholic Encyclopedia*. So much has been said in its praise since the first volume of this great work appeared in 1907, that it is unnecessary to point out its splendid value for just such an emergency or series of emergencies described by Dr. Shea. But too little has been said of its value to the historian of the Church in the United States. Out of a possible ten thousand topics of persons, places, things, movements, etc., which ought to be found in a *Dictionary of American Catholic History*, the *Catholic Encyclopedia* contains almost three-fourths of that number. The *Index* is a mine of American Catholic historical facts, and a well-filled volume might be published containing in alphabetical order the articles dealing with American Catholic history.

One of the sad pages in Cardinal Farley's *Life of John Cardinal McCloskey*, is that which gives us an account of the apostasy of the Rev. John Murray Forbes, D. D. Dr. Forbes was born in New York in 1807, and graduated from Columbia College in 1827. Ordained to the Episcopal ministry in 1830, he soon became prominent in Episcopal circles and in 1834, was appointed Rector of St. Luke's, New York City. At the same time he taught Pastoral Theology in the General Theological Seminary. In 1849, he became a Catholic and after a year spent in preparation at the Fordham Seminary, was ordained to the Catholic priesthood by Cardinal (then Bishop) McCloskey, on November 16, 1850. His defection in October, 1859, caused a sensation in New York. His open letter to Archbishop Hughes, announcing his withdrawal from the Church does not state openly what cause or causes impelled him to make this decision, beyond the statement that he had not been able to sustain his Catholic convictions "in face of the fact that by it [communion with Rome] the natural rights of man and all individual liberty must be sacrificed, not only so, but the private conscience often violated, and one forced by silence, at least, to acquiesce in what is opposed to moral truth and virtue." Dr. Forbes died at Elizabeth, N. J., on October 11, 1885, at the age of seventy-nine.

Through the courtesy of the Librarian of the General Theological Seminary, we have been allowed to go over the files of *The Churchman* and the *Church Review*, in many numbers of which are references to Dr. Forbes. A history of the Seminary is being written by one of the professors and this will throw much light upon his later career. From 1869 to 1872, he was Dean of the Seminary. A citation from Dr. Forbes' inaugural to the Seminarians is interesting, if placed side-by-side with his letter to Archbishop Hughes: "You are now preparing yourselves," he says, "to become ministers of Christ's church. Begin, then, early to pursue the road which the Church dictates. You must no longer think your own thoughts, or form your own plans, but learn what the Church teaches and obey what she commands."

In none of our wars have the Catholic troops been so well cared for spiritually as in the present. With the sole exception of the French troops who aided in American Revolution, the regiments leaving our shores today for France and the regiments in training at home have the largest number, proportionately, of chaplains ever accompanying the American army. Recently, the indefatigable

Thomas F. Meehan wrote in *America* an article describing the efforts made to furnish chaplains to the soldiers during the Civil War. (*War-Time Notes about Archbishop Hughes*, in *America*, Vol. xix, pp. 12-13.) In some letters which have recently come into our keeping, there are several others touching on this problem. The first in order of time is from Archbishop Kenrick to Archbishop Hughes, dated Baltimore, April 26, 1861:

MOST REVD. AND DEAR SIR:

I have just received your favor of 22d inst. informing me of the fact, that one or more clergymen of your diocese accompany the troops to Washington in the capacity of chaplains. To enable them to exercise faculties in this diocese, I beg of you to accept the communication of all my faculties, and to communicate them at discretion. We all deplore the war which threatens to assume a frightful character. . . . Life is scarcely desirable if we are to witness the horrors of civil war. As yet we have suffered nothing here, as religion is not an element of the contest. Our citizens are somewhat recovered from the excitement and alarm caused by the unfortunate conflict of last Friday. Many Catholics are preparing by prayer and the sacraments for the danger which impends. I pray God to preserve the country from war.

Your devoted br. in Xt.,

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK.

The Most Reverend

The Archbishop of New York.

A second letter from Kenrick to Hughes, dated Baltimore, June 24, 1861, gives a mild reproof to a Northern chaplain who blessed a cannon. The gentle Archbishop of Baltimore feared that the priest in question was irregular *ex defectu lenitatis*. There is one letter in the series which does not touch on the question of chaplains, but which must one day be given a prominent page in the history of the Church during the Civil War; it is from Bishop Lynch of Charleston, dated August 4, 1861. He is surprised, he says at its conclusion, and somewhat ashamed "of the lengths to which my pen has run. But the night is hot, too hot for sleep. I arose from my couch, and have spent a couple of hours speaking to you as frankly and unreservedly, as you have ever kindly allowed me to do." A letter, dated Washington, D. C., October 21, 1861, the most valuable of all, is the one from Abraham Lincoln, published by Mr. Meehan in the article above-mentioned, the original of which is in our possession:

ARCHBISHOP HUGHES,

RT. REV. SIR:

I am sure you will pardon me if, in ignorance, I do not address you with technical correctness.

I find no law authorizing the appointment of Chaplains for our *hospitals*; and yet the services of chaplains are more needed, perhaps, in the hospitals than with the healthy soldiers in the field. With this view I have given a sort of *quasi* appointment (a copy of which I enclose) to each of three protestant ministers, who have accepted, and entered upon the duties.

If you perceive no objection, I will thank you to give me the name, or names, of one or more suitable persons of the Catholic Church, to whom I may with propriety, tender the same service.

Many thanks for your kind and judicious letters to Gov. Seward, and which he regularly allows me both the pleasure and the profit of perusing.

With the highest respect,

Your Obed. Servt.,

A. LINCOLN.

Accompanying the letter is a copy of the quasi-appointment; this also bears Abraham Lincoln's signature:

Executive Mansion,

Washington, 1861.

SIR:

Having been solicited by Christian Ministers and other pious people to appoint suitable persons to act as chaplains at the hospitals for our sick and wounded soldiers and feeling the intrinsic propriety of having such persons to so act, and yet believing there is no law conferring the power upon me to appoint them, I think fit to say that if you will voluntarily enter upon and perform the appropriate duties of such position, I will recommend that Congress make compensation therefor, at the same rate as Chaplains in the Army are compensated.

A. LINCOLN.

A letter from Archbishop Kenrick to Archbishop Hughes, dated Baltimore, September 23, 1862, speaks of the Sisters:

MOST REVD. AND DEAR SIR:

The Surgeon General is desirous of having the services of Sisters for the hospitals, as Major Garesché writes in date of yesterday. Emmitsburg can not furnish any more than already given. As you intimated last year that some from your diocese were ready to devote themselves to this good work, I would be grateful if you would correspond with him in order to make the necessary arrangements. It will be proper that the members of the various institutes have charge of separate hospitals. I write to Major Garesché by this mail to ask him to have the correspondence opened by the Surgeon General. A hospital is about to be opened on the Jesuit grounds near St. Aloysius'.

My brother states that Revd. P. J. Ryan declined accepting the commission of hospital chaplain, partly because it embraced all the hospitals in and about St. Louis, in which sick soldiers were found, and partly because it imposed the necessity of taking the oath of allegiance, which he was unwilling to take, not being disposed to be naturalized. He is a very respectable priest, conscientiously loyal.

The Sisters may experience difficulty in regard to their spiritual duties unless some arrangement be made for chaplains. These are generally Preachers. It is hard for the Sisters to hear Mass even on Sundays. The Surgeon General asked me some months ago to designate a priest for them, and took no notice of my request to have him appointed and provided for. The Jesuits will no doubt look to those who will be in charge of the St. Aloysius' hospital in Washington. Public notice has been given that no new Chaplains will be appointed. If a moderate addition were made to the allowance for the Sisters, it might be the least invidious mode of providing for the priest in attendance. I have the honor to remain, Most Revd. Dear Sir,

Your devoted br. in Xt.,

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK.

Reference has already been made in these pages to the account given by the Hon. Ambrose Kennedy, of Rhode Island, to the work done by the nuns of the battlefield during the Civil War.

The volumes by Hassard and by Kehoe, as Mr. Meehan tells us, have unfortunately long been out of print. "The copies still available in libraries would provide most instructive lessons of conduct just at present for all classes of patriotic citizens."

Catholic lovers of old Philadelphia history will be happy to possess a precious little volume: *Cobb's Creek in the Days of the Old Powder Mill*, by Dr. John W. Eckfeldt. The illustrations are almost as valuable as the text. Dr. Eckfeldt has been associated with the people of the valley for almost fifty years and he has been able to gather many interesting traditions of the old days when Cobb's Creek region was a thriving section of Catholics, many of whom, like Denis Kelly, attained renown beyond the range of hills that separated them from the outside world. The book contains a picture of St. Dennis' Church, the first Catholic church erected in Delaware County, which was built mainly through Mr. Kelly's generosity in 1825. The old powder mills along Cobb's Creek were turned into cloth mills about 1840. They helped furnish cloth to the Government during the Civil War. At present they are all abandoned; the mills have disappeared or are in ruins; the houses, with few exceptions, are gone, or fallen into decay. Only the lovely valley remains with its charming ravines and its avenues of noble trees.

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It is only after long deliberation that a plan has been decided upon for launching this much-needed work. We begin by publishing the bibliographies to be found at the end of all the articles in the *Catholic Encyclopedia* which treat of the Dioceses and Archdioceses of the United States. Part I of this bibliography was published in the July (1918) issue of the REVIEW. Copies of these pages will then be sent to all who are known to be students of American Church history, with the request that books be added. From time to time these completed lists will be reprinted in the REVIEW, and all those who assist in the work will be given credit for the same. For the present, the usual divisions of *Sources* and *Books* must be abandoned, and the final classification will be postponed until it is concluded that the lists as published are as exhaustive as possible. The scheme to be followed will be chronological, that is, the fourteen Provinces will be taken up in the order of their erection and under each Province or Archdiocese the Suffragan Bishoprics as they are at present will be placed, again in the order of their erection. Through the courtesy of the Editors of the *Catholic Encyclopedia* we are permitted to use their volumes for these purposes.

PART II

VII. PROVINCE OF SAN FRANCISCO (1840-1853)¹⁰

1. San Francisco (1853).

MANUSCRIPTS: In the Cathedral Archives, San Francisco—*Diary of Bishop Diego y Morena, continued by Archbishop Alemany; A. S. Taylor MSS.; Records of the Missions of San Francisco de Asis, San José, Santa Clara, San Francisco Solano, and San Rafael; Chancery Records.*

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¹⁰ Erected as Diocese of the Californias in 1840 and as the Archdiocese of San Francisco in 1853.

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¹⁸ Erected as the Vicariate of Marysville in 1861, as the Diocese of Grass Valley in 1868, and transferred to Sacramento in 1886.

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²¹ Erected as Diocese in 1808, and as Archdiocese in 1875.

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FOR THE STUDY OF THE CHURCH HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

Volume IV

JANUARY, 1919

Number 4

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VOLUME IV

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CATHOLIC LITERARY NEW YORK, 1800-1840

In the first volume of the *Memoir, Letters and Journals of Elizabeth Seton*, compiled by her grandson, Archbishop Robert Seton, there is a letter Mrs. Seton wrote from New York, in January, 1805, to her dear friend Amabilia Filicchi in Italy. "I have tried so many ways," she tells the Signora Filicchi, "to see Dr. O'Brien, who they say is the only Catholic priest in New York, where they say, too, Catholics are the offscouring of the people; indeed, somebody even said their congregation was a 'public nuisance'; but that troubles me not. The congregation of a city may be very shabby, yet very pleasing to God" (p. 210).

From her own social standing, what Mrs. Seton says in this letter may be taken as the reflection of the opinion in which the "genteel people" of New York then held their Catholic fellow-citizens. Although, in the rôle of a Knickerbocker Pepys, Philip Hone babbles about every possible local happening for half a century the pages of his famous *Diary* will be searched in vain for mention of a Catholic event or personage.

Not long after the date of Mrs. Seton's letter quoted above, Father Anthony Kohlmann, who had been sent to New York by Bishop Carroll to bring about an orderly organization of the new diocese, recorded, on November 8, 1808, that "the congregation chiefly consists of Irish, some hundreds of French and as many Germans, in all according to common estimation of 14,000 souls."¹ As a whole, it is true, they did not make a social figure of much distinction. Most of them were poor. But in proportion to their numerical and material standing they are very respectably in evidence on the local literary roll of the earlier years of the first half of the nineteenth century. That the general reading public

¹ *Historical Records and Studies*, Vol. i, pp. 207.

are not better acquainted with the names of this honorable list must be ascribed to the oft-condemned Protestant tradition with its Conspiracy of Silence, and largely also to our own inexcusable neglect.

One of the very earliest bits of history of local interest is the brief but priceless story the martyr Father Isaac Jogues, S.J., wrote of his visit to the Island of Manhattan in September, 1643.

Mathew Carey presided at the first convention of the publishers of the United States, which was held at the old City Hotel, on Broadway, in 1802, and in addressing them recommended "renewed meetings of a like nature as the most effective means for the promotion and diffusion of knowledge." Of course he lived in Philadelphia, but he was a Catholic, one of the leading publishers and publicists of the era, and the meeting was held in New York.

A year before this there arrived in New York from Ireland Thomas O'Connor, a son of Charles O'Connor of Mount Allen, County Roscommon, whose father was the famous antiquarian of the same name. Thomas O'Connor at first went up to Steuben County in a land-colonizing scheme with William Kernan, the founder of the Catholic family prominent for more than a century in central New York. This venture not proving successful, he returned to New York City. His son, the great jurist Charles O'Connor, was born in New York, January 22, 1804, and died May 12, 1884. In a letter written to Father Finotti, on February 25, 1867, from New York, he gives, for the *Bibliographia Catholica Americana* (pp. 209-210), these details about his father:

My father emigrated in 1801, and died in this city in 1855 at the age of eighty-five. I think he never aspired to the character of an author. He first resorted to his pen as a means of earning a scanty subsistence for his family. This must have been about the year 1811. He was connected with the press at intervals thenceforward until he reached a very advanced age.

War was declared against Great Britain, June 18, 1812. Samuel Woodworth, a printer, but subsequently well known as a poet, novelist and Swedenborgian preacher, at once commenced a weekly newspaper called the *War*. My father was its editor for two or three months. His connection with that paper then ceased; and in conjunction with Stephen Wall, a countryman of his, he edited for a couple of years, beginning September, 1812, a weekly paper called the *Military Monitor*. Sub-

quently he edited for two or three years, commencing in 1815, a weekly called the *Shamrock*. In January, 1819, he commenced the publication of a monthly magazine called the *Globe*. Its proprietors avowed no particular views, but its contents indicate that it was the *Shamrock* in a new form. Ireland and Catholicity were its leading topics. It lasted about a year. In May, 1824, I was admitted to the bar, and from that time my father had no business connection with the press, nor any resort to literature except to gratify some emotion of his heart. . . . He was brought up by his grandfather, "the Irish antiquarian." . . . He was a devoted Catholic, an enthusiastically patriotic Irishman, and as a necessary consequence was averse to the government of Britain and deeply attached to the republican institutions of his adopted country. These characteristics exhibit themselves in all his literary efforts. Whether employed in procuring bread for his family, or in the freely chosen pursuits of early leisure, his pen was always under the influence of these sentiments. It was ever directed in vindicating the fame of Ireland, the honor of our United American States, or the truth and purity of his cherished Mother, the Apostolic Church.

There is a slight mistake in this in regard to the *Shamrock*. The first issue of that paper was dated December 10, 1810, and it lasted until August 17, 1817. The honor of being the pioneer in Catholic American journalism is usually awarded to the famous Sulpician missionary, Father Gabriel Richard, under whose inspiration the *Michigan Essay or Impartial Observer* began its brief career in Detroit on August 31, 1809. The Rev. Dr. Paul J. Foik, C.S.C., in a monograph on the *Michigan Essay*, says of it, and of Father Richard:

His religious duties and the extent of his missionary labors did not enable him to give his time to the publishing and editing of this paper. . . . We have no conclusive evidence that more than one number was issued. . . . There is nothing in the first issue to indicate that the *Essay* was to be the mouthpiece of the Catholics of Michigan. . . . The most we can claim for the *Essay* then is that it was a semi-Catholic periodical.²

There is much in the career of Thomas O'Connor to warrant putting him forward as our first Catholic editor and the *Shamrock*, although not explicitly so called, as our first Catholic paper. It must be remembered that Irish and Catholic interests were then practically synonymous. It was the period of the opening of the great battle for Catholic Emancipation. What Charles

² *University of Notre Dame Studies, Historical Series*, Vol. i, No. i.

O'Connor tells of his father's work indicates the character of the *Shamrock*, which served as a model for most of the papers of its kind that followed it.

"The writer would add," said Bishop England of Charleston, S. C., speaking of his diocese, while on a visit to Dublin in 1832, "that during upwards of ten years he and his associates have at a very serious pecuniary loss, not to mention immense labor, published a weekly paper the *United States Catholic Miscellany* in which the cause of Ireland at home and of Irishmen abroad, and of the Catholic Church through the world, has been defended to the best of their ability." The Bishop puts "the cause of Ireland" first in the reasons for the existence of his paper, the first distinctively Catholic organ started in the United States.

Catholic controversy, and the progress of the movements for Catholic Emancipation and the repeal of the Union in Ireland take up the greatest part of the space of the papers printed in the United States for Catholic readers during most of the first half of the nineteenth century. Thomas O'Connor came across the Atlantic with the other exiles after the failure of the rebellion of the United Irishmen in 1798. In the *Shamrock* he had the good-will and active help of several of them who also had located in New York, notably of the great jurist, Thomas Addis Emmet, William Sampson and the only Catholic of the group, Dr. William James Macneven. Their contributions occasionally added to the interest of his own vigorous and forceful writings. In 1817, O'Connor compiled a history of the War of 1812 which ran through four editions in two years and was regarded as a very satisfactory outline of the conflict. It was a 12mo volume of 304 pages with the title: *An Impartial and Correct History of The War between the United States of America and Great Britain. Carefully compiled from official doc's. New York: Printed and published by John Low, at Shakespeare's Head, No. 17 Chatham Street.*

During 1822-23 O'Connor waged a vigorous war in the *Shamrock* against the Philadelphia Hoganite schism. He published, in 1825, a second book: *The Inquisition Examined by an Impartial Reviewer*, which was printed for him by his friend, Joseph Desnoues, of 23 Provost Street. Desnoues and Dr. Macneven also were connected with an educational enterprise,

l'École Économique, founded under the auspices of General Victor Moreau and the Baron Jean Guillaume Hyde de Neuville, then exiles in New York from their native France. The school had a fashionable vogue and Moreau and De Neuville lectured there daily. It was located first on Chapel Street (now West Broadway), between Duane and Reade Streets, and later in a large building with spacious grounds on Anthony (now Worth) Street. One of General Moreau's children died in New York during this period and was buried in the graveyard of old St. Patrick's Church, Mott Street.

The Moreau school was an important local institution that enlisted the support and influence of many wealthy men and especially of the French colony, which then included a number of high-born exiles from France and the West Indies. Bishop Cheverus of Boston was interested in it. It had a printing plant which Joseph Desnoues managed and turned out the text-books used by the pupils. When General Moreau went back to France in 1813, the school was taken over by Victor Bancel, a refugee from St. Domingo, who had started a school of his own in 1801 in Harrison Street.³ Another fashionable finishing school for young New York women was that managed by Madaine L. F. Binsse. These were ancestors of well-known New York Catholics of our own time. Louis Bancel Binsse will be remembered as prominent in every Catholic movement in the second half of the last century and as the last Consul General here of the Papal States. The mother of John Lafarge, author and painter, was Louise Josephine Binsse (de St. Victor).

After Louis XVIII was restored to the throne in France, Hyde de Neuville, who had gone back to his native land with Moreau, returned to New York as Minister Plenipotentiary of France to the United States, and he was delighted to find that the École Économique they had been instrumental in founding was still exerting a beneficial local influence.

The building up of the Church in New York was mainly done by Catholics of Irish birth or blood. We who claim that affiliation, must confess that at times we are a bit clannish, and therefore, because, no doubt, of the differences of language, customs

³*The Old Merchants of New York*, Vol. i, pp. 337 sq.

and training, the standing of the French Colony here has been neglected in some of our published records. When Bishop Dubois was chosen for the See, in 1826, his coming, it will be remembered was resented, because he was "a foreigner," in the estimation of the people who would have rejoiced had the Rev. Dr. John Power been named by the Holy Father.

Another one of the interesting figures in the New York of this period is the ex-minister Virgil Barber, who, after the conversion of himself and family by Father Benedict Fenwick, S.J., settled here in the fall of 1816 and opened a school at No. 24 Vesey Street, now the site of the *Evening Post* building. It lasted about a year and the subsequent history of this family makes one of the most extraordinary chapters in the chronicle of the many notable conversions of the time. He and his son Samuel became Jesuit priests; his wife a Visitation nun; the youngest of their three daughters joined the same community and the other two entered an Ursuline convent. Mrs. Barber, as Sister M. Augustine, was for two generations one of the successful educators of the Visitation schools in Washington, St. Louis and Mobile. She lived until January 1, 1860.⁴

Another Irish exile who came to New York in 1803 was Bernard Dornin, who has the distinction of being the first distinctively Catholic publisher in the United States. He located at Newburgh-on-the-Hudson, but soon came back to New York where he opened a book store at No. 136 Pearl Street, and, in 1807, published New York's first Catholic book, an edition of Pastorini's *History of the Christian Church*, which was followed the next year by Fletcher's *Reflections on the Spirit of Religious Controversy*. There is extant a list of 462 subscribers for these books, which now makes an interesting record of Catholics who then had a taste for solid reading matter. In 1823 John Doyle, also from Ireland, opened his book store which was long a local landmark at No. 237 Broadway, now part of the great Woolworth Building. His publications included prayer-books, controversial works and the first New York Catholic Bible (1833). His store was near St. Peter's and also Columbia College and for years was a popular literary rendezvous.

⁴ DE GOESBRIAND, *Catholic Memoirs of Vermont and New Hampshire*. Burlington, Vt., 1866

In December, 1808, Father Anthony Kohlmann, S.J., as has been noted, was sent by Bishop Carroll to take charge of Catholic New York, and incidentally Catholic literary New York benefited. He founded, soon after he was fairly well settled in the city, its first Catholic College, "The New York Literary Institution," which occupied an imposing old mansion on the present site of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Fifth Avenue. Writing of it in August, 1810, Father Kohlmann said, after a public examination of the students: "Everyone thinks that if the reputation of the house is kept up it will in a short time rivalize any college in the country. . . . We have the finest set of globes in America." One of the professors in this college, the Rev. James Wallace, S.J., published in 1812, through "Smith & Forman, at the Franklin Juvenile Bookstores, 195 and 213 Greenwich Street, New York," one of the first Jesuit contributions to exact science in America, "*A New Treatise on the use of the Globes and Practical Astronomy . . . the whole serving as an introduction to the Higher Astronomy and Natural Philosophy Designed for the instruction of youth and particularly adapted to the United States*. Other contributions in this special field were made by Dr. William James Macneven (1815) *Chemical Examination of the Mineral Water of Schooley's Mountain*; (1819) *Exposition of the Atomic Theory of Chemistry*. For three years, Dr. Macneven was one of the editors of the *Medical and Philosophical Journal*.

The record of the famous Keating case, in which Father Kohlmann was cited to court for refusing to disclose the secrets of the confessional, was published, in 1813, by William Sampson, who had appeared in defense of Father Kohlmann at the hearing of the case in the Recorder's Court. He gave it the title: *The Catholic Question in America*. Father Kohlmann added an appendix: *A True Exposition of the Doctrine of the Catholic Church Touching the Sacrament of Penance with the Ground on which this Doctrine is Founded*. The case occasioned the incorporation into the statute books of the State of New York of the prohibition of any violation of confidential communications to a spiritual adviser. The example of New York was later followed by other States. Sampson was not a Catholic, but he compiled the court records of the case as an expert reporter and Father Kohlmann gave them special value by his appendix.

Matthew Field, born in England of Irish parents, arrived in New York in 1815 and started a "library" for the publication and sale of books at No. 177 Bowery, near Delancey Street. In those days all booksellers had "libraries" as a part of their business and loaned books for a fee to their customers. Field's list enumerates a number of standard Catholic works. He published *The Catholic Laity's Directory to the Church Service with an Almanac for the year 1817*, the first of the long series of such manuals.⁵ He promised also a *Catholic Magazine*, but it did not materialize. His son, Joseph M. Field, was a brilliant and prolific contributor to current periodicals and a successful playwright. His daughter, Kate Field, was the journalist and lecturer who attained a national repute and popularity in later years.

Lorenzo Da Ponte was a literary celebrity abroad before he reached New York in 1805. From his native Italy he went to Vienna where he met Mozart and there wrote the libretti for the great musician's operas: "Don Giovanni," "La Nozze di Figaro" and "Cosi fan Tutti." He introduced the study of Dante here and was professor of Italian at Columbia College. In 1807 he published a compendium of his memoirs, subsequently expanded to three volumes (1829-30), which detail a rather variegated international career. Not much stress can be laid on his Catholic character, however. When he died, on August 17, 1838, at No. 91 Spring Street, he was buried in the old Eleventh Street cemetery. The grave was not marked. This cemetery was closed in 1848; at the time of the consecration of St. Patrick's Cathedral, during the Centenary celebrations of 1908, the bones and dust of such of those buried there as could be gathered up were transferred to Calvary Cemetery. No trace of Da Ponte was found. This Eleventh Street cemetery ground, in which, according to Archbishop Corrigan,⁶ there were from March 13, 1833, to August, 1848, a total of 41,016 interments, was sold for \$357,000, in November, 1912, except the northeast corner at Twelfth Street, where the Italian Church of Our Lady, Help of Christians, has been built. It was bought in August, 1832, for \$37,050, to be used as a cemetery because St. Patrick's graveyard in Mott

⁵ *Bibliographia Catholica Americana*, pp. 20, 21.

⁶ *Records and Studies*, Vol. i, p. 374.

Street, in which the first burials had been made in 1801, had become filled up. Archbishop Corrigan says there were 32,153 interments in St. Patrick's yard up to its close in March, 1833.

Da Ponte's daughter married Dr. Henry James Anderson, mathematician, scientist and philanthropist, one of the most noted converts to the Faith during the century. He died in his seventy-sixth year, on October 19, 1875, in India where he had gone to observe the transit of Venus. He was for a number of years the presiding officer of the St. Vincent de Paul Society in New York, and through his very generous gifts became one of the founders of St. Gabriel's Church and of the Good Shepherd Convent in New York, and of St. Elizabeth's Church, Fort Lee, New Jersey, where he is buried. For some time he edited the *Tablet*, and was a contributor to various Catholic periodicals and in demand as a lecturer. He became a Catholic in 1849 while on a visit to the astronomer Arago in France.

The first Italian opera sung in New York was Mozart's "Il Barbiere" presented by the Garcia troupe at the old Park Theatre in Park Row, opposite the present Post Office, on the evening of November 19, 1825. Da Ponte was present and the Garcia troupe was brought to New York in one of his own ships by the Catholic merchant, Dominick Lynch, Jr., who during his student days at Georgetown College recited, on February 22, 1799, the eulogy at the memorial exercises for the death of George Washington. In 1790 his father, Dominick Lynch, Sr., was one of the four laymen who signed the address of congratulation to Washington on his inauguration as our first President.

Dominick Lynch, Jr., lived at No. 1 Greenwich Street, and it was there that the prima donna of the opera company, Maria Garcia, better known later as Madame Malibran, the greatest singer of her day, first sang in New York.

"For this advantageous accession to the resources of mental gratification we are indebted to the taste and refinement of Dominick Lynch," says Dr. J. M. Francis in his *Old New York* (pp. 254-55):

. . . Lynch, a native of New York, was the acknowledged head of the fashionable and festive board, a gentlemen of the *ton* and a melodist of great powers and exquisite taste. He had long striven to enhance the character of our music; he was the master of English song but he felt.

from his close cultivation of music and his knowledge of the genius of his countrymen that much was wanting and that more could be accomplished, and he sought out while in Europe an Italian troupe which his persuasive eloquence and the liberal spirit of Price led to embark for our shores where they arrived in November, 1825.

During her stay in New York Maria Garcia was married at St. Peter's to Eugene Malibran, a French merchant. The witnesses were Dominick Lynch and his social companions, John B. la Sala and Peter Harmony. La Sala was another Catholic merchant whose name is to be found among those promoting the interests of the Church during this constructive period. He saved the Visitation Convent in Washington from dissolution in 1822, when the community was in such dire want that it had been determined to close the school. He had three daughters, and wishing to place them in this school, he visited Washington to arrange the details. The poverty of the Sisters so moved him that he insisted on advancing them a sum of money sufficient to save the existence of the pioneer Catholic school for the higher education of women in the United States.⁷ The Lynchs, father and son, had a number of children, but most of them made mixed marriages and their descendants now are no longer of the Faith. The same must be said of the Harmonys, the Fields, the Dornins and others of the pioneer families.

New York's unique material prosperity and commercial pre-eminence begin about 1825 with the canal and railroad building era. With this came a great increase of the Catholic population and new demands for the conservation of their spiritual welfare. Bishop Connolly arrived in New York to take charge of the See, as its first resident ordinary, on November 24, 1815. He had about twenty-thousand souls under his jurisdiction which included all New York State and most of New Jersey, and but four priests to help him in a task that soon wore him out. He died at his residence, No. 512 Broadway, on February 5, 1825. For two years following the Diocese had, as its administrator, the Very Rev. Dr. John Power, who had come from his native Cork, Ireland, in 1819, to be the pastor of St. Peter's, Barclay Street, and the Bishop's vicar-general. Dr. Power had been a seminary

⁷LATHROP, *A Story of Courage*, pp. 223-225.

professor in Ireland. He was a fine preacher and a distinguished scholar, who may be set down as one of our very first advocates of the potency of the Apostolate of the Press. He might be canonized as the Patron of the Barclay Street known all over the English-speaking world as the center of the Catholic publishing trade of the United States. The pioneer publisher of the street was a now unknown Higgins who had his establishment at No. 16 (old number) in 1817, and there published the first Barclay Street volume: *Catholic Doctrine and Catholic Principles Explained. To which is added "The Conversion of the Duchess of York" written by Herself; and of "A. M. de Ramsay" by Archbishop Fénelon (1709) as given by Ramsay Himself.*

Could Barclay Street's record in Apologetics have a more substantial cornerstone? An edition of the same book was printed, round the corner, in 1811, at No. 59 Church Street, as part of the output of the printing plant Joseph Desnoues ran for General Moreau's École Économique. Dr. Power followed this, in 1824, by an edition of the New Testament to which a list of 742 subscribers now gives special value as a directory of Catholic New Yorkers of that day. A *History of the Holy Bible* and a *History of the New Testament*, both "from the French by J. Reeve," an English Jesuit, were published by J. Seymour at No. 49 John Street in 1814. The erratic Father William Taylor, styled by Archbishop Corrigan "an early example of 'Americanism,'" published in 1819 an unorthodox prayer-book, *The Christian's Monitor*, in the preface to which he announced:

to the Roman Catholics of this country my intention of causing to be published in this city an edition of the Douay translation of the Scriptures

but nothing came of it. With his prayer-book he published in a pamphlet a *Sermon on the Festival of St. Patrick the Apostle of Ireland* which he had preached in St. Patrick's Cathedral, on March 21, 1819. Another sermon pamphlet was that of a discourse, on Sunday, February 25, 1810, delivered for the benefit of the City Dispensary by the Rev. B. J. Fenwick, S.J., "Published by Williams & Whiting, at their Theological and Classical Bookstore, No. 118 Pearl Street, J. Seymour, printer." Neither the publishers nor the printer were Catholics.

¹*Records and Studies*, Vol. i, pt. ii, p. 216.

In 1825, Dr. Power influenced the inception of a weekly paper, the *Truth Teller*, the first number of which was issued on April 2 of that year with this imprint:

New York: Published regularly every Saturday by W. E. Andrews & Co., at the office of the *Truth Teller*, 95 Maiden Lane, where communications (post paid) are respectfully requested to be directed. Terms, four dollars per annum—payable half-yearly in advance.

There is not a word of local Catholic news in the paper until the sixth issue, May 7, when a notice is printed of a coming sermon by Dr. Power for the benefit of the orphan asylum. The imprint "W. E. Andrews & Co." disappears with this issue, and "Printed by the Proprietors George Pardow and William Denman at the office Collect opposite Canal Street" was substituted for it.

"W. E. Andrews" was the William Eusebius Andrews who was the indefatigable publisher of Catholic literature in London during Bishop Milner's time. The once so popular *End of Controversy* was among his publications. There is no record of his ever having been in New York, and his connection with the *Truth Teller* is a mystery now unsolvable. George Pardow was a member of an old English Catholic family and came to New York from Birmingham in 1823. He was in the hardware business and dealt principally in needles, an important commodity of domestic use in those days. His store was at No. 95 Maiden Lane, the first office of the paper. He was among the first dealers in New York to sell the newly fashioned steel pens which in time superseded the old goose quills. His interest in the paper was sold in January, 1830, to William Denman, who continued as its owner until March, 1855, when he disposed of it to the proprietors of the *Irish American*, who then consolidated it with that paper.

George Pardow had four children, two sons, Gregory and Robert. They studied at Stonyhurst before the family emigrated to New York. Gregory became a priest of special promise but died in his thirty-fourth year, in 1838. Robert was the father of the Rev. William O'B. and the Rev. Robert Pardow, two Jesuits of our own time, and of their sisters, Mother Augusta and Mother Pauline Pardow of the Sacred Heart Congregation. Their aunts, Julia and Helen Pardow, were for many years Superiors of the Sacred Heart Convent and the Convent of Mercy in New York.

William Denman was born in Scotland, March 17, 1784, and claimed to have been in the British army before he came to New York, hence a title "Major" by which he was known locally. His early career is not recorded. He had no literary training or ability but became of political importance because of his connection with the *Truth Teller*, which supplied an organ of public opinion for the fast growing Catholic colony. He outlived all his day and generation. His last years, unknown and forgotten, he spent in the family of a generous friend, the late Mrs. James Coleman, a sister of the California "Bonanza millionaire," William O'Brien. He died September 12, 1870.

Denman did not lack for helpers to make up for his own literary deficiencies in the conducting of the *Truth Teller*. There was Dr. Power and his assistants, the Rev. Thomas C. Levins and the Rev. Joseph A. Schneller, both former members of the Jesuit community at Georgetown, D. C. Father Levins, who wrote over the pen-name of "Berkley MacAlpin," was a gifted and versatile controversialist. He had a testy temper, however, and a tendency to insubordination that got him into trouble with Bishop Dubois in a trustee squabble and he was suspended for several years. Father Schneller was an early and staunch advocate of Catholic education and by vigorous pamphlets and contributions to the press did much to refute the calumnies against Catholics circulated by the fanatics of that day.

Other contributors to the *Truth Teller* were Dr. William J. Macneven; Thomas S. Brady, one of the early schoolmasters, father of Judge John R. Brady and James T. Brady, the celebrated lawyer (Cardinal McCloskey was among his pupils); and another old classical schoolmaster, Patrick Sarsfield Casserly, whose *Latin Prosidy* and *Greek Reader* were extensively used for two generations. Several books of devotional reading were also compiled and edited by him. He came here from Ireland in 1824 and opened his school, which he called the "Chrestomathic Institution or Seminary for General Education," at No. 36 Cherry Street, in 1828. The venerable Thomas O'Connor was also always ready to battle for the Faith. The literary tradition of his family is continued today by his grandson, Dr. Thomas O'Connor Sloane, former editor of the *Scientific American* and more recent translator of Jorgensen's *St. Francis of Assisi*.

In time the *Truth Teller* became tainted with trusteeism, and Fathers Schneller and Levins, on October 5, 1833, started the *Weekly Register* as a rival to it. They had an efficient auxiliary in the Rev. Dr. Felix Varela, a Cuban driven here by political troubles in 1823. He had been a member of the Spanish Cortes as a delegate from Cuba. After a short time spent at St. Peter's, Dr. Varela organized Christ Church, Ann Street, with a new parish, the fourth in New York. "He was a solid theologian and wrote several works in his native language, which circulated extensively through Cuba and Spanish America, and in English contributed extensively to the Catholic papers and periodicals."⁹ He projected a Spanish periodical in New York, and was instrumental in the publication of the Catholic magazine for children which had a brief career of prosperity (1838-40). At the time of his death, February 18, 1853, he was pastor of the Church of the Transfiguration. His life, in Spanish, by J. J. Rodriguez, was published in 1878.

Another factor in these enterprises was the Rev. Dr. Charles Constantine Pise, preacher, poet and author, Chaplain to the United States Senate, the only priest ever attaining the honor of the Chaplaincy of Congress, to which he was appointed, on motion of Henry Clay, December 11, 1832. Before coming to New York, he had been a Jesuit novice at Georgetown and in Rome, but for domestic and family reasons had completed his theological course for ordination as a secular priest. He wrote two church histories, the lives of St. Ignatius and his companions, a popular novel, *Father Rowland*, a doctrinal work, several minor pamphlets, and a number of poems, among them the oft-quoted apostrophe to the American Flag.

In fact, he first endeavored to give the young Catholics of America reading which would be attractive and innocent. Like many good works, this at first found many assailants and borne down by the fierce criticism of Catholic reviewers, the publisher of these popular Catholic works was compelled to stop the publication. All, however, now admit the necessity of a literature of this kind, of which Dr. Pise must be considered the founder.¹⁰

⁹ SHEA, *The Catholic Church in the United States*, Vol. iii, p. 402.

¹⁰ SHEA, *op. cit.*, Vol. iii, pp. 407-408.

With Dr. Varcla and Father Schneller he edited the *Catholic Expositor*, a monthly magazine (1840-42), in which many of his own contributions appeared and which supplied a medium through which other Catholic writers had a chance to come before the public. Notable among these were John Augustus Shea and Charles James Cannon. The latter's first book, *Poems by a Proser*, appeared in 1831; *Facts, Feelings and Fancies*, 1835; *Oran the Outcast*, 1837; and a number of others, some of which were reprinted in England and one, *Father Felix*, was translated into French and German (1845). He was the literary adviser and editor for the Dunigan publishing concern and compiled a spelling-book and a series of school readers. He also wrote several plays—one, "The Oath of Office," for James W. Wallack, who produced it at the Bowery Theatre, then the leading play-house of the country.¹¹

Following the *Expositor*, what may be called the chapter of modern Catholic literary New York begins, but this period of metropolitan evolution will not be touched upon here. Enough has been set down in the rough outlines of the foregoing record to show that in the literary field, as in all else in culture and refinement that has gone to build up the New York that is the world capital of the Twentieth Century, Catholic activities have always been in evidence. The "Greenwich Village" section, now supposed to be the center of New York's Bohemian art and literary "life", was largely an Irish Catholic settlement of poor hard-working artisans in 1824. A disgraceful spirit of intolerance was rife in the city then, and on July 12, of that year, a procession of its anti-Catholic Orangemen marched up to the village and excited a riot there. Not the rioters, but a number of their victims, were arrested for the proceedings of the day. When these Catholics were brought to trial two months later the eloquent Thomas Addis Emmet was stirred to such indignation that, in their defense, he made one of his most impassioned addresses, denouncing the disgraceful intolerance then existing in New York and the great injustice the prisoners had suffered. As a result they were at once discharged. The Greenwich men, under the leadership of Charles O'Connor, then a young lawyer, as a token of

¹¹*The N. Y. Catholic News*, April 11, 1908.

their gratitude, presented Mr. Emmet with a silver pitcher on which was engraved:

Presented to Thomas Addis Emmet, Esq., as a slight testimonial of their respect and admiration for the Patriotism and talents displayed in his gratuitous defence of his Exiled Countrymen, from the assaults of Irish Orangemen, in America, by the Irishmen of the village of Greenwich whose cause and principles he advocated on that occasion in the Court of Sessions of New York for September, 1824.

The venerable Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet, the great jurist's Catholic grandson, still has that silver pitcher among the family treasures.

THOMAS F. MEEHAN,
New York City.

THE GALLIPOLIS COLONY

Midway down the current of the Ohio River, between Wheeling and Cincinnati, the traveler comes upon an apparently modern little city of some 5,000 souls that bears the peculiar name, Gallipolis, and is the county seat of Gallia County, Ohio. The classical scholar should hear the word before venturing to pronounce it, for the stress is not on "lip" as his instincts and the analogy of the similarly named European peninsula, now war-famed Gallipoli, would lead him to suppose, for this American City of the Gaul bears associations with La Belle France not less in its utterance than in its meaning. The accent is on the first and last syllables—Gàl-li-po-leèce. If one disembarks, unless he be a close observer, he will find little else to impress the ear or eye with the suspicion that the names of the city and of the county originated from other than the usual random selection; but on inquiry he will be informed by any child in the public playground that this was indeed once an old French city. The historians of the place will give him proper dates and names. On October 17th,¹ and shortly after, in 1790, a colony of 800 Frenchmen² and their families, led by the Marquis Lezay-Marnezia, Count de Barth de Walbach, the Baron de Breteche, and Pierre Charles DeHault DeLassus et DeLuziere, Knight of the Grand Cross of the Order of St. Michael, and many others of lofty titles, accompanied by several priests, arrived here in the heart of an illimitable wilderness to found homes for their offspring under the aegis of the new born liberty of the western world.

If the visitor is seen to be interested in ecclesiastical affairs, the information may be volunteered that the first Catholic bishop appointed by Rome for the United States was to have had his See at this place. Should the stranger show himself skeptical, it would be no difficult matter to put before him the same state-

¹ Some variants are given for the date, but October seventeenth is practically agreed upon. Laforge, for instance, says October twentieth; but his party was probably not among the first arrivals.

² Tardiveau, Audrain, and DeLassus say 800 families were at Gallipolis. The number that left France was much larger; the number that remained in Ohio as settlers was never nearly so large.

ment in the printed page.³ It may be found in a dozen or more Ohio journals and works of history and in almost any of the American Catholic periodicals that have been in existence for any considerable number of years. Nor is there wanting real evidence that such was the case. These stories are all founded on a brief statement that may be seen in the diary of Bishop Simon Gabriel Bruté, of Vincennes.⁴ The remarkable fact is that the tale kept its identity during its many tellings and did not grow into irrecognizable features. The Bishop of Vincennes met in France an Abbé Boisanantier, who told him with some circumstance of detail that he had been chosen Bishop of the Gallipolis colony even before that group of émigrés had departed for America. John Gilmary Shea and other careful historians sought for the name of Boisanantier among the documents in Rome, with such fruitless results that the tantalizing little bit of information given us about the Bishop of Gallipolis was losing its interest when the *Revue de Paris* in 1898 brought him from impending oblivion with just the meager additional item that his home was at St. Roch and that he was not the first but the second choice of the Ohio colonizers for the bishopric in America. Finally, in the July, 1916, issue of this REVIEW, the editor turns the white light of documentary evidence upon the scene, and our western bishop vanishes forever. We were here shown the petitions sent to Rome asking the mitre for Dom Didier, a Benedictine; and when he was granted a jurisdiction over the prospective immigrants less than episcopal, the same petitioners appeal to the Propaganda in favor of Boisanantier of St. Roch. No action was taken in regard to the latter request. Further, an examination of the dates of these letters from Paris to Rome shows that they were penned a few months subsequent to the issuance of the bulls that created John Carroll first bishop of the United States, November 6, 1789. No priority in episcopal honors may henceforth be claimed by Ohio, but it may be believed that the French colony may have had

³ The *Records of the Am. Cath. Hist. Soc.*, Vol. x, page 40, for instance, tell us: "At Gallipolis the colony had for its ecclesiastical head a bishop, the Abbé Boisanantier . . . and as chaplain . . . Dom Pierre Joseph Didier." WILLIAM G. SIBLEY in "*The French 500*," Chapter vi, similarly has Abbé Boisanantier actually appointed to the bishopric by Rome.

⁴ *Memoirs of . . . Simon William Gabriel Bruté*, by the Rt. Rev. James Roosevelt Bayley, New York, 1861.

something to do with the hastening of the appointment of Carroll. Rome at this period was keen to the happenings in the New World, and it is plausible that it felt for several months beforehand that such petitions as those for the Gallipolis bishopric were about to be urged and took measures in the interest of the native clergy to forestall them.

Shorn of its interest as a possible episcopal See, the Ohio French colony—if realities are of higher moment than merely contemplated dignities—may hold our attention as the first successful western Catholic colony. I say successful advisedly. Its success was not local. Little Catholicity remains in the town today, though it has a fair church⁵ and a worthy pastor. The city where Lord Baltimore planted the first seed of all American Catholicity, St. Mary's in Maryland, has not so much; an obscure Protestant female seminary is all that marks its site. John Smith's Jamestown, that grew to be Virginia and much more, is now but a swamp where the owl may hoot the moon with impunity through the moss-grown desolation. The good accomplished by the attempt to establish a city on the Ohio was similarly scattered abroad far and wide through the length and breadth of the nation, and they are impatient investigators who pass over Gallipolis in their study of American history because they find little on the spot to correspond with the sanguine hopes of its founders.

Neither the Catholic nor the secular historians of recent date who treat of the bewildering period of eight years that fall between the close of the American Revolution and the inauguration of Washington as President have quite overlooked the projected French city that was to have graced the banks of the Beautiful River. But it is everywhere touched upon as a digression rather than in its true light as an integral part of the series of events. Secular writers seem happy to be able to vary the gray monotony of their tales of Indian fights and congressional wranglings with this piece of bright French color, while Catholics apparently resent the intrusion of Parisian worldliness into the life of the primitive Church in America, overlooking the deeper and more

⁵ The writer takes occasion here to thank Father Lucius Kessler, recently pastor of Gallipolis, and Mrs. Naret and Mr. Sibley, who, at the Father's request, made him gifts of their books.

permanent good that came as a result in the final reckoning both in civil and ecclesiastical affairs.

Let us see how the creation of a French city on the banks of the Ohio in 1790 fits into the Catholic and national occurrences of that day.

The Church in America comes before us in a glance when we read the official report made by Father John Carroll, Prefect-Apostolic of the United States, to the Propaganda in 1785, just five years before the coming of the French, and it is a doleful panorama.⁶ The total number of the Catholic clergy in the thirteen states was twenty-four. Some of these were very far advanced in age, others delicate or worn out by incessant labor. There was no seminary, not even a Catholic school in the land. The total Catholic population was 24,500.

It is difficult today to grasp the paucity of these figures. One is inclined to imagine the condition of the little flock of Christ in America in the days of Carroll as strange, remote, and missionary, yet withal considerably better than that of the Church in China today. The Church in China has nearly 2,000,000 faithful children to Carroll's 25,000. It were fairer to compare it to the depths of the Dark Continent or to the plains of Thibet. For no other populous parts of the world are so far from civilization and the Church's bounteous influences.

Within a decade of years, the state of ecclesiastical affairs had undergone a complete transformation. Carroll was himself a bishop, and, although some of his co-workers had died, the number of his priests had doubled, and he found himself possessed of a body of clergy whose zeal, energy, and devotion will forever hold their memories bright in the annals of the whole Church. How did this come about? Our Macedonia had not cried for help. In fact, judging by some of Carroll's letters, it would seem that owing to the prevalence of Voltairian notions⁷ even among the clergy of Europe, he would have been afraid to have issued such a call. But a numerous and exemplary body of priests came. We usually find their coming explained by the formula: Father X was driven to America by the French Revolution. It is true the

⁶ SHEA, ii, 257, 259.

⁷ SHEA, ii, 286, 313. *Cath. Hist. Researches*, xv, 17.

French Revolution drove a great many French priests from their native land, but it had nothing to do with their coming to America. The present persecution in Mexico is not sending a numerous missionary band to Africa or to Thibet. The world was wide in the days of the French Revolution and there were other fields for French exiles to seek as a haven besides America, fields that might seem more inviting to royalist Catholics than a young Republic where less than one person in every hundred was of the faith. Bavaria, Spain, and England offered generous hospitality. Canada spoke the mother tongue, as did parts of the East and of the West Indies. The old Jesuit missions in the Orient, as well as those of the more remote parts of the two Americas, called in vain for priests. There seems no adequate explanation of the influences that attracted the émigrés to America other than the alluring prospects of the Scioto country of which Gallipolis was for so long a period to be the center and emporium.

The men whom this movement brought to America were to be of immense benefit to the nascent Church. They stand out as a distinct stratum in the structure of the formations that have made the American Church. The overflow from France completely submerged the native clergy, and nothing in our history is more unique and conspicuous than the presence of the French clergy in the period just subsequent to the era of Carroll. They occupied every one of the six episcopal Sees of the United States. There were no other bishops but Frenchmen: Maréchal ruled in Baltimore, Cheverus in Boston, Flaget and David in Bardstown, Dubois in New York, deBarth, not really French and not a bishop, in Philadelphia, while the wide reach of the Louisianas and Floridas was governed by Du Bourg.

At the period in which, according to Carroll's statement, the condition of the Church in America was so unpromising, political affairs were equally uncertain. To mention but one illustration, and one pertinent to our subject, the Treaty of Paris, by which American independence was acknowledged, had not yet become operative in Ohio or in the great stretch of territory to the north-west. It was eleven years after the signing of the Treaty of Paris before freedom reached the west. Not Yorktown but the victory of Wayne at the Maumee Rapids or the Fallen Timbers, in May, 1794, concluded the British control of the United States. British

garrisons were not only not withdrawn, but a new English fort was actually erected on indisputably American territory, a little below the present site of the city of Toledo, Ohio, and manned with British troops after the proclamation of peace.⁸ The Indians were so encouraged to resist the Americans north of the Ohio, that, while in 1787 the region south of that river was receiving thousands of immigrants yearly and was ripe for statehood, Marietta, the first organized settlement to the north of the river, was still in contemplation. Roosevelt in *The Winning of the West* holds this act of England as a darker deed of treachery than even the burning of the government buildings at Washington in the War of 1812-14. This fact is instanced to indicate some of the difficulties that confronted the sorry Congress which in those days met occasionally to debate on the common interests of the thirteen Free, but by no means United, States.

The civil conditions of the nation and the prospects of Catholicity were, however, by no means similar. For whereas the future of the Church looked foreboding, in the national life there were manifestations on all sides of almost uncontrollable activities. Wealth was flowing in many new streams of commerce; the bays were white with sails; the plowman sang with exulting hope as his ploughshare cut the virgin soil; the axes rang in the wildernesses of the west and the south and the north. All grades and stations of society were eagerly rushing after the opening opportunities. The veteran of the Revolution was alone unequal to the swift competition of the race for affluence. Driven to the wall on every hand, he got sulky one day and pointed his old flintlock through the windows of the Congressional Assembly at Philadelphia with the result that this body convened henceforth in another city where patriots had never been very numerous or dangerous. The old soldier, the western lands, and the public debt were among the questions demanding immediate congressional attention.

On July 5, 1787, there came riding into the city of New York, then the seat of Congress, a Congregational minister, the Rev Manasseh Cutler of Ipswich, Massachusetts, who had a project

⁸ *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publications*, *passim*; as an instance, Vol. xxvi, p. 106. ROOSEVELT, *The Winning of the West* (1902), iv, p. 97.

that promised at least a partial solution to each of these three difficulties at once. Cutler's grandchildren have given us an excellent biography of him, in which they include much of his diary; there is no other book of equal importance to the historian of early Ohio. They skilfully place as frontispiece a portrait that shows an earnest, calculating, yet kindly, patient countenance. The calm eyes catch one with their open confidence. If no name were affixed, one might guess both from the garment and the features that the picture represented a Christian Brother of the old French school. It shows a soul that clearly towered beyond the reach of ordinary storms of human passion; but our chapter of the book carries him into the whirlwind.

Cutler, together with Generals Rufus Putnam and Benjamin Tupper and leading men from every part of Massachusetts, had met some months before at the Bunch of Grapes Tavern in Boston and organized an "Ohio Company" with a capital stock of \$1,000,000.⁹ As a matter of fact the money invested was in continental certificates, the pay of the old soldiers of the Revolution, which were at the time worth but twelve cents on the dollar, so that the stock in reality amounted to only \$120,000; yet even this was an enormous sum at that date. Cutler was sent to New York to contract with the Board of the Treasury of the United States for 1,000,000 acres of Ohio lands for his \$1,000,000. We shall omit the details of the obstacles and discouragements he met while making his visits to each of the congressmen who were to empower the Board of the Treasury to enter the contract, as well as of the shrewdness and energy he displayed in securing a favorable hearing. When matters began to look hopeless, he encountered William Duer, the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, by whom he was received most graciously. Cutler's diary grows more enthusiastic over the wisdom and the wines of Duer than over all the victories of the Revolution in which he had taken an honorable part. No country yokel ever fell more completely under the spell of the confidence man of the circus than did our shrewd New England divine under the fascinations of this charming financier.

Duer urged the Massachusetts man to ask Congress not for

⁹*Life of Manasseh Cutler*, by W. P. & J. P. Cutler, Cincinnati, 1888.

1,000,000 acres merely, but for 5 or 6,000,000, the whole southeastern quarter of Ohio, a region that today would include the city of Columbus and stretch thence east and south over an area greater than that of the State of Massachusetts. It was agreed between these two that the greater portion of the land should be sold in Holland or other parts of Europe. In this agreement we catch the first faint beginning of the project that crystallized in the outcome into the Gallipolis colony.

It was to be urged on Congress that the old soldiers' certificates, which, as we have said, were worth but twelve cents on the dollar, would at once leap to par value, for the purchase of Ohio lands. Congress was won over, and it instructed the Board of the Treasury to sell as Cutler desired, but it was only long after the bargain was closed that our legislative body learned that it had been dealing with two companies rather than one. The Ohio Company, which was Cutler and a large part of the population of Massachusetts, secured the right of preëmption to a million acres in southeastern Ohio, about the present site of Marietta; and the Scioto Company, with which we are more nearly concerned, obtained first right to about 5,000,000 acres, of which the Scioto River was the western boundary. The chicanery by which this Scioto Company was brought into existence and carried into operation has stigmatized its originators as "swindlers";¹⁰ yet it must be said that General E. C. Dawes, one of Cutler's grandsons, has entered an excellent defense of his sire's integrity that has never been fully met, so far at least as the financial transactions go.

It might seem that Cutler's patriotism suffered a more severe shipwreck. For he planned to sell one of the strategic points of America in the markets of Holland and France, and this at a time when every settlement between the Ohio River and the Rocky Mountains was occupied by Frenchmen; and when, as he well

¹⁰Roosevelt says "a swindling land company"; McMASTER, in the *History of the People of the U. S.*, characterizes it a "most shameful piece of land jobbery." These condemnations sound like snap judgments and cannot stand before the careful analysis of documentary evidence made by General Dawes. Yet C. B. Todd's study of the case was also careful, and he calls the affair "a most disreputable business." It seems to the writer that not enough attention is given to the fact—which indicates sincerity—that in the crash of the scheme the originators were crushed financially as well as the emigrants.

knew, the Americans themselves to the south, in Kentucky, were, so to speak, on a pivot, vacillating between their allegiance to the Congress and some foreign power. But it may be said in his favor that the planting of the settlement at Marietta and of its bulwark and appanage, the colony at Gallipolis, was of paramount importance in holding the western domain to the Union. These colonial ventures sent the trend of public affairs in America in the right direction. They made Wayne's subsequent victory a necessary consequence. They did more. The keen statesman mind of the great Carroll of Carrollton¹¹ had pointed out that the ownership in common of the western lands would serve more than anything else to weld the thirteen disorganized states into a unity and a nation. Such proved to be the case. The little settlements west of Pennsylvania proved to be in a critical hour of our national history the real keystone that solidified and united the thirteen sovereign and independent governments of America. The fact that the federal congress was shown to have a source of revenue in the limitless western lands transformed the character of that body from a debating society into a truly national legislature. All this is said to show how deeply the currents of American history are tinged by the little French colony that stood foremost in the firing line of civilization's advance into the western wilderness.

The Scioto Company began operations in earnest by sending Joel Barlow to Paris with plenipotentiary powers to dispose of its rights to Ohio real estate. There seems to be much mystery as to who precisely constituted the Scioto Company, but it may be noted that in the Parisian deeds of sale issued by Barlow, the three persons, M. Cutler, W. Duer and W. Sargent, are designated "sole proprietors" of the marketed properties.¹² For some

¹¹"On September 13, 1783, Carroll offered a proposition, asserting that: 'The U. S. have succeeded to the sovereignty over the western territory, and are thereby vested as one undivided and independent nation with all and every power and right exercised by the King of Great Britain over said territory. [This territory] if cast into new states will tend to increase the happiness of mankind, by rendering the purchase of land easy, and the possession of liberty permanent.' " The biographer of Cutler comments on this far-seeing constructive proposition of Carroll: "This sounds like a *Declaration of Nationality* based upon a sovereign right over a vast domain, to be used for the common benefit, and governed as '*one undivided and independent nation.*' " (Italics Cutler's.) CUTLER, *o. c.*, p. 362.

¹²BEDOTZ, Chapter ii.

months Barlow worked with little success, but immediately after the fall of the Bastille a French corporation, which called itself "La Compagnie du Scioto,"¹³ negotiated a purchase at \$1.20 per acre of 3,000,000 acres from the American Scioto Company, with which it had no other identity save that of name. It began re-sell to prospective immigrants to America in small lots and with full rights of ownership, although of course it possessed itself only a right to preëmption. But the Compagnie du Scioto went out of existence after four months to make way for a more ambitious corporation, which is known as the "Company of the 24."¹⁴

This body took up the rights and obligations of the earlier concern in January, 1790; but in July of the same year, the DeBarth-Coquet Company is handling a part of the project.¹⁵ Each of these three organizations sent colonists to Ohio; but the Company of the 24 was by far the most active and important.

Its leading spirit was D'Espremesnil, and the idea of sending a bishop to Ohio seems to have been particularly his. Dom

¹³ La Compagnie du Scioto was made up of just eight persons: 1st, Joel Barlow; 2nd, an Englishman named William Playfair, author of the famous *Prospectus*, whom many writers blame severely. A letter of his in Sibley's "*The French 500*" puts him in a new light; it is not the letter of a rascal or a runaway. 3rd and 4th, M. Guilbert and M. Antoine St. Didier, both Parisian merchants; 5th, William Louis Joseph Chevalier de Coquelin; 6th, John Francis Noel Meheas, Comptroller of the Treasury of the King's Domain; 7th, Claude Odille Joseph Barond, Esquire; 8th, M. Louis Marthe, Marquis of Gouy D'Arcy, Chevalier, High Bailiff of the Sword, Member of the National Assembly. The name of M. Jean Antoine Chais de Soisson is often added to the list, but he was not of the company. He was merely an agent, the most active agent, it is true, and treasurer with powers of attorney.

¹⁴ The names of the members of the Company of the 24 are nowhere given in full. The list in the *Gallipolis Papers* (Van Wormer Library, Cincinnati), Box III, Book A, p. 265, wears all the marks of a guess. It reads: "At Paris, this 8th day of February, 1790. 1 Lezay-Marnezia; 2 Defreville; 3 DeMaubranche; 4 Bellon; 5 Duval d'Espremesnil (sic); 6 William Playfair, (pour 7 MM. de Vichy, 8 de Bondy, 9 Guerin); 10 Perrotin de Barmond (pour 11 Madame de Beauharnais); 12 Schwendt; 13 De Marnezia, fils; 14 De Barth Bourogne; 15 J. Barlow; 16 D. Smith; 17 Thiebaut; 18 DeBarth (pour MM. de Boulogne and Blondeau); 19 MM. Soulique; 20 Blondeau; 21 Duportail (pour 22 M. de la Valette); 23 Chais de Soisson; 24 Rochefontaine."

The article in the *Historical Records and Studies*, Vol. i, names 18 of the 24, only 9 of the names agreeing with the above catalogue. It adds the Marquis de Gaville; the Baron de la Breteche, MM. de Lally, Mounier, Malouet, Vanderbendin; de Quinsons, de Luziere, Madame de Laval. Some confusion has arisen owing to the similarity of the names of M. Bourogne, number 14 above, and M. Boulogne.

¹⁵ On July 22, 1790, this Company bought Barlow's preëmption. Francis M. J. DeBarth secures 50 shares for himself and his father; William Playfair keeps 30; Mark Anthony Coquet takes 10 and Louis Philip Douvalette 10.

Pierre Joseph Didier, of the Benedictine Congregation of St. Maur, was first choice. His brother's money was drawn into the colonial scheme, after which Rome is petitioned for the appointment of Abbé Boisanquier. It was complained that the Benedictine might prove a mercenary ecclesiastic and so injure the spiritual welfare of his flock. D'Espresmesnil had some charge against the Benedictine that he had taken more than he was warranted of the altar furniture and sacred vessels of his monastery. The real gravamen against him seems rather to have been that he had set out for America as a simple missionary priest, whereas the corporation wanted a bishop. A bishop would be so much better an advertisement. Fortunately for Father Didier's reputation, we have the testimony of the Papal Nuncio at Paris, given in confidence to Rome after he had heard all the details of the accusation, declaring that Didier was a good, religious man. The Nuncio refused to urge Boisanquier's appointment, among other reasons, because of the faculties already granted Didier.

Strange to say, these faculties were so conditioned that as a matter of fact they were no faculties¹⁶ at all. They recited that if the colony were to settle inside the United States—as, of course, it did—all faculties were to originate with the newly created Bishop of Baltimore; but if the colony were located outside the territory of the United States, Didier should have complete jurisdiction over his people. This meant that, if Quebec claimed jurisdiction over Ohio, Didier was independent. It may be noted that perhaps the only priest¹⁷ then ministering in Ohio was Rev. Edmund Burke, Vicar-General of the Diocese of Quebec, who kept on exercising the ministry in all those regions without the

¹⁶ A copy of the Faculties is in the Archives of Notre Dame University. The document reads: "The Sacred Congregation . . . agreed . . . that . . . Faculties . . . could be conceded to Father Didier . . . for seven years with complete jurisdiction over all the French who emigrate with him, on conditions that the lands and place where they shall locate their home and colony shall not be within the diocese of any bishop within the limits and government of the United States, which is completely under the jurisdiction of the Bishop lately appointed for Baltimore. Moreover, Father Didier can in no wise use the above faculties without the consent of the said bishop."

¹⁷ Was Father Burke the only priest ministering in Ohio? In Robin's *Nouveaux Voyages*, p. 17, Father Didier wrote that he met many American Catholics and baptized their children. "They see a priest but four times a year." Who was this priest?

shadow of a doubt of the validity of his jurisdiction until after the battle of the Fallen Timbers. He became Halifax's first bishop. After what has been said above of the British occupation of Ohio up to the time of General Wayne's successes, it will be clear from the phrasing of Didier's faculties that the Roman Curia was much better informed as to the political conditions in remotest America than those writers of today are who read a manifestation of Roman ignorance into the expression of the possibility that an Ohio colony might not be in the United States. It should be gratifying to Americans to observe that the faculties respected America's just rights fully. Didier as a consequence derived his powers from Bishop Carroll, who made him, moreover, a Vicar-General.

Meanwhile, Barlow and his associates were utilizing every method known to the publicity men of that period to bring before the attention of Paris and other parts of the continent the rare opportunities in the New World now awaiting the wary. Maps and pamphlets and topographical descriptions by American, British and French publishers were issued broadcast to make known the wonders of the riches of the forests and the soil and the mines of the Trans-Alleghany country. Two English companies had planned settlements on the Ohio¹⁸ before the American Revolution; their literature was requisitioned now. Cutler wrote an excellent *Description of the Soil and Products*¹⁹ which was translated into French. A work by St. John de Cr vecoeur. *The American Farmer*, written some years before, was resurrected and grew into wide popularity. Appleton's *Encyclopedia of Biography* blames this book for enticing 500 Frenchmen to an American wilderness, there to perish of hunger and cold. The records do not show that they met premature deaths in Ohio to

¹⁸ For an account of the earlier Ohio Company which merged into the Grand Association see Sparks' *Washington* ii, pp. 357, 483, and Franklin's *Works*, i, p. 339; iv, pp. 233, 302-380. In June, 1769, Thomas Walpole, Benjamin Franklin, J. Sargent and others asked for the Walpole Grant or Vandalia. It was 2,400,000 acres. Lord Hillsborough opposed the movement and lost his ministry as a result. The location was on the Kentucky side of the Ohio River, but both sides were then known as the Ohio country.

¹⁹ A complete and annotated translation of the *Description of the Soil* from French back into English is given in the *Ohio Archaeolog. and Hist. Publications*, Vol. iii, page 82.

any great extent, but D'Espremesnil and several others of the prime movers who remained in Paris were guillotined. Among these was Brissot de Warville, a sacrilegious demagogue, who won his first steps to notoriety by an attack on the Marquis de Chastelleux's *Travels in America*. But of all the writings, a pamphlet called the *Prospectus*,²⁰ issued by the Company of the 24, is given chief credit for starting an earnest sale of Scioto shares. The furore of interest in things American that Benjamin Franklin had occasioned before the Revolution was revived. The Scioto was a matter of discussion in the salons of the court and in the hovels of the canaille; disputes that began on the streets transferred themselves to the press, for there were not wanting parties of opposition who condemned the plan as visionary and unpatriotic. Caricatures were spread abroad to laugh the movement down. Camille Desmoulins wrote in vitrolic execration of the idea of transferring Frenchmen to the deserts of Ohio. No momentary outbursts of opponents could resist the persistent efforts of the agents of the promoters, and especially of Barlow, to attract the eyes of France to the wondrous land that west of the Alleghanies realized all the dreams of Telemachus. Barlow wrote to Duer in November, 1789, that "20,000 will be in those lands in 18 months." In the very next month his hopes and enthusiasm have so expanded that he was then counting on half a million going out to Ohio. "Five hundred thousand others," he says, "are preparing to leave." The news must have struck the American shores with consternation, when the population of all our American cities put together could not have reached half this figure. At the date of that letter, the furore for Ohio had not reached its apogee. One might wonder what Barlow would have written had he sent a reckoning of his expectations a few months later when the success of the affair seemed secured.

It would be fair to conjecture that this widespread knowledge of Ohio had some effect in arousing the generous minds of the French clergy to the needs of the savages and to the dangers to their own people in this new situation. But we are not left to conjecture. We know that the Sulpicians of Paris were pre-

²⁰ A rare copy of the *Prospectus* may be seen in the Van Wormer Library, Cincinnati.

pared to leave for Gallipolis. The Rev. Mr. Galais²¹ had been watching the course of events and had turned the minds of all to the new colony on the Ohio. Before starting, however, they were advised by the Papal Nuncio in Paris to consult the Rev. John Carroll, who was just at this time in England, there to receive consecration as the first American bishop. They did so, with the result that he was able to divert their attention from Gallipolis to Baltimore.²² The work these saintly men accomplished may be seen acknowledged in the *Sulpicians in the United States* by the late Charles G. Herbermann. His subject limits him to the good effected directly by the priests of St. Sulpice themselves. The work of those who came with them and at their suggestion is so far their work also and constitutes what might well be designated the *Gesta Dei per Francos* in the United States. For there were now added to Carroll's rapidly diminishing twenty-four priests the seven spiritual giants who were to fill all the American episcopal Sees, and the venerable F. C. Nagot, Michael Levadou, John Tessier, Anthony Garnier, Louis Cahier de Lavau, Francis Matignon, Gabriel Richard, Francis Ciquard, John Moranville, Donatien and John Olivier, J. F. Rivet, Michael Fournier, James Salmon, Peter Barriere, Wm. Barrel, Peter Babade, George de Perigny, Peter Joseph Didier, F. X. Brosius, M. Chicoisneau, Anthony Carles, and the seminarians, Badin, Tulloh, Floyd, De Montdesir, Caldwell, Perinault and Prince Gallitzin.

The editor of the *Catholic (Laity's) Directory* for 1822,²³ speaking of the labors of these men, says:

O truly fortunate revolution in France, every true Catholic in this country may exclaim, which has brought us so many edifying and enlightened instructors! There is no part of the United States that cannot bear witness to their zeal and that should not be eternally grateful! Where is the youth of a liberal education, sincere piety and correct

²¹ See *Am. Cath. Hist. Researches*, Vol. xiii, p. 41, for an early account of the coming of the Sulpicians, from a MS. in the Riggs Library of Georgetown University, in which Rev. Mr. Galais is given the credit of calling attention to the Ohio movement.

²² The Sulpicians were not the only clergy who appealed to Carroll during his stay in England. The Rev. Mr. Brosius wrote to him at Lulworth Castle from Louvain. Brosius was as a friend of Mr. Demetrius Smith (Prince Gallitzin), and of De Barth, an investor in Scioto stock.

²³ *Catholic Laity's Directory*, 1822, p. 103.

morals, who has not been formed by some one or more of the clergy of France, emigrants to this country? Where is the College or Catholic establishment that has not been or is not now under their direction? They have taught our youth, they have instructed and enlightened our people, they have directed thousands in the way of heaven . . . to say all in one word, . . . for these twenty-five years back, they have contributed—principally contributed—to render the Church in this country what it now is.

If, as is indisputable, it was not the Revolution in France, but the scheme of a French colony on the Ohio that led this goodly company to American shores rather than to any other part of the wide earth, it would be more just, if one could rise to the rhapsodical mood of this writer, to exclaim: "Oh, fortunate Scioto colony that brought America so many instructors, etc."

The Sulpicians who came in 1791, were not the first arrivals in America. There have been some confusing claims of priority, which are easily explained when it is recalled that three different French corporations sent delegations, in each of which there naturally was a band or company that was the first. Some individuals, too, very probably came before there was an organization of corporations in the mother country. But early in 1790, a fleet of worthless little vessels began to appear at Havre de Grace for the purpose of transporting the emigrants, who had been waiting impatiently there for weeks, and, in the case of some, for months to embark. What seems to have been the first boat²⁴ to set sail with a cargo exclusively destined for the Scioto went to the bottom of the Atlantic in mid-ocean. There was no collision nor any unusually violent storm, but the old hulk sprang a leak, and crew and passengers worked at the pumps until most gave up from exhaustion and the rest from despair. There was one bright feature about the catastrophe: not a few, who had not done so for years, began to pray, a happy omen for their life in the new surroundings. The prayer was heard. When every hope had been abandoned an English ship hove in sight and had time to take off every passenger, so that there was no loss even of a single life, though all the baggage went with the vessel to the bottom. Dr. Lemoine, who became one of the most highly

²⁴ The account of the crossing of the Atlantic follows Dr. Naret's story particularly.

esteemed men of the colony, was among the rescued. He lived to an old age in Washington, Pa. This party of survivors was landed at Amboy, New Jersey, whence they traveled by stage to Alexandria, Virginia, the point of rendezvous. Hither in the course of the months came safely to port *La Liberté*, the *Lady Washington*, the *Nautilus*, the *Scarborough*, the *Recovery*, and the *Patriot*, and other ships whose names have not been preserved for us, each bearing the high hopes of pioneers eager to penetrate and conquer the wilderness. Some interesting details of the coming of the *Patriot* have been remembered. It came up the Potomac on a glorious day and, as it passed Mount Vernon, where America's very recently chosen first president was living, such salvoes of greeting and of genuine gladness were given as could never be forgotten. Two hundred and fifteen emigrants left France on the *Patriot*, as they were counted at the gang-plank. The number that disembarked at Alexandria was 218. Two babes were born on the high seas, and François Valodin, who lived to be one of the wealthiest men in Ohio, where his descendants flourish today, was discovered on board, a stowaway. Ships came from Nantes and other ports as well as Havre, and colonists, individually and in groups, kept on coming through many months. John B. Romaine Bureau arrived in Ohio two years after the earliest settlers.

The revelations that came to them at Alexandria might have shaken stouter hearts. The Marietta colony, which was to have prepared everything for their coming, had itself been besieged during the winter, not by savages alone but by smallpox and by famine.²⁸ Want of food would continue until the present crops could be gathered in. There could be no question then of crossing the mountains until the fall of the year. A delay from May until October entailed unexpected expenditure; but this might have been cheerfully borne, owing to the willing helpfulness of those well provided, were it not for a more serious disappointment. They now learned that their titles to the Ohio lands were invalid. The Ohio Company had not been able to pay Congress according to its contract, and as a consequence that Company's title, and with it all claims of the Scioto Company, lapsed. Representative

²⁸ These hardships are named by Carpenter and Arthur, *Hist. of Ohio*, p. 97.

colonists were selected and deputed to visit the highest officers of the American government in New York city to obtain some redress or some compensatory benefit. They received kind words from men who had nothing else to offer. It must not be passed over that some writers understand the expression in Cutler's diary, "many of the first characters in America are interested in the Scioto Company," to signify that men in the very highest stations were stockholders. Though this was not the case, we may well believe that care was taken to secure their interest; for instance, in the maps of Ohio that were plentifully spread broadcast in Paris, the prospective first city of the great French colony is shown as if to be located opposite the mouth of the Kanawha River. This is not a good site, nor was it actually chosen; but it was adjacent to some 20,000 acres that belonged to a real estate dealer who even in those days thoroughly appreciated an unearned increment, and who could not but have been interested to see a thriving city spring up in close proximity to his lordly estate. This dealer in real estate was indeed one of the first characters in America; he was President of the nation, when the French delegates reached New York city to lay their grievance before him. His letter of regret to them has been sacredly preserved. It is idle to speculate as to how the other immigrants employed their six months of expectancy at Alexandria. Did none of them surmise that in a very short time the beautiful city of Washington would rise as if by magic from the fields just before them across the Potomac? Did the clergy visit Bishop Carroll, forty miles away in Baltimore? Did they take an interest in the structure of Georgetown College, which should have been finding its way above the ground on the hill-top, towering over them just at that date!

Another inconvenience, which the long delay at Alexandria entailed, one mentioned with pain by various of the contemporary chroniclers, was the defection of the laborers, whom the colonizers had brought with them in goodly numbers. Labor was in great demand on all sides, and in the months of uncertainty as to whether the colony would ever reach its contemplated location it is not strange that the laborers betook themselves to one or other of the brighter opportunities that were offered them. Who were these laborers? The fact that Lally Tollendal, a celebrated

Irishman, and perhaps de Dillon also, were active members of the Company of the 24 calls attention to a page of the *Prospectus*, which is not without its surprise. This page gives us an itemized estimate of the cost of bringing laborers to the colony; and the strange feature is that these laborers are not supposed to be obtained in France, but in Ireland.²⁶ Agents collecting laborers in Ireland will cost \$2,400, and the passage of 4,000 persons from Ireland to Virginia will require an expenditure of \$6,400, and from Virginia to Ohio, almost three times this figure.

This *Prospectus*, from which we have been quoting, was the norm of operation and was followed as far as possible in other details. Laborers were brought to Alexandria who seem not to have been intimately associated with the French. It is certain that the large Irish Catholic immigration to America began about this time. Was this its beginning? It may give substance to a theory that such was the case to note that at that period there came to America a man who might well have served as the French agent in Ireland, a man whose name is as sacred in Catholic memory in Missouri as any of her great bishops, John Mullanphy. He had been in the Irish brigade in the French service with Lally Tollendal. There is a family tradition²⁷ that he brought a colony of Irishmen to America. The tradition located them at Florissant, Missouri, near his home. But the Florissant Church Records, that have been preserved perfectly since the days of Dom Didier (of our colony) down to date, fail to show their presence. Still, the tradition is too distinct and definite to have been without foundation; persons are pointed out who are descendants of the colony. The evidence will not warrant a claim that Mullanphy was part of the Gallipolis movement, yet the page of the *Prospectus* opens a field for interesting investigation. It may be mentioned as a digression that Mullanphy followed the footsteps of the French in selecting his various homes, and that he was finally connected historically with one of the most prominent families of the "24." When St. Vrain, a son of DeLuziere, had failed time and time again in the American courts to secure a recognition of his title to an

²⁶ Bedote copies the whole page in which the Irish laborers are mentioned.

²⁷ See Lecture by Rev. H. B. MacMahon, S.J., *Mullanphy*, in the *Church Progress* (St. Louis), February 22 and two following issues, 1906.

immense estate in Missouri, he sold his rights to the land for about two cents an arpent to Mullanphy. This title was shortly afterwards recognized by the courts as valid, and Mullanphy became in consequence Missouri's first millionaire. He managed his great wealth as God's steward, and the high encomium that Bishop Carroll gives him in a letter to Bishop Troy in 1794²⁸ would have described him equally well at the hour of his death.

Inducements were held out not merely to the laborers but to the colonists themselves during their stay in Virginia to find homes elsewhere, and individuals at intervals yielded to the inviting prospects; but new arrivals from France kept their numbers from diminishing notably, so that there were still about eight hundred ready to march at the word of command in October. The journey across the Alleghanies was not a jaunt; still, owing to their numbers, it was free from Indian attack, and for this reason Frenchmen from Illinois returning home from eastern markets, Germans (probably Moravians), and Americans going to various Kentucky settlements, joined them. Only one accident occurred: a wagon rolled over the mountain side, and Madam Picard, one of the occupants, was seriously injured. The vanguard reached the Ohio River at Wellsburg, where one of the party indited a letter back to France—a wild apostrophe to liberty. Chateaubriand,²⁹ who came over with the Sulpicians, tells us how he leaped and screamed in the glow of liberty in the same wilderness a few years later. The adventurers sailed down the river in what were called arks. A contingent remained for a time as guests of the Marietta colonists at Marietta and at Fort Harmar, but the majority continued without stop to the mouth of the Chickamagua Creek, where a stockade of log houses had been built by the Scioto Company for them. It was such a pioneer camp as we see pictured everywhere in early western annals, the life of Father Nerinckx, or that of Boone or Lincoln. How eight hundred men, some of them with their families, managed to live in so small a compass, is almost inexplicable. That a large proportion of them remained in these confined quarters during several winters, without a conflagration, is a striking commentary on their prudence and care.

²⁸ The letter to Bishop Troy is in the *Am. Cath. Hist. Researches*, xiv, p. 17.

²⁹ See CHATEAUBRIAND, *Memoirs*, Vol. i, p. 218.

The Count de Barth de Walbach and his associates held themselves as a separate body and were very much distressed to find that a distinct settlement had not been prepared for them. They continued their course down the Ohio to where the city of Portsmouth³⁰ now stands and were surveying this site for a distinctively Catholic colony when the appearance, on the one hand, of General Harmar's defeated U. S. Army and of a hostile band of savages on the other, discouraged the project. The spot they had chosen was so exposed to savage attacks that it was known to the Kentuckians as the Slaughter House. The count had made special efforts before leaving Europe to secure the services of the Priests of the Christian Doctrine³¹ as directors of education, but without success. The failure is the more to be regretted for the reason that this worthy Congregation was five years later utterly extinguished by the Revolution. At this spot, according to Lezay-Marnesia, the sociologist of the party, a grand cathedral ought to be erected, a hospital under the management of the Sisters of St. Vincent de Paul opened, a printing press set in operation with M. Monvel as editor of the journal of the west, and a university established at once.

Almost the first act of the main body, who had landed at the stockade prepared for them, was the naming of their future city. They agreed to call it the City of the Gaul—Gallipolis.³² It was

³⁰This was in every way the wiser choice of site. In the first place it was not on the Ohio Company's land and consequently a second purchase would have insured possession. Then it was a strategic point. The Indians were holding it as such now. It commanded the way to Lake Erie as well as up and down the Ohio. These Indians, as a matter of fact, proved friendly to the French, whom as Laforge says (*Ohio Archaeol. and Hist. Pub.*, xxvi, p. 48), they called their fathers. But when Malartic and others were discovered fighting with the Americans and trying to kill the Indians, it was too much to expect of the latter that they should not retaliate.

³¹The Gallipolis Papers show (Vol. iii, A., p. 176) that on January 31, 1790, Marnesia and DeBarth were deputed to petition the Superior of the Priests of the Christian Doctrine for some of his clergy for the colony. On February 2, they report at length that the Superior cannot promise priests on such short notice, but will try to secure some other for whom he can vouch.

³²The naming may have been actually done somewhere en route; this is the first time the name is mentioned. The map used by the Scioto Company in Paris, located a city opposite the mouth of the Kanawha River, which is 4 miles northeast of Gallipolis. This was designated *Première Ville*. On this map, Marietta is written *Marianne*. Marie Antoinette, in whose honor Marietta was named, no doubt to please prospective French land purchasers, was probably waning in popularity in Paris when the map was made.

not till that moment that the name we have been using all through this paper came into existence. Forthwith they began to unload their effects and crowd them into the narrow limits of their home. Some trunks and boxes were destined never to be opened in Ohio, but not so those that contained their musical instruments. The night of their arrival was celebrated with a grand ball. The Puritans, who came from Marietta to show the way and those who had just built the lodgings, were scandalized by the frivolity of the Frenchmen and laughed at the childish buoyancy, a laugh that rings down the pages of Ohio story ever since. But it was some accomplishment to make the Puritan laugh. His heart opened and his fanaticism died of exposure. A peculiar gentle kindliness of manner that endures to this day hangs about Gallipolis, a kind of aroma that was brought from France with the smouldering embers of the fire of medieval charity, warming, comforting, and attractive. None have been able to resist it. The Spirit of God may yet breathe across these ashes and light there the torch of faith.

It would be proper to detail the ways of their busy lives up to the time when all their peculiar manners and customs yielded to the fashions of the other multiplying river-towns. These things have been dwelt upon at length by several writers—never well, but intelligibly. The division of the land, with the great common field as of first importance; their distribution of the public labors and their various private occupations; their elections of justices of the peace and other magistrates; their farming, stock raising, lumbering, salt-boiling, shipbuilding, their hunting of small and of large game; their attempts at mining, bee-keeping, vine-dressing, and domestication of the wild turkey; peculiarities of dress of men as well as of women; the religious and civil celebrations have been dwelt upon at length; but their personalities are more worthy of attention.

Nowhere in all the annals of American colonies is there offered a sharper contrast of light and shade in fact or in symbol than here, where old nobles and counts with their gentle ladies, right out of the most brilliant court the world has ever known, are translated, as if by some bad magic, to the uncouth haunts of savage men and beasts. There are not indeed any thieves or murderers among them, if one except the Count Malartic, a

professional warrior. No doors need locks. There are to be no deeds of violence. Lawsuits and quarrels, yes; these people are not all saints. One may find among them a specimen of that most odious degeneracy, the ex-priest, Fromentin,²² one day to become a member of the United States Senate representing the State of Louisiana. The yellow fever will sweep him and his paramour in one day before the court that has a right to judge. There, too, is Von Schrittz and his reputed wife, who will leave an illegitimate progeny to carry his shame down the ages. These bring out by contrast the worth and purity of their surroundings. To the Americans, the greatest wonder in the colony is Monsieur Duthiel, a farmer who always insists on giving too much of his wheat in every barter lest he might get the better of any of his neighbors. Death itself will stand in awe of Jean Baptiste Bertrand, who even in the days of famine will observe all the fasts of the Church, and by blandishments and by corporal punishments alike will see to it that even his grown offspring remain true to their faith. He will survive all the other men of Gallipolis, reaching the age of ninety-four in 1855. Standing winsomely beneath the arches of the wide wilderness, one might hear the sweet Mademoiselle Vimont humming the strains of sacred anthems she used to sing in the grand old Notre Dame of Paris; here is an Evangeline for the poets. Little boys and girls of tenderest years, playing in the bushes, meet at times the glaring eyes of the Shawnees or of the wild cats; here are babes in the woods for the painters. What is needed, what we do not find, is an individual, a man towering above all the rest; there is no hero, where all are brave. They stood together and time has levelled down their graves to a common surface. But what with good and bad, civilized and savage, wise and frivolous, age and infancy, English and French, the romancer has materials for a story that, by keeping close to the truth, will one day resurrect the old French city and make it the term of pilgrimages for their descendants scattered today from end to end of America like leaves that are blown by the blasts of October.

²² Fromentin's career is told briefly in the Appleton *Cyc. of Biog.*, and at length in *Cath. Hist. Researches*, Vol. xviii. It is a curious commentary on the politics of those days that this man, notoriously false to his principles, an ex-priest and ex-Jesuit, should have been chosen to the position of United States Senator.

The dispersal began early. Enticement to other settlements drew many away; fear of the Indians, now on the war-path, was no idle fancy, and contributed to all the other motives for departure; but the cause usually ascribed for the general dissipation of the colony was that even after they had paid a second time for their land their titles were still insecure, in fact, invalid. It is interesting to see how they penetrated at once into the remotest part of America. Little knots of them appear on the map from the Atlantic seaboard to civilization's last outposts in the Trans-Mississippi, and from Detroit and Canada to and across the Mexican border.

New towns springing up on either bank of the Ohio attracted some; especially Synmes's prosperous settlement, which we now call Cincinnati. Here B. J. de le Ture made his home, and Menessier began nearby an extensive experiment on vine-culture, for which he asked congressional aid. The county seat of Bourbon County, Kentucky, changed its name to Paris that it might seem more homelike, and here the Vimonts removed for a time. Jacquemine, LaViolette, and Marchand, with several of lesser note, attached themselves to the French colony at the Ohio Rapids (Louisville). The Indians carried some as captives to Detroit, like the child Joseph von Bebber, who may not really have been of our colony but living merely near it, and Malcher, the silversmith, who was surely of the colony. Trade carried others, like Audrain and Desnoyers. But they heard there the liquid tongue of dear old France, and none cared to return to the banks of the Ohio.

Dr. Lemoine settled at Washington, Pennsylvania. Marnesia bought 400 acres in the same state, and, to be another Romulus, he called the place Asylum. The name is still to be seen on the larger maps, on the Susquehanna River, about 10 miles below Towanda. Hither he brought his following, a large part of the colonists of the Company of the 24. Among them were the DuPonts, said to be the ancestors of the present New Jersey family of explosive fame. He established a pottery, and he wrote to D'Espremesnil to come to Pennsylvania and be rich and happy. The count did not accept his invitation, though it would surely have lengthened his days, for he fell beneath the axe of the executioner shortly after. Others aplenty heeded

Marnesia's calls. Refugees from the insurgent negroes of San Domingo came; and from France the Viscount de Noailles, the Marquis Antoine Omer Talon, and the Prince de Talleyrand took up residence on the Susquehanna. The future king, Louis Philippe, visited the place in 1796 and found it a hamlet of about 200 inhabitants. Several Catholic writers have touched on the sad story of Asylum,²⁴ yet none of them seem to have suspected that it was but an offshoot of the Gallipolis colony, until Herbermann made this clear beyond question. Almost every bad element in the Ohio settlement seems to have gathered about De Talleyrand, and an air of irreligion so enveloped the Asylum colony that the Catholic writers uniformly mention it with shame and sorrow. The notes of a dirge strike the reader in the concluding lines of DeCourcy's account of the once-Catholic families that gathered here; "and among the descendants of these at the present day (1857)," he says, "there is not a single Catholic."

The story has been made altogether too tragic. There was much good at Asylum. Here, among others less conspicuous for their rank and shining virtues, lived Captain John Keating, of one of the Irish regiments which fought under the banner of France for American independence. It might be debated whether his eminent worth ought not obliterate the memories of his tawdry fellow-townsmen. It will not, however, be discussed here; for he came from San Domingo and does not belong to our subject. But the Abbé Carles, who does belong to the Gallipolis pilgrims, also lived at Asylum and ministered faithfully there to the faithful. It is not the presence of these two and their adherents that wholly brightens the situation. The encouraging fact—which was overlooked by the writers just referred to—is that every one of the French families belonging to the Asylum colony returned

²⁴ Griffin's article in Vol. xviii of his *Researches*, and a monograph by J. W. Ingham, *Asylum*, published at Towanda, 1916, cover the matter of this paragraph. Ingham says, page 82: "When Napoleon assumed power, all Frenchmen were invited to return. . . . The postman who brought the glad news shouted the tidings. . . . The colonists were rapturous with joy. . . . Men hugged and kissed each other to the profound astonishment of the American beholders. . . . Most commenced making preparations to leave. . . . They did not all go at once . . . but as fast as they could dispose of their property."

"Only two (Mr. Homet and Laporte) remained at Asylum. Mr. Lefevre moved across the river to Lime Hill."

to France when Napoleon offered the return of their estates to the refugees. There were three men, already married to non-Catholic wives before the issuance of Napoleon's edict, who remained behind, and it was accordingly among the descendants of these three that DeCourcy failed to find a single Catholic. Few, if any of these, had ever had an opportunity to know the Catholic faith. Their descendants today treasure the recollection of their Catholic ancestry, and so recently as 1916 they erected a tablet in their honor.

Washington's Secretary of War, General Knox, went into the land speculation and with Duer and others acquired an immense stretch of territory in Maine. A large contingent from Gallipolis found their way thither, where, if we may believe a letter of one of their leaders, Bancel de Cougoulen, every kind of success began to smile upon their undertaking. Some became whalers, some lumbermen, some had fine farms with cattle and rich harvests. Fish was abundant, beef and even venison was cheap. Monvin, who was to have been editor of the newspaper at Portsmouth, Ohio, was sent by Knox to search for minerals on the Waldo estates. It is to be noted that it was at this period that the Abbé Ciquard began his long apostolate in these regions.

Count Joseph de Barth, Baron de Walbach, found many homes after leaving Ohio, but finally settled down in New Hampshire. It is difficult to follow him closely, but wherever he appears there is so true a devotion to duty to God and man in his views and actions that it is impossible he made no impress of Catholicity on the places where he sojourned. He left two sons who rose to prominence: the one is known in ecclesiastical history as Father DeBarth, who twice refused the mitre of Philadelphia, yet ruled that See as its Vicar-General for six years; the other is known in secular history as General Walbach, who rendered distinguished service to the country of his adoption during the War of 1812. Sarah Brownson, in her life of Prince Gallitzin thinks the prince was instrumental in bringing Father DeBarth to America. As DeBarth's father had been in America two years before the supposed inducement, the fact is likely transposed.

We mentioned the Abbé Carles, when speaking of Asylum. When that colony returned almost en masse to France, the Abbé remained behind in America. In the writings of Bishop England,

we read (iii, pp. 252-4) that the commencement of the Church in Georgia is to be dated to the coming of the Abbé Carles to a little group of Maryland Catholics which was, as it were, insulated from the currents of Catholic life in a colony about 50 miles from Augusta. The Abbé continued to labor in various parts of that State, until, broken down in health, he returned to France in 1819.

More powerful and no less effective inducements called the Frenchmen of Ohio to the south and west. The Marquis of Maison Rouge* obtained from the Spanish government a right to bring thirty families from Gallipolis to the Washita River in the northeastern part of the present State of Louisiana. Each white family (at least two persons) able to engage in agriculture was to receive 400 acres of land and \$200. Their baggage and implements, moreover, were to be brought down to Louisiana at the king's expense. Carpenters, blacksmiths and tradesmen were offered similar terms.

Philip Neri, Baron of Bastrop, a Prussian, was given a grant similar to that of the Baron, and not far distant. The town of Bastrop, county seat of Morehouse Parish, Louisiana, recalls his efforts. He was not altogether successful, and when Louisiana was sold to the United States in 1803, here moved to that part of Mexico which, owing in part to his action, we today call the State of Texas. For he not only brought his own colony with him, but he enabled Moses Austin to penetrate thither and remain, thus opening the dyke for the flood of Americans who followed. There is a Bastrop city and county, just south of Austin, the capital city of Texas. The planting of this heretical seed in the good soil of Catholic Spain ought scarcely to hold an honest place in the listing of the blessings sprinkled over America by the scattering of the Ohio emigrants. At the time of its occurrence and during the consequent war of '47, it would have seemed an evil wholly; but looking at the happy condition of Catholicity in Texas today as compared with its miserable plight across the Rio Grande, no apology need be given for the inclusion of Texas in our catalogue of regions blessed by the diaspora of Ohio.

* The *U. S. State Papers: Public Lands*, Vol. ii, p. 774, have splendid maps of the grants of Bastrop and Maison Rouge. These properties led to endless litigation.

More excuse is required for naming Illinois; for, although several writers mention this State, and particularly the old French city of Kaskaskia, as a haven for the newly arrived Frenchmen, disappointed with their Ohio home; yet a close inspection of the records of this State fails to disclose any of them. But a Kaskaskian, Barthelmi Tardiveau, took great interest in Gallipolis, and a letter³⁶ that he addressed in summer of 1792 to Count d'Aranda, the Prime Minister of Spain, concerns us so closely that it cannot be passed over. He says Spain has always been desirous of filling up this western country, but now there is a special urgency in erecting a barrier against the influx of bold Americans. Their rapid development in the west is alarming. Separated, he sapiently adds, from foreigners and especially from one another, they are docile and submissive to authority, and they are the ones to trouble themselves least about their independence. But let them form a body, although comparatively small, then, that instant, they desire to take possession of the reins of government. Coming to the point, he informs the Prime Minister that there is a body of Frenchmen on the Ohio River—the "Bella Ribera" he calls it—whose artisans and farmers are scattered and whose funds are being wasted; they have asked his advice about establishing a state on the Mississippi opposite the mouth of the Missouri. They plan to occupy so much territory that they may form of themselves one of the states of the United States, but they will not admit a single American into the place. This will require a population of 60,000 persons, and Tardiveau desires the Count d'Aranda to pay his expenses while he travels through Germany, Flanders, and the Swiss cantons collecting the scattered Royalists of France for this State. Of course, nothing came of so bizarre an idea; but it is interesting as the first outlining of state lines in what is now Illinois, and it belongs to our story as the preparatory step towards what proved a very important offshoot of Gallipolis.

We have another letter of Tardiveau, written the following spring, that tells us there remain at Gallipolis only one hundred families of the former eight hundred; he wants to bring them to New Bourbon, in what is now Missouri. He asks for Dr. Lemoine,

³⁶ For Tardiveau's letters, see Houck's *Spanish Regime*, I, pp. 360 and 390. There is a mine of Catholic history in these volumes.

by name. Many persons in France desire to send out colonists, we are told. Among them are the Count de Clermont Tonnerre, Mounier, Count de Lally Tollendal, the Bishop of Nancy, DeBeyerle, DeBarth, the Countess of Tewe, and the Marquis of Marnesia. Moreover, the Prince of Lambese, the Duke de Noue, the Count de Montier, and the Marquis of Brehan may also be inclined to promote the city of New Bourbon. This letter bears two other signature besides that of Tardiveau; those of de Hault de Lassus and of Peter Audrain. A county in Missouri bears Audrain's name today, and only a little post town that of DeLassus, although he and his sons occupy the most conspicuous positions in those regions during the next decade of years.

New Bourbon became a reality, and was in 1798 fourth in population of the cities of Upper Louisiana. San Luis—men, women, children and slaves—counted 975 souls in the official census; Santa Genoveva, 773; San Carlos, 405; and Nouvelle Bourbon, 383. The Spanish Governor of Louisiana at the time was Carondelet, a Fleming, and consequently a fellow-countryman, if not a relative, of DeLassus. He bestowed every possible consideration on DeLassus, whose ancestors, he knew, had been the hereditary mayors of Hainault for centuries. He formed New Bourbon into a separate province of the government and made the newcomer its civil and military commandant. An effort was made to bring all the others of the remaining population of Gallipolis to New Bourbon, and a document at San Ildefonso tells who were particularly desirable: Vanderbenden, and DeRomine, Captain of the Royal Corps of Engineers; DeHebecourt; Dr. Petit; Gervais, an excellent farmer with a fortune; Menager, like the preceding; Le Drot, farmer and grape grower; Didier, a farmer, brother of the pastor at Florissant; Vacz, a Fleming, a watchmaker; Saugrain, a mineralogist; Berthelot, a distiller and cultivator. What is added is especially notable, because an attempt at wit on the part of the traveler Brackenridge has been taken too seriously by subsequent writers, leaving the impression that the French in Ohio were an impracticable and improvident class.

The document says: "It is to be observed that the rest of the inhabitants are artisans, workmen, or day-laborers, and ac-

customed to the cultivation of the land; almost all have cattle and goods necessary for a living." In 1799, the inhabitants of New Bourbon made a patriotic contribution to the King of Spain—a kind of Liberty Loan demonstration—and in the list of contributors, besides such names as Tisseron, Tonellier, Chevalier, and DeGuire, we find also Donahoe, Hart, Madden and Healy. It cannot be said with certainty that these particular persons came from Ohio. None of the titled personages named by Tardiveau appeared, but Jean René Guiho, Lord of Klegand, came from Nantes, and Jacques de Mun, Captain of Dragoons, came from San Domingo. The late Count De Mun of Paris was of his family, and other descendants are today leaders in St. Louis society.

When France opened her doors to welcome back her fugitive royalists, New Bourbon was deserted so completely that its site today is known only to the antiquarian. It is an open field about four miles southeast of Ste. Genevieve. DeLassus's sons remained in America. The maps of Illinois, New Mexico, and Colorado carried, at least for a time, the name of one of them, St. Vrain. It fell to the lot of the eldest of them, Carlos, to make the transfer of Upper Louisiana to the United States at the time of the Louisiana Purchase; he is consequently the most conspicuous figure in the most historic day—the day of the three flags—in the history of Missouri. He was worthy of his prominence. He made a desperate effort to secure the all-too-easy-going habitants in the possession of their land before the onrush of Yankee land sharks, but he was not fully successful. The attempt cost him at the time much reproach, but it has made his memory honorable to all who know his work, and almost tenderly dear to these French who are still in Missouri.

New Madrid, Missouri, was far more successful in attracting the Ohio adventurers than New Bourbon. Before the close of the first six months³⁷ after their arrival in America, a contingent had taken up their abode in the Spanish city. Records show that there was a continued influx. Undoubtedly the most val-

³⁷ The names of the first arrivals from Gallipolis at New Madrid, as recorded in the Spanish document, are Claudio Margarita, Jayme Lafonse, Louis Dode, Ambrosio Noel, Claudio Noel Cousin, John Luis Collet and his wife and child. Houck, *Spanish Regime*, i, p. 329.

uable arrival was Pierre Antoine Laforge. He had been a Jesuit scholastic up to the time of the Papal suppression of his Order. Released from his vows, he married a valiant woman, who was in all things worthy of him. Their descendants have been a precious asset to Missouri; they have been lovers of education: the occasions have been rare, since the inception of St. Louis University, in which the names of some of them have not been on the roster of students; they have represented the New Madrid County in the State Legislature, almost half the time since Missouri became a state. One of them, William Dawson, lately represented his district in Congress. They are all faithful to the faith. Doctor Dawson, brother of the M. C., has eleven children; his cousin, James Shead, has almost that many boys. The old French blood is not dying out.

But of all cities in the Spanish jurisdiction the one most blessed by the accessions from Gallipolis was St. Louis. Two parties that came hither might deserve separate articles for themselves. The first of these is Dom Didier, the pastor of Gallipolis, and his brother, with his family; the other, Anthony Saugrain, the mineralogist, with his wife and her people, the Michaux, relatives of the famous Doctor Guillotine. Saugrain has been the subject of several monographs,³⁸ all of which run into at least one error. He visited the site of Gallipolis two years previous to the date of the formation of the Gallipolis colony. While on the Ohio River, he was attacked by the savages, his companions were slain, and he himself escaped after frightful suffering. All the writers referred to make the object of this expedition of his merely scientific investigation. But it is perfectly clear from Mathias James O'Conway's diary³⁹ that Saugrain was even then interested in securing land titles. Saugrain in St.

³⁸ For instance: *Dr. Saugrain's Note Book*, 1788, by Eugene Bliss, Worcester, Mass., 1909, reprinted from the *Proceedings of the Amer. Antiquarian Society*, Oct., 1908. Also, *The First Scientist of the Mississippi Valley* by W. V. Byers, 1903. Again, *Antoine François Saugrain DeVigni* by N. P. Dandridge, in the *Ohio Archaeological and Hist. Pub.*, xv, p. 193.

³⁹ O'Conway's meetings with Saugrain are recounted in Dr. L. F. Flick's article in *Records of the Amer. Cath. Hist. Soc.*, Vol. x, p. 271. This O'Conway document is thoroughly reliable. Why should it have been hidden from history that Saugrain's first visit here was a scheme for colonizing?

Louis became surgeon of the Spanish troops. He left a numerous progeny; one of his sons, born before the Louisiana Purchase, was alive in 1904, when St. Louis was celebrating the centenary of that event. The venerable Madame Saugrain, recently guest-mistress at the Convent of the Sacred Heart in St. Louis, was of his family.

On July 21, 1792, we find a baptismal entry in the Records of St. Charles Borromeo's Church in the city of St. Charles, Mo., which begins: "I, Peter Joseph Didier, Benedictine Religious of the congregation of St. Maur, of the Royal Abbey of St. Denis, of the Order of St. Benedict, missionary pastor." This is the shepherd of our Ohio flock. A few days later, he begins the church records of the parish of St. Ferdinand, Florissant, and in 1794 his field takes in the city of St. Louis. There for five years he ministered faithfully, beloved of all good men, until his death. Why did he abandon his needy flock at Gallipolis? Or, did he abandon it at all? More than half had gone before him. The old-time scriptural shepherd went before his sheep. If the flock had followed Didier to Missouri, they would have found there green pastures and running waters in abundance for their bodily wants, and his rod and his staff would have comforted their souls. Everything indicates that he was a well-beloved pastor of his triple fold. During his incumbency the church in St. Louis was not large enough to hold the crowds that came to Mass. He died about the end of October, 1799; and despite the fact that he scarcely ever signed his name without indicating his Benedictine affiliation, the civil officer from whom we learn of his death speaks of him as the Franciscan P. J. Didier; and St. Louis's best historian, Scharf, tells us he was a Jesuit: Didier, a Jesuit priest, though not a physician, used to make simples and teas for his poor parishioners.

His brother, John Baptist Didier, was for many years one of the most active spirits of the city. Although he was a jeweler, he did not lose his interest in real estate, and he was an organizer of the city's first fire brigade. His honesty was proverbial; he was territorial treasurer of Missouri, and held that position—the first one to do so—in the State of Missouri. The jeweler's only child, Josephine, was one of the belles of old St. Louis; she was married in 1811 to Hubert Guion, a name historically distin-

guished in St. Louis equally for its forebears and its descendants.⁴⁰

There were two De Romines in Missouri at this time; but it cannot be shown conclusively that either was the Royal Engineer. But it is worth noting that whereas, according to the story made popular by Brackenridge, the whole colony was so impractical that there were none among them who knew how to cut down a tree, we find as a matter of fact that there were first class engineers among them. Vanderbenden, for instance, was employed by the Spanish government to construct the fortifications of St. Louis when this city was endangered.

It would be too long to mention all the interesting and important characters that Gallipolis sent to Missouri; but there was one who came with the Ohio colony to the west that must not be passed over. This was Daniel Boone. Cheated of his land claim at Booneville, Kentucky, he retired to a spot opposite Gallipolis. He used to hunt on the Racoon Creek in Ohio with Vanderbenden; but when he learned that his friends were starting for Missouri, he determined to accompany them. He was welcomed, and given a large tract of land at the Femme Osage. Was Boone a Catholic? Collins, the Kentucky historian, says he was of the family of the Maryland Catholic pioneers. The Boones in Maryland, Kentucky and Missouri are largely Catholic today. The first baptismal registry of Kansas City, Missouri, contains the names of grandchildren of Boone's; they are not mentioned as converts. Moreover, according to the Spanish laws in force at the time Boone came to the west, property could not be transferred to anyone who failed to swear that he was a Catholic. An exception was made for the Morgan colony in the southeastern part of the state—but Boone's land was far away from those parts. His claim was contested later, but in the contest no mention was made of his having failed to take this oath.

But let us go back to Ohio. Of the 7,000 persons⁴¹ who left France and of the eight hundred heads of families who in various

⁴⁰ This Hubert Guion's father was the first white male child born in St. Louis. The daughter of Hubert Guion and Josephine Didier was married to Judge Wilson Primm. On his mother's side, the judge was a grandson of Maria Rose de Vial Ponda, who was born in New Mexico in 1726, and whose mother was also a native of Taos—an old American family!

⁴¹ This estimate of SPALDING, *Sketches of Kentucky*, p. 62, seems to me a fair calculation.

ways and times reached Gallipolis, we have accounted for a fair proportion in a general way. An Ohio magazine gives the names of one hundred and sixty-seven heads of families,⁴² but does not list the DeBarth followers, the Asylum secession, or any members of the earlier exoduses. Some of them stood their ground, hope burning eternal in their breasts through all the trials and fears. Perhaps they stood more firm because it was a fight to do so. When the Indian wars were over in 1795, a high tide of immigration moved down the Ohio valley, bringing trade and prosperity and the promise of a new era. New prospectors

⁴² Arranged in alphabetical order these heads or families were: Aiglemont, Prieux; Allrein, Etienne; Ancil, Jean B.; Anthiaume, Jean B.; Armand, Benjamin; Auger, Jacques; Autrin, Jean; Avelin, Catherine; Bana, Claude; Baredot, Caesar; Bastede —; Batterelle, Simon; Belliere, Jean C.; Bergeret, Frederick; Bergnen, Laurent; Berthe, Louis; Berthelot, Claude; Berthelot, Matthieu; Berthelot (Senior), Bidon, Pierre; Bourgougnat, François; Bremlere, Firmin; Buznet, Jean; Cadot, Claude; Caille, I. Guion; Carteren, François; Chabot, Pierre; Chalot, George; Chandivert, Etienne; Chandivert, Pierre; Chanterelle, Michael; Charpentierre, Antoine; Cherrin, Jean; Chevalier, Alex; Chevreau, Sigisbert; Chillard, Michael; Clavet, Madam; Colat, Jean Louis; Colat, Jean Louis; Colinet —; Coupin, Claude; Coupin, —; Courtier, Jean; Cranzat, Michael; Cuif, Remy; Daliere, Marie; Damer-ville, Joseph; Darveau, François; Dazet, Joseph; Dehafosse, Thoncy; D'Hebecourt, De la Baume; De la Bouye, Louis; Desnoyers, Jean; DeViguement, Minguet; De Vachet, Winant; Devanne, Jean Louis; D'llmee, Sigismund; Dros; Duchallard, Jean B.; Du Bois, Claude; Duc, Antoine; Duclos, Brice; Duduit, Guillaume; Dupligny, Claude; Dupont, Joseph; Dupont, Marin; Durand, François; Duthiel, François; Duthiel, Pierre; Ferard, Jean; Ferard, Pierre; Foulon, Jean A.; Frère, Alex; Frère, Eloy; Gervais; Genet; Ginot, Jean B.; Goiyon, Joseph; Grandjean, Jean F.; Grouet; Guibert, Pierre L.; Guillot, Jean M.; Hammer, Jean M.; Hedouin, Nicholas; Hingston, Nicholas; Imbert, Jean Louis; Jacquemin, Antoine; Jacquemin, Antoine; Lafellard, Pierre; L'Anguette, François; LaCaisse, Madam; Laforge, Pierre A.; Laforge; Laperouse, Jean P.; Laurent, Jean B.; LeClar; LeClerc, Augustin; LeClerc, Pierre Louis; LeClerc; Lecke, Peter; Lefevre, Emille; Lefort, Maximin; LeHuillier, Pierre A.; Lemoyne, Sr.; Lemoyne, Jr.; Magnier, Pierre; Maguet, Pierre; Maguet, fils; Malcher, François P; Malcher; Maldant, Louis; Marchand; Maret, Charles Vaux; Matry, Pierre; Maufelit, Caesar; Mazure, Michael; Menager, Claude; Mennessier; Michaud; Minguet, père; Minguet, fils; Morrell, Claude; Mouvel; Naudet, Claude J.; Noel, Antrox; Pamar, Humbert; Parmentier, Jean B.; Patin, François; Pellison, Jean; Perot, Pierre F.; Petit, Doctor; Petit, Jean; Petitjean, Jacques; Picard, François; Pingard, Jean Aug.; Pithon, Philip Aug; Porquier, Antoine; Pradel, Julien; Prieur, Antoine; Quartel, François; Quelet, Nicholas; Quette, Jean B.; Renouard, Jacques; Richards, Pierre M.; Regnier, Jean; Roublot, Louis; Rouby, Antoine; Rouilly, Jean; Roussell, Alex; Rowe, John; Sald; Sarazin, Abel; Saugrain, Antoine; Serre, Pierre; Soudry, Charles; Taillem; Thevnin, Nicholas; Thomas, Pierre; Valot, François; Valls, Jean G.; Valtin, Francis; Valton; Valot; Vialett, Louis; Vibert, Antoine; Viment, Louis A.; Violette, Louis A.; Visinier, Nich; Von Schrilts, Louis Victor; Von Schrilts, John Louis; Willermay, Etienne.

survey the lands; new speculators in mines and farms and forests are formed in the east. The old investors, especially in Massachusetts, look eagerly now for long deferred profits in their Scioto investments. Complaints from Gallipolis, whisperings rather, of an injustice done there, jar the harmony. A general benignity towards the French pervades the atmosphere. French clergy are kindly received even in Boston. Congress passes an act giving a tract of land to the French on the Ohio, the French Grant. There were found just 84 persons over 18 years of age to claim a share in the gift. A few of these moved off to the grant, in Scioto County; but most of them sold their claims for a song, so that others than those named in the bond made money from the congressional generosity.

Spiritually, Gallipolis seemed destitute after the departure of Father Didier; but this was not the case so much as has been claimed. It was on a much frequented route of travel. Father Badin visited them on his way to Kentucky and baptized 40 babies. The people besought him with tears to remain. He looked upon them as thoroughly irreligious. He was very young then. It may be doubted whether in his long and fruitful service of the Lord, he ever again found so ripe and rich a harvest. Other clerical wayfarers going down the Ohio attended their spiritual needs for long years; Bishop Du Bourg being among the number. After Father Didier, their next resident pastor seems to have been Father LaFont,⁴³ whose good fortune in the Louisiana lottery injured his zeal. Nor was this original garden fruitless in gifts to the Church. To name but one: a few years ago Madeleine Vinton Dahlgren was known to the whole world as one of the brightest ornaments of the Church in America. She was born in Gallipolis, the granddaughter of John Baptiste Romaine Bureau, one of the early settlers. Others of his descendants in the old home site are worthy of him still. It is interesting to note how deeply beneath the surface the warm blood of France keeps running, as may be seen in the case of a grandson of Mrs. Dahlgren, John Vinton Dahlgren, in whose name nothing appears to indicate French parentage, yet who caught the call of the blood

⁴³ The only mention I have ever seen of Father LaFont is in SIBLEY, "*The French* 500."

at once and was among the very first American volunteers in the service of France in the present struggle.

The thesis, which the writer finds almost unconsciously threading this account—namely, that the Gallipolis colony proved a source of wonderful and widespread blessings to the nation and to the Church—might be proved briefly by an enumeration of the men and women, scions of Gallipolis who have been prominent in the civil and ecclesiastical affairs of the land. But to gather these in would be an impossible undertaking. Nothing can show this better, perhaps, than the fact that the present paper was practically concluded when the writer learned that an officer of St. Louis University whom he is meeting daily is a grandson of Pierre Desnoyers,⁴⁴ whom we mentioned as having been drawn by trade from Gallipolis to Detroit. Desnoyers, who lived to the age of 107, was the first treasurer of Michigan as Didier was of Missouri. At least one priest in Canada and a judge are among his progeny. Similarly, it was no less a surprise to the writer to learn that the Rev. W. B. Rogers, recently president of St. Louis University, was a great-grandson of Vimont of Gallipolis.

External events shape the course of the outward existence of the Church, secular agitations deeply affect the careers of her children, and it is strange how things unrelated, distant, and even hostile, enter at times into the very soul of her activities. Such has been the case from the time when a decree went forth from Caesar Augustus that all the world should be enrolled, which brought Mary and Joseph to the humiliation and the glory of Bethlehem. So it was that from the wine-cup fumes of William Duer and the Rev. Manasseh Cutler originated the Gallipolis colony which brought bitter crosses indeed into the lives of many, but stripped them of the gilded trappings of the hollow existence of gay Paris to make them nature's true men in the wilds of America; it brought also to the expiring Church in this land a group of powerful auxiliaries who were destined to uphold her life during a critical period, and it disseminated north,

⁴⁴ *The Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, a very eloquent account of Pierre Desnoyers. See also ELLIOTT, *The Last of the Barons*, in the *Cath. Hist. Researches*; and Appleton's *Cyclopedia of Am. Biog.*

south, east, and west, men and women, the wandering children of the Crusaders, whose presence was everywhere a nucleus of gladness and faith in the land.

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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

For brevity's sake this paper has tried to avoid what many find the most interesting feature of the story of Gallipolis, the complicated land speculation with which it all originated. Readers desirous of investigating the intricate details of the financial manipulations by which the Rev. Manasseh Cutler secured a million acres of Ohio land for the Marietta settlement and placed four or five million more on the markets of Holland and France may consult:

William P. and Julia P. Cutler's *Life of Manasseh Cutler*, a classic work on beginnings in Ohio;

Magazine of American History, Vol. xxii, where Gen. E. C. Dawes, a grandson of Cutler, presents a most painstaking examination of the circumstances of the land purchases. This paper appears in various other historical magazines, and it forms a chapter in the *Life of Cutler* named above.

General Histories covering this period; such as:

- (a) Justin Winsor's *Critical and Narrative History*, Vol. vii, p. 534.
- (b) Roosevelt's *The Winning of the West*, Vol. iv, p. 252.
- (c) McMaster's *History of the People of the U. S.*, Vol. i, pp. 505-18; ii, pp. 146-52.

Sketches and Biographies of the principal actors; Putnam, Duer, Craigie, Knox, and particularly C. B. Todd's *Life and Letters of Joel Barlow*.

The Scioto Papers (Duer MSS.) in the library of the New York Hist. Soc.

The Scioto Papers (Craigie MSS.) in the library of the Amer. Antiquarian Society of Worcester, Mass.

The Gen. Knox MSS. in the library of the N. Engl. Histor. and Geneal. Soc. of Boston.

Archer B. Hulbert's *Methods and Operations of the Scioto Group of Speculators* and his *Andrew Craigie and the Scioto Associates*.

Eloise Ellery's *Brisot de Warville*.

The matter of the present paper is drawn chiefly from:

Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publications (Columbus), and particularly from Vol. iii, which contains the proceedings of the Centennial Anniversary of the City of Gallipolis, Ohio, October 16, 17, 18, 19, 1890.

The Gallipolis Papers, MSS., in the Van Wormer Library at the University of Cincinnati. Among many other important papers, we have here the accounts of early Gallipolis by two of its colonists, Bureau and LaCroix. Unfortunately, these Papers are largely transcripts.

- Edward Naret, M. D., *History of the French Settlers at Gallipolis in 1790*.
(First-hand information).
- Mrs. Mary L. Ford, *History of the Settlement of Gallipolis*.
- William G. Sibley, (a) *The French Five Hundred*, Gallipolis, 1901.
(b) *Gallipolis in the Cradle*, an address, 1915.
- Henry Howe's *Historical Collections of Ohio*, see Vol. i for Gallia County and Vol. ii for Scioto County.
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- Shea-DeCourcy, *The Catholic Church in the U. S.*, Asylum, p. 293.
- Annales de la Prop. de la Foi*, viii, p. 218.
- Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, *Voyage dans les États-Unis . . . en 1795-7*.
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- Volney, *Tableau du Climat*, etc. (Several French travelers passed through our colony. Sibley has made a good collection of their views).
- American Catholic Hist. Researches*, Vol. xii, pp. 50-3; xiv, pp. 167, 192, etc.
- U. S. Cath. Hist. Soc. Records and Studies*, Vol. i. (Chas. G. Herbermann's translation of M. Henri Carre's article in the *Revue de Paris* of May 15, 1898, on d'Espremesnil's colony).
- The Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. ii, p. 195. (Documents on the Ohio Bishopric).
- Records of the Amer. Cath. Hist. Soc.*, Vol. xviii, pp. 261 and 421. (A very complete study of the Asylum colony).
- J. Washington Ingham, *Asylum* (Towanda, Pa., 1916). A necessary supplement to the preceding.
- Louis Houck, (a) *History of Missouri*, 3 vols. *passim*.
(b) *The Spanish Regime*, 2 vols. *passim*.
- The U. S. State Papers; Public Lands*, *passim*.
- Hubert Howe Bancroft, *Texas*, Vol. ii, p. 57, on Bastrop.
- Theodore T. Bedote, *The Scioto Speculation and the French Settlement at Gallipolis*. (A study of the Gallipolis Papers).
- Family Traditions; Histories of Ohio, Missouri, Louisiana, Virginia, Kentucky, etc. Baptismal Records of St. Charles, Florissant, and St. Louis, Mo., and of Kaskaskia, Illinois; New Madrid (Mo.) Papers at the Mo. Hist. Soc. Library.

ST. REGIS SEMINARY

I

Early in 1823 Louis Valentine William Du Bourg, Bishop of Louisiana, visited Washington with a view to obtain a government subsidy for the support of a few missionaries whom he intended to settle among the Indian tribes of his vastly extended diocese. He was successful to the extent that he was guaranteed by the Government through the Secretary of War, John C. Calhoun, an annual appropriation of \$800 for the maintenance of four missionaries and also a contribution of unspecified amount toward the erection of a building in which to house them.¹

With a characteristic touch, perhaps, of the enthusiastic formulation of plans coupled with rather faint appreciation of the practical difficulties that might be expected to attend their execution, that appeared at times in his conduct of ecclesiastical affairs, Bishop Du Bourg, even while he thus negotiated with the Government, knew not from what quarter he was to obtain the necessary priests for his projected Indian missions.² But in this instance his simple confidence was amply justified of Providence. He had just succeeded in his efforts to obtain from the Government a subsidy for the support of Indian missionaries who were to come from he knew not where, when presently a situation was disclosed that solved the problem before him in the happiest and most unexpected manner. The Novitiate of the Society of Jesus at Whitemarsh in Maryland was on the point of being closed on account of lack of material means to insure its support. Bishop Du Bourg, being advised of this critical state of affairs, proposed a transfer of the entire personnel of the Novitiate to his diocese, with the design of realizing

NOTE: The letters and documents embodied in this article are, with a few exceptions, hitherto unpublished material from the archives of the New York-Maryland and Missouri Provinces of the Society of Jesus and the files of the Indian Bureau in Washington. In the citation of letters in the footnotes, the particles "to," "à," or "ad," connecting the names of writer and addressee, are used to indicate that the originals of the letters are in English, French, or Latin respectively.

¹ Calhoun to Dubourg, Feb. 20, 1823; March 11, 1823.

² Du Bourg à M. Louis Du Bourg, March 17, 1823. Published in the *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, 1: 462 (Louvain ed., 1825).

through their agency his program of missionary enterprise among the Indians of the West. The conditions of the transfer were satisfactorily arranged between the prelate and Rev. Charles Neale, Superior of the Jesuit Mission of Maryland, and a Concordat regulating the respective rights and obligations of the Society of Jesus in Missouri and the Bishop of Louisiana was drawn up and solemnly signed by the two contracting parties at Georgetown College, March 19, 1823. A week later Bishop Du Bourg signed a bond conveying to the Jesuits, to serve as a home for the latter, a property of his of about 205 acres situated in the environs of St. Ferdinand or Florissant, a quaint old Creole village lying about fifteen miles to the northwest of St. Louis in Missouri.³

As the Jesuit novices would not be ready to take the field as missionaries until after a period of further training and preparation, the Bishop saw himself compelled to modify somewhat the plan he had originally laid before the Government. He now, for the first time, it would appear, conceived the idea of an Indian School to be financed with the Government appropriation he had personally solicited and obtained in behalf of subjects of his who were to engage in resident missionary labor among the native tribes. "Pending the ordination of our Jesuit novices and their going forth as apostles," he wrote to his brother, M. Louis Du Bourg of Bordeaux, March 17, two days before the signing of the Concordat,

I propose to receive into the Seminary a half-dozen Indian children from different tribes, so as to begin to familiarize my young missionaries with their manners and languages and in turn prepare the children to become guides, interpreters and helpers to the missionaries when the time comes to send the latter forth to the scattered tribes.⁴

On the same day that he penned the preceding, Du Bourg communicated his change of plan to Secretary Calhoun:

I am willing to give for that establishment a fine and well-stocked farm, situated in the rich valley of Florissant about one mile from the river Missouri and fifteen from St. Louis.

³ The text of the Concordat is in Hughes, *History of the Society of Jesus in North America, Colonial and Federal*, Documents, 1: 1021.

⁴ *Ann. Prop.*, 1: 465.

Seven young clergymen, from twenty-two to twenty-seven years of age, of solid parts, and an excellent classical education, are nearly ready to set off at the first signal under the guidance of two Superiors and professors and with an escort of a few faithful mechanics and husbandmen to commence that foundation. I calculate at about two years the time necessary to consolidate it and to fit out most of those highly promising candidates for the duties of the missions, after which they will be anxious to be sent in different directions according to the views and under the auspices of Government whilst they will be replaced in the Seminary by others destined to continue the noble enterprise.

So forcibly am I struck with the happy consequences likely to result from the extension of that project that I hesitate not to believe that Government viewing it in the same light with myself will be disposed to offer me towards its completion that generous aid without which I would not be warranted to undertake it.

It has already condescended to allow \$800.00 per annum for four missionaries. But it was on the supposition that they would be immediately sent to the Missouri and in the proposed plan the opening of the missions would take place but two years after the commencement of the Seminary. Yet though not actually employed among the tribes, the missionaries, whilst yet in their novitiate would not be the less profitably engaged in the cause; since, besides having a number of young Indians to feed, to educate and maintain, they would be laying the foundation of far more extended usefulness for the future. For the attainment of the object of collecting some Indian boys in the Seminary, it would be of great service, Sir, that you should please invite Gen'l Clark and Col. O'Fallon to lend me their assistance.*

To the above communication from Bishop Du Bourg, Secretary Calhoun replied on March 21:

Have received your letter of the 17th inst. and submitted it to the President [Monroe] for his consideration and direction, who has instructed me to inform you in reply that believing the establishment of a school on the principles which you have suggested is much better calculated to effect your benevolent design of extending the benefits of civilization to the remote tribes, and with it, the just influence of the government, than the plan you formerly proposed for the same object, he is willing to encourage it as far as he can with propriety, and will allow you at the former rate of \$800 per annum to be paid quarterly [yearly], towards the support of the contemplated establishment. No advance, however, can be made consistently with the regulations until the establishment has actually commenced its operations, with a suitable number of Indian youths; of which fact and the number of pupils the certificate of General Clark will be the proper evidence.

* Du Bourg to Calhoun March 17, 1823. Indian Office Ms. Records.

A copy of this letter will be sent to General Clark with instructions to give proper orders to such of the Indian agents under his charge, as you may think necessary to facilitate the collection of the Indian youths to be educated and to afford every aid in his power to promote the success of the establishment.

II

Having in this manner originated the plan of an Indian school at Florissant and secured for it a measure of official support, Bishop Du Bourg could very well lay claim to the title which Father Van Quickenborne gave him of "Father of our Indian Seminary."⁶ The school which was thus to owe its origin to the enterprising zeal of the Bishop of Louisiana appears to have been the first institution of its kind conducted under Catholic auspices in the United States. There are on record a few other attempts, apart from Father Van Quickenborne's successful one, to open Catholic Indian schools in the West in the early decades of the nineteenth century. Father Urban Guillet, Superior of the Trappist community settled at Florissant early in the last century, moved his establishment thence to the neighborhood of Cahokia in Illinois in the hope of finding in the latter place the boys he needed for a projected Indian school. Father Donatien Olivier, a conspicuous figure for more than half a century in the mission-stations along the Mississippi, obtained from the chief of the Kaskaskia, at that time still inhabiting their old lands in Southwestern Illinois, a promise of some Indian youths for the Trappist school; but that institution was, in the event, to be conducted as a school for white boys, with only a few Indian boys in attendance.⁷ Some years later the Fathers of the Congregation of the Mission planned an Indian school at their Seminary called the "Barrens," in Perry County, Missouri. "The Jesuits have or will soon have a number of Indian children in their house," Father Odin wrote from the "Barrens" in August, 1823, "and in a few days our Superior is going to meet the Indian Agent to obtain some from him for our Seminary. We shall begin to study their language and to instruct them so as to make catechists out of them or even

⁶*Ann. Prop.*, 4: 583.

⁷*Ann. Prop.*, 1: 390, 392. Cf. *American State Papers, Public Lands*. 2: 106.

priests.”⁸ It does not appear that this plan for the education of Indian youth was ever realized, at least in the way of a regularly organized school. In the summer of 1824, a year later than the date of Father Odin’s letter, Father Nerinckx, the pioneer missionary of Kentucky, died at St. Genevieve on his way from St. Louis to the Loretto Convent of Bethlehem, which was situated near the “Barrens.” He had just arranged with General Clark in St. Louis for the reception at the Loretto convent of a number of Indian girls for whose education the Government had engaged to pay.⁹ The unexpected death of the missionary frustrated the plan and the Indian girls were not sent. A combination of circumstances made it possible for Father Van Quickenborne, carrying out Bishop Du Bourg’s plan, to take up with more success the experiment of Catholic Indian education in the United States.

Father Van Quickenborne was a Belgian by birth, having been borne in Peteghem near Ghent, January 21, 1788. He was at first a diocesan priest, became a Jesuit in 1815, came to America two years later, and was Master of Novices at Whitemarsh in Maryland, whence, at Bishop Du Bourg’s invitation, he led his novices westward in the Spring of 1823 to open at Florissant in Missouri the first house of the restored Society of Jesus in the Mississippi Valley. The names of the young men who with their Superior thus laid the foundations of the Missouri Province of the Society of Jesus were Judocus Van Assche, Peter John De Smet, Peter John Verhaegen, John Baptist Smedts and Francis De Maillet. In addition to Father Van Quickenborne and his novices the personnel of the pioneer party of 1823 included Father Peter Joseph Timmermans, Assistant Master of Novices, and three lay-brothers, Peter De Meyer, Henry Reisselman and Charles Strahan. All, with the exception of Brother Strahan, an American, and Brother Reisselman, a Hollander, were of Belgian birth. Having established themselves on the Florissant property, where they were to pass through a period of acute privation and distress, the Missouri Jesuits remained

⁸*Ann. Prop.*, 1: 502.

⁹*Ann. Prop.*, 2: 369. MAES, *The Life of Rev. Charles Nerinckx*, p. 523. “Mr. Nerinckx wished to settle down near us and start an Indian college.” Van Assche à De Nef, Sept. 1, 1825.

subject to the jurisdiction of the parent-mission of Maryland until 1831, when they were released from such connection and made directly dependent on the Father General of the Society of Jesus in Rome.¹⁰

Next to the problem of providing for the material wants of his community, a very real and pressing one for many months after the arrival of the Jesuit colony in the West, the problem of setting on foot the Indian school was the one that most engaged Van Quickenborne's mind during his first year at St. Ferdinand's. Scarcely two months after coming West, he wrote to Father John McElroy, a fellow-Jesuit of Frederick, Maryland.

We have not as yet any Indian children. I have seen several Indian chiefs. They have all promised to give their children, but it is an object with which they hardly ever part.¹¹

In the summer of 1823 a deputation of Indians passed through St. Louis on their way to Washington where they were to negotiate for the formation of a confederacy, under government auspices, of six Indian tribes who had planned to exchange their lands east of the Mississippi for lands in the Indian Territory. At the head of the deputation was Colonel Lewis, a Shawnee chief and leading promoter of the proposed confederacy. On advice from General William Clark, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, with headquarters in St. Louis, and one of the principals in the memorable Lewis and Clark expedition to the Columbia River, Father Van Quickenborne visited Colonel Lewis, the Shawnee, in St. Louis and laid before him his plans for an Indian school. The chief expressed approval of the plans and promised to send three of his grandchildren to Florissant in the following spring. General Clark urged upon Father Van Quickenborne the opening of the school at as early a date as possible. The latter reported all these circumstances to Father Charles Neale, requesting him, as also Father Benedict Fenwick, to call upon Colonel Lewis when the latter should have arrived in Washington.¹²

¹⁰ The most detailed account of the circumstances that first brought together the group of Jesuits who established themselves in Missouri in 1823 is in MAER, *The Life of Rev. Charles Nerinckx*, pp. 445-464. See also LAVELLE, *Life of Father De Smet*, and HILL, *History of St. Louis University*.

¹¹ Van Quickenborne to McElroy, July 21, 1823.

¹² Van Quickenborne to Charles Neale, Sept. 23, 1823.

A letter from Father Benedict Fenwick to the Florissant Superior, written in September, 1823, in the name of the Acting Superior of the Maryland Mission, Father Francis Neale, deals among other matters with the question of the Indian school:

On the subject of the education of the young Indians of whom you speak, the Superior requires that you act with the utmost prudence and circumspection in that affair and that you keep yourself altogether within the Concordat. He wishes you to undertake no more than what is specified therein and what the Society has engaged itself for the present to perform. He has no wish to enlarge the sphere of your operation until adequate means be procured either from the Government favoring such a design or from the quarters of which he will give you due notice.

The Superior would have you cultivate in a particular manner the good esteem of the Governor and United States Agents as well civil as military; and whenever they speak to you of the education of the Indian youth to assure them of your willingness to undertake the same; but at the same time to let them know that such a thing will be quite impracticable without the aid of Government. If it should, however, regularly pay you the stipend agreed upon and moreover hold out greater prospects provided you will undertake the education of a larger number of young Indians, it rests with you to weigh the matter and immediately communicate with the Superior and expect his advice on the same. In the meantime let the engagement as far as it goes which the Society has entered into be fully and completely executed. No one can blame you for not doing what the Society has never engaged to do. You have, I presume, a copy of that contract: let that be your Pole-star.¹³

In accordance with the regulations governing such appropriations, the subsidy which the Government had promised to the Indian school at Florissant was not to be paid until the school should have been in actual operation. "Regarding the education of the Indians," Van Quickenborne writes in December, 1823, to Father Francis Neale,

the Bishop has stirred a great sensation in St. Louis about this affair and said everywhere that Government had allowed \$800 as soon as we should have six of them. General Clark told me that the Bishop had assured him Government had made such allowance but that, although he was the one who paid out such pensions, he was not authorized to pay anything to us. Before I received your Reverence's letter I expressed to Gen. or Gov. Clark (he is ordinarily called Gen.) my great desire to have Indian youths, made known to him our circumstances and offered to take

¹³ Benedict Fenwick to Van Quickenborne, Sept. 10, 1823. The Concordat makes no mention of an Indian School.

some (under these circumstances) if he thought proper to do so and he were sure the Government would pay for them. He gave me to understand that it was absolutely necessary that we should begin with some before he could recommend our establishment, and that the government would help us, if they thought proper, only after we had begun. This was a condition *sine qua non*. He (has) the week before last encouraged me to take next Spring two Indian boys of about nine years, which he had offered me five or six weeks ago. To take any without being paid for it is a thing which forbids itself and except we have a numbers of Fathers that are prepared to go out with them after having given them their education, the training of such boys would not be productive of much, perhaps of any good. This is the opinion of General Clark. Before I can say more I must hear what has been done at Washington by Col. Lewis."¹⁴

Nothing came of Colonel Lewis' plan of an Indian confederacy. Van Quickenborne wrote to his Superior on New Year's day, 1824, for authority to open the Indian school in the following Spring, adding that General Clark was urging that a start be made.¹⁵ At length, in May, 1824, the Father was summoned to St. Louis by the General, who informed him that some Iowa Indians had just made an offer of boys and that he might have them if he wished. Van Quickenborne agreed to take them and word to this effect being sent at once to the Iowa chiefs, who were then visiting the city, they promised to send four or six boys of their tribe to Florissant. Meanwhile, two Sauk boys, one eight and the other six years of age, had been received by the Superior and with these as the first students, the Indian Seminary was formally opened on May 11, 1824, the feast-day of the Jesuit saint, Francis de Hieronymo. The next pupils to be entered at the Seminary were the Iowa youths whom Van Quickenborne had been promised at St. Louis. They started, five in number, from their homes on the left bank of the Missouri River in what is now South-western Iowa, under the protection of a party of chiefs. The

¹⁴Van Quickenborne to Francis Neale, Dec. 12, 1823, Bishop DuBourg appears to have stipulated with the Government for the education of only six boys. He writes July 2, 1824, to Van Quickenborne, "you do not tell me whether Genl. Clark has paid the \$800 at last. I entered into contract for only six Indian boys. I am going to write to the Secretary of War to have you paid as soon as you shall have the six." No reference to such contract has been met with in the correspondence between the Bishop and Secretary Calhoun.

¹⁵Van Quickenborne to Dzierozynski, Jan. 1, 1824. Father Francis Dzierozynski was at this period Superior of the Jesuit Mission of Maryland.

Sauk, for some unknown reason, despatched a deputation from their tribe to dissuade the Iowa chiefs from sending their sons to the new institution. But the Iowa chiefs were not to be turned from their purpose. After some 70 miles of travel, two of the boys fell sick and had to return to the Iowa camp while the three others, with their parents, continued on their way. On June 11, 1824, the candidates, in company with their parents, an interpreter, and Gabriel Vasquez, U. S. agent for the Iowa, appeared at the Seminary. The Indian youths did not submit without protest to what must have seemed to them, accustomed as they were to the freedom of the forest, as nothing short of imprisonment. They began to cry piteously as their elders prepared to depart, whereupon one of the scholastics took up a flute and began to play. The music had the effect of quieting the lads and making them resigned, as far as outward indications went, to their new environment. But Vasquez, the agent, warned Father Van Quickenborne that a sharp eye would have to be kept on the boys, as flight was an easy trick for them. Accordingly, Mr. Smedts, the prefect, rose at intervals during the first night of the Iowas' stay at the Seminary to see that his young charges were all within bounds, while another seminarian was also assigned to sentry duty. But somehow or other the watchers were outwitted. About one o'clock in the morning the Iowa boys made a clever escape. Their flight was soon detected and immediately a party of two were on the track of the fugitives. They were nimble runners, for they were five miles from the Seminary when their pursuers came up to them. They made no resistance to capture and returned, apparently quite content, to the school, though determined, no doubt, to repeat the adventure when opportunity offered, as Father Van Quickenborne intimates in his account of the incident, which he concludes with the comment, *et erit saepe talis repetitio*.¹⁶

III

The Indian school, which Father Van Quickenborne was to designate in his reports to Washington as St. Regis Seminary, was now a reality, so that he felt justified in applying to the Indian Office for the financial aid it had promised through Bishop

¹⁶Van Quickenborne ad Dzierzynski, June 12, 1824.

Du Bourg. On November 21, 1824, he despatched two reports on the condition of the school, one addressed to General Clark and the other to Secretary of War Calhoun. "The Seminary," he wrote to Clark,

went into actual operation the eleventh of May ultimo with two boys of the Sac [Sauk] nation; on the eleventh of June three more were received of the Hyaway [Iowa] nation; thus since that time I have had five boys. The buildings are commodious and can contain from forty to sixty students. They are nearly complete and fifty-four ft. long by seventeen wide one way and thirty-four feet by seventeen feet the other way; three stories high, the lowest of stone, the two others of logs, brick chimnies and galleries all around. They have cost \$1,500.00 and when completed will cost \$2,000.00.¹⁷

To Secretary Calhoun he wrote:

The Seminary is built on a spot of land remarkable for its healthiness and which on account of its being somewhat distant from the Indian tribes and its being sufficiently removed from town is possessed of many advantages. I have persons belonging to the Seminary well calculated to teach the boys the mechanical arts such as are suitable for their condition, as a carpenter, a blacksmith, etc., whose names I do not place on the report, because the boys were not thought fit as yet to begin to learn a trade.

I have the comfort to be able to give my entire approbation to their correct comportment and from the sentiments they utter I have strong hopes that they will become virtuous and industrious citizens warmly attached to the Government that has over them such beneficent designs. I have been prepared these six months past to receive a considerable number more than what I have at present. The number of boys would have amounted to a few more, had not some on account of sickness returned to their village after having done a part of the way."

The letter concludes by asking for the payment of the \$800 promised to Bishop Dubourg "in your letter of March 21, 1822 [1823]."¹⁸

Early in January, 1825, Father Van Quickenborne was still waiting for a response to his petition.

¹⁷ Indian Office Ms. Records. At Father Van Quickenborne's request, General Clark certified to the accuracy of the Superior's report, which according to usage he transmitted to Washington. "This is to certify that the Catholic Missionary Society at Florissant in the State of Missouri have established a school at that place for the education of Indian children and deserve the cooperation of the Government. The progress of the boys has been very rapid and satisfactory. Wm. Clark."

¹⁸ Indian Office Ms. Records.

"It is now two months," he wrote to Bishop Rosati, "since I wrote to the Secretary of War and since General Clark sent him the certificate asked for. I am waiting every day for a favorable answer and I think it better to defer writing to Mr. Richard for a few days more. I fear there is something against us in St. Louis."¹⁹

Meanwhile a Bureau of Indian Affairs had been established in Washington in 1824 as an appanage of the War Department with Col. Thomas Lorraine M'Kenney as its first Commissioner. Colonel M'Kenney's administration of Indian Affairs was able and honest. He had long been interested in the condition of the native tribes of the country and it was chiefly due to his agitation of the matter, as he relates in his Memoirs, that Congress was led to make an annual appropriation of \$10,000 for the civilization of the Indian. This was the origin of the so-called Civilization Fund out of which the appropriation for St. Regis Seminary was to come. M'Kenney held the post of Indian Commissioner until he was removed in 1830 by President Jackson, being the first government official, so it has been stated, to fall a victim to the spoils-system inaugurated by that strenuous executive.²⁰

It was accordingly from Colonel M'Kenney that Father Van Quickenborne received an answer in January, 1825, to the letter he had addressed to Calhoun in November of the preceding year.

Your letter to the Secretary of War of the 21st Nov. last in the form of a report of the condition of the Indian Seminary at Florissant has been received. I am directed by the Secretary to state that the number of children in the Seminary being only five, he cannot advance the sum of \$800 as promised in his letter to the Bishop Du Bourg of 21st March, 1822, that letter having stipulated to pay \$800 on the following conditions:

1st, after the establishment should be in operation, and 2nd, with a suitable number of Indian youths.

The Secretary, however, directs that the most that has ever been allowed for the purpose be allowed to you, which is one hundred dollars for each youth, which will be increased at that rate 'til you shall have received eight, when the increase of appropriations will have reached its limits. A

¹⁹Van Quickenborne à Rosati, Jan. 1825, Archives of the Archdiocese of St. Louis. The Mr. Richard mentioned in Father Van Quickenborne's letter was the Rev. Gabriel Richard of Detroit, U.S. Congressman from Michigan Territory during the years 1823-1825. He was the first and only Catholic priest that ever held such office.

²⁰M'KENNEY, *Memoirs Official and Personal*, New York, 1846, p. 35.

remittance of five hundred dollars has been made to Gen'l Clark to be paid to you in conformity with the above decision, and all future remittances on account of the allowance made to the school of which you have charge will be made through Gen'l Clark, unless you should wish them to be made differently.²¹

The Government had thus, though not without some delay, discharged in all essential respects the obligations it had assumed towards the Indian school in the negotiations between the Bishop of Louisiana and Secretary Calhoun. There appears to be no evidence that the Government was really disposed not to stand by its engagements, though its delay in forwarding the first appropriation, or some other circumstance, seems to have excited some such suspicion in the minds of Bishop Du Bourg and Father Van Quickenborne. The Bishop wrote to Van Quickenborne in January, 1825, while the expected appropriation seemed to be hanging in the balance:

I am astonished at what you told me of the Government's breach of promise. Why do you not protest at Washington through one of your Fathers? I wrote lately to Col. Benton, Senator of Missouri, requesting him to see the Secretary of War and remind him of his obligations. It would be well for you to forward to Father Dzierozynski copies of the Secretary's letters which I sent you, with the request that he show them to the Secretary, together with a certificate from the Governor of your State to the effect that you have complied with the conditions of the contract. I cannot believe that the Government is aware of the violation of its pledge. The matter should be attended to as soon as possible. If, which is an impossibility, the Government should turn a deaf ear to your demands, the whole affair should be brought to the notice of the public. Such a breach of faith would compromise any Government. I will myself write to Mr. Calhoun in the plainest terms.²²

The \$500 which Calhoun directed to be paid to Father Van Quickenborne at St. Louis was the first money ever appropriated by the United States Government to a Catholic Indian School. As the number of boys at the St. Regis had increased beyond eight, the appropriation in its favor for the years 1825 and 1826 was presumably \$800.²³ In 1827, however, the appropriation

²¹ M'Kenney to Van Quickenborne, Jan. 28, 1825.

²² Du Bourg to Van Quickenborne, Jan. 18, 1825.

²³ "You tell me that the number of your Indian boys is increasing. If this be so the Government allowance ought to increase in proportion up to \$800. Do not fail to protest in this matter." Du Bourg to Van Quickenborne, May 25, 1825.

was cut down to \$400, extra demands on the funds of the Indian Office, so it was alleged, making larger allowance impossible, and it remained at this figure until 1830 when the payments ceased altogether.²⁴ The total amount of money paid by the Government to the Florissant school during its brief career of six or seven years was about \$3,500.²⁵

Now that Father Van Quickenborne had secured from Government the promised subsidy for his educational venture, he was anxious to secure aid from the same quarter towards defraying the expenses of the school-house he had erected on the seminary grounds. The cost of this building, as noted in his report to General Clark of November 21, 1824, was about \$1,500 or \$2,000 when the building should be completed. Van Quickenborne's application for aid in this connection was refused on grounds set forth in a communication from Colonel M'Kenney:

Your letter of the 23 ult. to the Secretary of War, requesting to have the plan of the buildings at Florissant approved and payment to be made according to the regulations of the 20th Feb., 1820, has been received. I have the honor by direction of the Secretary to state, in reply, that the allowance from the Civilization fund, towards the erection of buildings for Indian schools, is considered applicable (as stated in the regulations of the 30 Sept., 1819, of which those of the 20th Feb., 1820 are additional) to such establishments only as may be fixed within the limits of those Indian nations that border our settlements. The buildings at Florissant not being within such limits, but upon your own land, are not provided for in the regulations aforesaid.²⁶

It was clear to Father Van Quickenborne that his efforts in behalf of Indian boys would be largely wasted unless on growing up they could secure Catholic wives with whom to persevere in the practice of their religion. A school for girls was therefore an essential factor in his scheme of Indian education and in his efforts to establish one he took counsel with Madame Duchesne. That truly apostolic woman, it is unnecessary to say, was watching with the liveliest interest the educational experiment to which her spiritual director had put his hand. She took a direct and

²⁴ M'Kenney to Van Quickenborne, February 9, 1827. Expenses of school for past year [1828] \$1,600. Government pays only \$400. *Ann. Prop.*, 4: 584.

²⁵ Father Van Quickenborne in a report gives the amount as \$3,300 or \$3,500.

²⁶ M'Kenney to Van Quickenborne, April 28, 1825.

maternal interest in the Indian boys, washing their linen and lending her personal services more than once to keep them neat and tidy. The idea of a school for Indian girls to be conducted by her community appealed to her intensely apostolic spirit. Accordingly, in June, 1824, a month after the opening of the boys' school, she wrote to the Mother General, Sophie Barat, asking permission to open a similar institution for girls.

"The board costs little," she explained to her; "lodging is already available and as for clothes, we shall beg them. We must omit nothing to further this interesting work, the object of so many desires, the very thing that has brought us here."²⁷

Five weeks later she wrote again:

I sometimes think that God has spoiled our first plans and our first undertaking, the boarding-school I mean, in order to build up little by little the more fascinating work of the education of the Indians. We must merit it by humiliations and other sufferings.²⁸

In the beginning of April, 1825, the ambition of Madame Duchesne was finally realized. "One evening during Office," Madame Mathevan records in her *Journal*, "Father Rector called at the Convent and asked to see the Superior. Picture the surprise of Madame Duchesne on seeing two little Indian girls before her, who, greatly embarrassed, were trying to hide themselves behind the Father's flowing mantle. He had brought them up in a cart."²⁹

On all things in and about the Convent of the Sacred Heart at Florissant poverty was writ large. It had now to carry an additional burden of expense in the Indian school, a burden heavier than Madame Duchesne had anticipated. The cost of maintenance for the first year amounted to \$590, doubtless a heavy drain on the slender resources of the nuns. "For the expenses incurred by them," Van Quickenborne wrote in December, 1825, "I have offered and given them: (1) corn for the whole year; (2) potatoes for the whole year; (3) fire-wood for the whole year.

²⁷ BAUNARD, *Life of Mother Duchesne*, p. 264.

²⁸ BAUNARD, *op. cit.*, p. 264.

²⁹ BAUNARD, *op. cit.*, p. 264.

I doubt whether they will receive these things gratis. They help us much in making and repairing clothes for us and the Indians."³⁰

There was no reason, however, why aid should not be lent to the Madame's Indian school by the Government, which was subsidizing similar institutions in charge of non-Catholic denominations and was a real, if indirect, beneficiary in the devoted labors of the nuns. Accordingly, Van Quickenborne, with the warm approval of General Clark, though the latter expressed a desire that his name be not mentioned in connection with the affair, determined to apply to Washington for an appropriation for the girls' school. His petition, dispatched in June, 1825, under the auspices, so he is at pains to note, of St. Francis Regis, was addressed to Secretary of War Eaton, and represented that an annual subsidy of \$800 would enable the directors of the Female Indian School at Florissant to continue the praiseworthy enterprise on which they had embarked.³¹ The petition was denied, presumably on the ground of lack of funds to cover the appropriation asked for, and so Madame Duchesne's Indian School was destined to run its brief career without government support of any kind. It closed its doors at about the same time that the neighboring school for boys came to an end.

As the only Catholic Indian school in the United States, St. Regis Seminary and its pioneer labors were brought by Father Van Quickenborne to the attention of Catholic France in the pages of the *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*. Mention of the school is also to be found in an appeal made in 1826 to the generosity of European Catholics by Father Gabriel Richard of Detroit, at that time a member of the National House of Representatives.

³⁰Van Quickenborne to Dzierzynski, Dec. 19, 1825. "As the school for girls has been opened only this year, the beginning of it has necessarily been attended with greater expenses than will be required next year for an equal number. Both boys and girls behave with great propriety. The strict morality which they observe in their conduct, their submission and obedience to the orders of their Superiors, their entire satisfaction and contentedness in their new state of life and finally their gratitude to their benefactors give the strongest hopes that they will be useful citizens and be sincerely attached to Government that has in their regard such benevolent views."

³¹Van Quickenborne ad Dzierzynski, June, 1825.

At Mackinac last summer the Presbyterians put up a school-house about a hundred feet in length. In this school they have received a large number of Indian children, whom they feed, clothe and instruct gratis. The Catholics of America are in general poor and unable even to build churches for their own needs. . . . It is then to the generosity of the Catholics of Europe that we must look for effective aid. The ministers of error are quick to profit by the ample means placed at their disposal by their rich merchants who subscribe liberally for all their institutions. Moreover, as they were on the ground before us, they make off annually with nearly all of the ten thousand dollars which the President of the United States is authorized to spend on the civilization of the Indians. There is so far only one Catholic school for the instruction of Indian children, that namely at Florissant, near St. Louis; this establishment receives a subsidy from the Government and this owing to the clever tact and engaging address of the Bishop of New Orleans, Mgr. Du Bourg. . . . The Jesuits of France, England and Italy should come here and take possession of their old missions, the ruins of which cry out for them on all sides. . . . What would I not do to make my voice heard over all Europe! I would speak to it of the poor Indian in these terms: "*Parvuli petierunt panem et non erat qui frangeret eis.*"²²

IV

We have seen that the affairs of the Indian school brought Father Van Quickenborne into frequent personal contact with Gen. William Clark, Superintendent of Indian Affairs at St. Louis. This historic character, whose success in dealing with the Indians make him a conspicuous figure in the early history of the West, frequently discussed with the Jesuit missionary the deplorable condition of the savage tribes and the best methods of affording them relief. His own plan for the systematic civilization of the Indian nations, as outlined by Father Van Quickenborne in a letter to the Maryland Superior, was simple enough. A tract of land, presumably west of the Missouri state-line in the present state of Kansas (though Van Quickenborne says it was only 200 miles distant from Florissant) was to be set aside for the Indian tribes. The tract was to be divided into districts and in each district four or five tribes were to be allowed to settle down. A school-house with resident missionary was to be provided for each district, while outside the limits of the entire

²² *Ann. Prop.*, 3: 333.

region there was to be a sort of central Indian school to which about six boys and as many girls from each district were to be sent. St. Regis Seminary, with a department for girls to be conducted by the Ladies of the Sacred Heart, was considered as likely to answer all the requirements of this central school. "But," Clark observed to Van Quickenborne, "if I put a Methodist in one district, a Presbyterian in another, a Quaker in a third, and a Catholic in fourth, you will be constantly at war, and instead of giving them peace will only create confusion in the minds of the Indians. I should like to give the districts to one Society and I think that yours is more competent for the work than any of the others." Father Van Quickenborne replied to Clark that he thought his Order had men sufficient for the districts. To the eagerly apostolic Superior, Clark's scheme appeared a dispensation of Providence for renewing the missionary glories of the ancient Jesuits. "Who does not see here," he writes with enthusiasm to Dzierzynski, "the beginning of another Paraguay. It would indeed be a miracle if the other missionaries were displaced and ours substituted in their stead. But this is the age of miracles. Oh, if our Very Rev. Fr. General were to send us a Xavier, a Lallemand, a John Francis [Regis] and you, Father, four or five well-formed brothers. *Sed quid ego miser.*"³³

Some months later Clark returned to the subject of Catholic missionaries. He informed Van Quickenborne that the Catholics were not asking for missionary posts, and that these were now nearly all assigned, the Methodists having been particularly insistent in their demands.³⁴ Finally, in the fall of 1825, he invited the Father to visit the Kansas Indians and promised to pay for the boys he would obtain from that tribe. The land held by the Kansas Indians within the limits of Missouri had been ceded to the United States Government in 1825. One township was reserved to be sold for \$20,000 dollars, and this sum was to constitute an education fund to be applied by the President of the United States to the maintenance of a school in the Kansas Village. At 5 per cent the capital would yield an annual income

³³ Van Quickenborne ad Dzierzynski, April 29, 1825.

³⁴ Van Quickenborne ad Dzierzynski, June 30, 1825. "Wishing to stir me to action, he [Clark] deprecated politely the fact that Catholics do not sufficiently exert themselves to obtain those places."

of \$1,000. Clark urged Van Quickenborne to apply for the Kansas school with the accompanying appropriation. The treaty, so the General informed him, awaited confirmation by the Senate, but that obtained, immediate application for the new school would be made by some Protestant denomination. Van Quickenborne wrote to his Superior reporting this offer made by General Clark and suggesting that the affair could be negotiated in Washington by Father Dzierozynski himself, or by Father Dubuisson or by Father Matthews of St. Patrick's Church. Nothing, however, came of this attempt of the superintendent to engage Jesuit missionaries for the Kansas Indians.²⁵

In the course of the year 1825, Father Van Quickenborne, at General Clark's solicitation, drew up and submitted a plan for a general and systematic civilization of the Indian tribes. "The Superintendent of Indian Affairs," the Father wrote to Bishop Du Bourg, "has had me put in writing my ideas on the best way of civilizing the Indians. He previously laid before me his own plans as well as his good intentions in our regard. It is only two days since he broached the subject and I have not found time to perfect my plan. I send it to you, however, such as I have been able to make it in so short a time, hoping that your Lordship will make whatever changes you may deem advisable."²⁶ The plan was as follows:

1. Our little Indian Seminary should continue to support the present number of boys from eight to twelve years of age, while the Ladies of the Sacred Heart in our neighborhood should bring up about as many girls of the same tribe. They should be taken young, from eight to twelve, to habituate them more easily to the customs and industry of civil life, and impress more deeply on their hearts the principles of religion.

2. After five or six years education, it would be good that each youth should choose a wife among the pupils of the Sacred Heart, before returning to his tribe.

3. Within two or three years two missionaries should go to reside in that nation to gain their confidence and esteem, and gradually persuade a number to settle together on a tract to be set apart by Government. Agricultural implements and other necessary tools for the new establishment to be furnished.

²⁵ Van Quickenborne to Dzierozynski, December 19, 1825.

²⁶ *Ann. Prop.*, 2: 396.

4. As soon as this new town was formed, some of the couples formed in our establishments should be sent there with one of the said missionaries, who should be immediately replaced, so that two should always be left with the body of the tribe, till it was gradually absorbed in the civilized colony.

5. Our missionaries should then pass to another tribe and proceed successively with each in the same manner as the first.

6. As the number of missionaries and our resources increased, the civilization of two or more tribes might be undertaken at once. The expense of carrying out this plan might be estimated thus:

The support of 16 to 24 children in two establishments.	\$1,900
Three Missionaries	600

Total \$2,500.²⁷

Van Quickenborne's plan, ingenious and promising as it appeared to be, was never executed. General Clark promised to lay it before Secretary of War Calhoun on the occasion of a visit he was to pay to Washington, but omitted doing so since the Secretary, who was soon to relinquish his office, was unwilling to discuss measures the execution of which would devolve upon his successor.²⁸

Four years later, in the spring of 1829, Father Van Quickenborne called on President Jackson in Washington and laid before him substantially the same plan for the civilization of the Indians as that outlined above. The President gave his verbal approval. The plan is sketched in a letter which Van Quickenborne addressed to Secretary of War, Eaton, in October, 1829.

In the latter part of last Spring, I had the honor of proposing to our venerable President, General Jackson, the plan for the civilization of the Indians, which I now take the liberty of laying before your excellency. Should Government approve of it, I would buy in this state six or seven thousand acres of land. The Indian boys and girls educated in our institution, after being married would go thither to settle upon a tract of 25 acres, which I would give to each of them in fee simple, with some restrictions. However, all of them could make application as foreigners do for citizenship. I would be inclined to receive into our Seminary only such youths, as declare through their parents, their willingness and desire to become citizens of the United States, and living according to the

²⁷*Ann. Prop.*, 2:397. The translation is from Shea, *History of the Catholic Missions among the Indian Tribes of the United States*, p. 406.

²⁸Van Quickenborne to Dzierozynski, January 10, 1825.

laws of the country. Upon making such declaration such grown Indians as would be willing to be married according to our laws and begin immediately a farm would also be received. The new settlers would adopt the English language. Two Reverend gentlemen of our Society would reside among them, be their pastor and officiate in the church to be built. If any assistance should be given by Government, it would be most gratefully received. The President has verbally approved the plan.³⁹

The Government's decision in regard to Father Van Quickenborne's plan was communicated to him by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Colonel M'Kenney:

Your views in relation to the Indians, and especially the Indian children educated at your school, are considered highly commendable, and it is very gratifying to find that you are disposed to engage so earnestly in the cause of Indian improvement. Your plan, as far as it goes, is considered good; but as the subject will be taken up by the Executive and a general plan for the civilization and improvement of the Indians submitted to Congress at the next session, it is not deemed advisable, in the meantime, to extend the aid of the Government to any partial plan for the same object.⁴⁰

V

The records of the period afford us only occasional glimpses of what went on within the humble inclosure of the Indian school at Florissant. Father Van Quickenborne, always an optimist when the affairs of the school were in question, wrote with keen satisfaction to Dzierzynski, within a few months after the institution had opened its doors, of the change that had come over the Indian boys:

Plays are preparing for the Indian boys. These go on to the astonishment of us all. In the beginning we had to watch them like wild hares; they were weeping the whole day. The Ladies of the Sacred Heart have a forty days devotion to St. John Francis Regis. I have made a vow, if the boys changed, to do what I could to have that Saint for the patron of our mission. The boys are entirely changed. They observe order like a well-regulated college boy or like a novice; they already know their prayers. Mr. Smedts, their prefect, understands them. We have had an interpreter for fourteen days. They make regularly their visits to the

³⁹ Van Quickenborne to Eaton, October 4, 1829. Indian Office Ms. Records. Van Quickenborne's plan is also sketched in a letter in the *Ann. Prop.*, 4: 587.

⁴⁰ M'Kenney to Van Quickenborne, October 27, 1829.

Blessed Sacrament and behave to the great edification of us all. They work two hours before dinner and two after dinner with the greatest satisfaction. They all wept when the hoe was put into their hand for the first time.⁴¹

Father Van Quickenborne's satisfaction with his Indian pupils was further increased by an incident that took place during the first year of the school's career.

We received a visit here from chiefs and twelve warriors of the Hyaway [Iowa] nation. The boys appeared at St. Louis before these visitors while they had their talk with General Clark. They were well dressed and behaved extremely well. On entering the city one of them drove the cart in which the others were, which amazed the Indian fathers exceedingly. They were highly satisfied and General Clarke, I have been told, said, after the talk was over, to an agent: "I wish all the Indian boys were with Catholics."⁴²

To live the greater part of the day with a class of Indian boys and at the same time continue to snatch some moments of time for the theological studies preparatory to ordination, was an obviously uncomfortable manner of existence. Mr. Smedts, the first of the scholastics to be appointed prefect of the Indian pupils, had been succeeded in that capacity by Mr. Verreydt, who thus laid open to Father Dzierozynski the difficulty of his position:

The boys rise in the morning during meditation and I am with them till half-past eight o'clock when they go to the field and return a quarter before twelve, at which time I am with them till two o'clock (after dinner) when they go again to the field till a quarter before five. At this time I used to teach some to spell till half-past six; but since eight boys have left us so that we have at present but seven Indian boys and three French boys, our Reverend Superior has allowed me to employ this time in the study of moral divinity, the study of which I resumed since last Easter. On Sundays and Holydays I have to be with them the whole day; when it rains I have to be with them. They must be watched at night. I often sleep in the day in order to watch at night.⁴³

The one idea that had to be brought home to the Indian boys with persistent pains was that work is honorable. The conven-

⁴¹Van Quickenborne to Dzierozynski, 1824.

⁴²Van Quickenborne to Dzierozynski, Jan. 10, 1825.

⁴³Verreydt to Dzierozynski, 1826.

tional picture of the American Indian in his native habitat which represents him as idling comfortably in the sun at his wigwam door while his squaw is busy with formidable tasks of manual labor does no violence to the facts. On an occasion when a band of some thirty Indians paid a visit to Florissant, one of their number was amazed to see his son, a pupil of the Seminary, carrying a bucket of water. All the pride of race rose within him and he asked the boy indignantly, "Are you a slave?"—the Indian's epithet for all who labor with their hands. To overcome the prejudice of the boys against work it became necessary for the directors of the school to set an example in their own persons of manual labor. With this end in view, as for other reasons also, one of the community, either a lay-brother or a scholastic, worked alongside the boys in the fields. At intervals, as in the potato and corn-planting season, the entire scholastic body would join them in their work. Moreover, the scholastics spent nearly the whole of the vacation period in labor of various kinds, as in making cider or felling trees for tables. "All this is necessary," Mr. Van Assche, one of their number, observes to a correspondent, "to encourage the Indians." Efforts were also made to teach the youths to sing and even to play on musical instruments, not without some success. But on the whole their voices were found to lack the clearness requisite for singing, though an Indian boy would occasionally delight the worshippers at St. Ferdinand's church with a voice of unusual sweetness.⁴⁴

To provide suitable board and especially clothing for the children was sometimes a serious problem.

To increase the number of Indians and Jesuits as well [Mr. Van Assche wrote in 1825 to his benefactor M. De Nef of Turnhout in Belgium], it is highly important for us to try to improve our farm. We have written to our parents and friends for clothing, as without such assistance, it is quite impossible for us to receive many pupils. To feed sixteen or twenty is not such a great matter, but to clothe them is out of the question, for shoes, hats and linen are very expensive. Those who are coming to join us will perform a great act of charity by bringing along with them as large a supply as possible of linen and other kinds of cloth, no matter of what color, provided of course it is worth the cost of transportation. If they bring pantaloons, cloaks, or other articles of wear ready made, they

⁴⁴ Van Assche to De Nef, May, 1827.

must know that the youngest of the twelve is only five and the oldest fourteen years old. Most of the clothes on them now were brought by us from Europe.⁴⁵

What happened when the Indian parents visited their sons at the Seminary is told naively by the lay-brother, Peter De Meyer.

We opened a school for Indian and half-Indian boys. They were taught to wear clothes, to eat with knives and forks, to say their prayers in English and to work in the fields. I worked several summers with them in the corn fields and chopped fire-wood with them during winter in the woods. Once their fathers and their attendants, for they were chiefs of different tribes, came to see them on their way to Washington to transact business with the President of the United States for their nation. On their arrival towards night we made great preparation to receive them well. We killed a large ox by candle-light in the orchard and were going to lay a table with knives, forks, etc. But their interpreter, who was a Frenchman and knew their language well, said, "Not so; give them a large pot and meat and let them cook for themselves in the woods." So a large kettle was taken out the wash-house and a quarter of the ox was given to them and they then retired into the woods about thirty yards from the house. The boys put a piece of blanket on their backs which was the uniform of the nobles of their nation. They made a big fire, cooked and eat their bellyful. They also took some snaps which they carried with them in long canes. Then they began to dance around the fire, singing their war-songs. These lasted till a very late hour. Some of ours feared they were about to do some mischief; but it was all fun. They at last lay down and slept till morning; when they got up, they began to eat again, for their kettle was not yet empty. Shortly after, they started off.⁴⁶

For a while Father Van Quickenborne's Indian school seemed destined to a prolonged and useful career. From the Indian Office came approval and appreciation of its work.⁴⁷ But more

⁴⁵ Van Assche to De Nef, 1825. The generosity of benefactors appears to have solved later on the problems of clothing the Indian boys. "For their support we have and will receive from the charity of the faithful whatever is necessary. Last week we received from Europe 95 shirts, 135 handkerchiefs, 2 soutanes, 1 cloak, 2 surtouts, 35 pairs boots and a number of stockings and flannel jackets, all in very good order." Van Quickenborne to Dzierozynski, September 1, 1828.

⁴⁶*Reminiscences of Peter De Meyer*, S. J., 1867 [Ms.].

⁴⁷"Your letter to the Secretary of War of the 4th ultimo, enclosing your report of the state of the Indian school under your Superintendency is received. I am directed to acknowledge it, and to convey to you the Secretary's approval; and the expression of his hopes that your benevolent labors for the enlightening of a portion of our Indians may be more and more prosperous." M'Kenney to Van Quickenborne, November 3, 1826.

acceptable to the zealous Van Quickenborne, no doubt, than any note of secular approval was the commendatory statement made by his Superior, Father Dzierozynski, on the occasion of the latter's visit to Florissant in the summer of 1827.

The Indian school has one teacher, a lay-brother. Thanks be to God, it makes excellent progress alike in morals, letters and manual labor in the fields, where every day, both morning and afternoon, the boys spend some hours with their instructors. The boys number only thirteen, but the house cannot accommodate any more. There is a similar school for Indian girls in the village of St. Ferdinand, a famous old Spanish settlement. This is in charge of the Ladies of the Sacred Heart. The pupils number as many as in the boys' school, their education being looked to by the Ladies, their support by the Rector of the Florissant establishment, who by dint of alms and the produce of his farm endeavors to the best of his ability to supply them with food and clothing, however poor these may be. I was highly pleased to hear the Indian girls recite their catechism. Who made you? Who redeemed you? Who sanctified you? To all such questions they replied with childlike simplicity. A more elaborate exhibition was given by ours at Florissant. St. Ignatius day was celebrated with a Solemn High Mass and panegyric in St. Ferdinand's church, some of the Indian boys singing with Ours in the choir. After dinner in a sort of rustic amphitheatre festooned with flowers and greenery the Indian boys underwent an examination in their studies, the best of them being awarded prizes. After the specimen, one of their number, of more than usual capacity and diligence, came to my room very quietly so as not to be seen by the others and asked me to take him along with me to Georgetown College. "If I remain here I shall go to the bad." I encouraged him with the assurance that grace to preserve his innocence would not fail him in Missouri. He took me at my word and went away satisfied.⁴⁴

VI

In the event, St. Regis Seminary failed to realize its early promise. It does not appear that Father Van Quickenborne's management of the school commended itself at all times to his associates in the educational venture, though never was there reason to doubt that he was guided by other motive than zeal for the best interests of the institution. "It is clear to me now," wrote in later years one who did not see eye to eye with him in the affairs of the school, "that he always acted as he thought best

⁴⁴*Historia Missionis Missourianas* [Ms.].

under the circumstances and always had before his eyes *Ad maiorem Dei gloriam*.”⁴⁹ As to his management of the school, the opinion was expressed that he was unduly severe in his treatment of some of the boys and that the hours of work were too many and the hours of study too few. Yet there is much to show that a very substantial tenderness of heart underlay whatever severity showed itself in the outward manner of this sturdy Fleming. The man charged with too drastic treatment of his Indian pupils could thus plead with them with his Superior in Maryland when, apparently against his own judgment and wishes, he was required to expel some of their number from the school.

The boys expelled by me are not discouraged. All are highly praised. I say only what was said to me. One made his first Communion under Father De Theux and goes to the Sacraments every month and was first in Catechism. Maximus, son of the Ioway chief, is in St. Charles and is spoken of highly by Father Smedts. The third is in Portage and works hard and behaves himself. The two others are so small that they can scarcely do anything. When I met one of them scarcely six years old and saw him, whom I had received as a son, now being treated as a little slave by his new master, my feelings got the better of me and I almost fainted. I think that your Reverence with a knowledge of the circumstances would not have given the orders you did, and I ask you that we may be permitted to deal more gently with these little things whom we have only yesterday rescued from the wild beasts of the forest. However, I am prepared to obey the orders of Rev. Father Superior.⁵⁰

The last report forwarded to Washington by Father Van Quickenborne, that for the year ending September 30, 1830, stated that in December, 1830, there were only two pupils attending the school.⁵¹ In May, 1832, Elbert Herring, who had succeeded Colonel M'Kenney as Commissioner of Indian Affairs, wrote to Father Van Quickenborne asking, "Is the Department to infer from your having ceased to draw from the sum allowed or to transmit the required report, that you no longer claim any aid from the Government?"

The Superior's reply, dated July 10, brought a second letter from Mr. Herring.

⁴⁹ Elet ad Dzierozynski, May 20, 1835.

⁵⁰ Van Quickenborne to Dzierozynski, 1825.

⁵¹ Indian Office Ms. Records.

"The Department," he said, "cannot with any propriety continue to bestow a part of the Public Funds entrusted to it in aid of an Institution which the principal himself represents to have had hardly an existence for more than two years. It cannot, therefore, permit you to expect that your request that the allowance for the past year and the current one will be paid. If you should succeed in reëstablishing the school, your communication of the fact will meet with prompt attention and you will receive such assistance as the circumstances seem to demand."¹²

With this communication from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs the business relations between St. Regis Seminary and the United States Government came to an end. The last Indian boy left June 30, 1831, and the institution passed into history.¹³ That it was a model Indian school no one conversant with the facts will venture to maintain. Too remote a location from the Indian villages, probably certain mistakes in the management of the school, but especially lack of proper financial support, were among the reasons for the failure of the institution to realize a larger measure of success. Yet we are not to conclude that the labors of the men who through six years maintained against discouraging odds the first Catholic Indian School in the United States had gone for nothing. The author of the *Annual Letters* of the Missouri Mission for 1830 notes that many former pupils of the Seminary were living among the whites and continued to

¹² Herring to Van Quickenborne, May 30, 1832.

¹³ The boys in attendance were not for the most part of pure Indian stock. Their number, which during the entire life of the school did not go beyond thirty in all, included ten full-blooded Indians of five different tribes, Osage chiefly, and twenty metifs or half-breeds. Almost one-half of the half-breeds were illegitimate. All the full blooded Indians, with the exception of two who were dismissed for breaches of morality, were taken away by their parents. [Contemporary Ms. memorandum.] Father Van Quickenborne was disappointed both in the number and quality of Indian boys furnished him by the Indian agents and, with a view largely to obtain suitable pupils for his school, made personal visits to the Osage in their villages along the Neosho river. "This visit [of the Iowa chiefs] and other circumstances have made me see much better than before how little we can rely on Indians or on the efforts of Indian Agents in behalf of our Seminary. You must remember what the Secretary of War said to Bishop Du Bourg, viz: that he wanted Jesuits. Now, Rev. Father Superior, we must go out and make a choice of Indian boys. Let the Indians know us. Agents have told me this and General Clark is dubious of the success of the undertaking unless we do it." Van Quickenborne to Dzierozynski, January 10, 1825. A highly interesting account of Van Quickenborne's bringing a little Indian "prince" from the Osage country to Florissant in 1828, is given by him in the *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, 4: 578.

receive the sacraments monthly. Around one of them in particular hung something of the odor of sanctity and the holy end he made as a mere boy was the admiration of all who witnessed it.⁴⁴ Sometimes, too, Jesuit missionaries of later years would find a foothold for some missionary enterprise in the sympathy and good will of one-time pupils of the Florissant Indian School. Thus, when Fathers De Smet and Verreydt ascended the Missouri in 1838 to open the Potawatomi Mission at Council Bluffs, they were welcomed at a stopping place on the way by Francis, the Iowa chief, whom Father De Smet had instructed at St. Regis Seminary and who would gladly have kept his former teacher to minister to his people.⁴⁵

As to Father Van Quickenborne, he rested from his labors at the comparatively early age of forty-nine, dying at Portage des Sioux in Missouri, August 17, 1837. He did not live to see the day, brighter than his own, when his associates of the Jesuit Mission of Missouri were enabled to set on foot the two highly successful Indian schools which they maintained through many years on behalf of the Potawatomi and Osage tribes; but he blazed the way in the field of Catholic Indian education in the United States and the praise of the pioneer and pathfinder is his. For the rest, the tribute of the historian, John Gilmary Shea, may here find a place:

To Father Van Quickenborne, as the founder of the Vice-Province of Missouri and the Indian Missions, too little honor has been paid. His name is almost unknown, yet few have contributed more to the education of the white and the civilization of the red man, to the sanctification of all.⁴⁶

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⁴⁴*Litterae Annuae Missionis Missourianae, 1823-1834*, p. 24 [Ms.].

⁴⁵ Chittenden and Richardson's *De Smet*, 1: 152. Two sons of Pahaska or White Hair, head Osage chief, their names Clérémont and Grètomonsé, the latter head chief of the tribe in 1852, were pupils at St. Regis, where they were baptized. *Osage Mission Register* (Archives of Passionist Monastery, St. Paul, Kansas).

⁴⁶ Shea, *History of the Catholic Missions, etc.*, p. 466.

MISCELLANY

FLORIDA'S FIRST BISHOP

Rt. Rev. Juan Juárez, O. F. M.

On page 171 of the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW for July, 1918, the Rev. Edwin Ryan, D.D., writes: "Florida is said to have been made (ecclesiastically) independent of Cuba and a bishop (Juan Suarez) appointed in 1527. I gave the statement" (in issue of July, 1916) "for what it was worth, but I have since come to suspect that it is worth nothing. It rests *altogether on a single piece of evidence*, and that from a source not altogether trustworthy, viz., the *Ensayo Cronologico para la Historia de la Florida* of Barcia, published under the anagram of Don Gabriel de Cardenas y Cano at Madrid in 1723. Here Father Suarez is called a bishop, but *no other writer* so entitles him, nor is his name to be found in any list of Spanish-American bishops."¹

The late Dr. Gilmary Shea is even more emphatic. "Barcia," he says, "in his *Ensayo Cronologico*, speaks of Father Xuarez as Bishop, but neither Cabeza de Vaca nor Torquemada evidently knew anything of his election to the episcopate, and the portrait² is absolutely without anything indicative of his being a bishop. There is no trace of the erection of any See or Diocese of Rio de Palmas; his name occurs in no work giving the list of bishops in Spanish America, when even his nomination by the king would have entitled him to wear outward marks of the episcopal character. We must therefore regard this statement of Barcia as utterly unfounded."³

Furthermore, in an article of the *American Catholic Quarterly Review*⁴ Dr. Shea, reviewing *Alzog's Church History* as translated into English by Dr. Pabisch and Dr. Byrne, now Bishop of Nashville, makes this forcible declaration: "In the Spanish portion we find the *silly fable* of Friar Juan Xuarez having been Bishop of Florida given as a fact . . . That Xuarez was a bishop is *contradicted by every contemporaneous document*, by the silence of *all Spanish writers*, and by intrinsic facts. The reference made to a modern French writer, who compiled without accurate guides, was the *only authority* for the *fable*."

The italics are mine. It would seem that Fr. Juárez has a poor chance of retaining even the shadow of a mitre. However, let us see.

¹ Italics are mine.

² Shown in SHEA, *History of the Catholic Church*, Vol. i, p. 109.

³ SHEA, *Hist. Cath. Church*, Vol. i, 111.

⁴ Vol. iv, p. 138.

Good Dr. Shea could be very positive and emphatic; nevertheless, he could err just as well as other mortals. Students of his works have discovered that time and time again. At all events, when he asserted that every contemporaneous document contradicts the claim that Fr. Juárez was a bishop, and that all Spanish writers are silent about that subject, Dr. Shea committed an egregious blunder. He might have quoted at least one or two documents that contradict the claim. That would be evidence.

Let us first learn who Fr. Juárez was. Fr. Juan Juárez (also written Quarez, Suarez, Suares) was one of the so-called *Twelve Apostles of Mexico*, the fourth on the list, that is to say, twelve Franciscans who came from Spain to Mexico in 1524, and effected such a general conversion of the natives that, for a long time after, the converts would date their affairs from "the year when the Faith came," i. e., 1524. Fr. Juan was a native of Valencia, Spain, and became a member of the Franciscan province of San Gabriel. Soon after his arrival in New Spain, as Mexico was called in early history, Fr. Juárez was made guardian or superior of the convent of Huexotcingo. There he labored with much zeal and success for about two years, when he returned to Spain in order to enlist more missionaries, and to plead the cause of the Indians before the royal court. While thus occupied, he was chosen to accompany the expedition of Pámfilo de Narvaez, who in 1527, prepared to found a colony in Florida on a grand scale. Fr. Juárez received the appointment of *comisario* for the little band of friars who joined the expedition in order to labor for the conversion of the Indians. Cabeza de Vaca always mentions Fr. Juárez under the title of *comisario*. In order that the new settlement might possess a complete and independent organization from the beginning in ecclesiastical affairs as well as in secular matters, Fr. Juan Juárez was nominated Bishop of Florida and Rio de las Palmas (now Pánuco) in Mexico. Such is the affirmative side of the case, which, of course, must produce its proofs,

There is no evidence that Fr. Juárez ever received episcopal *consecration*, nor has any one claimed as much; but there is fairly abundant authority, besides Shea's "modern French writer," whoever he may be, to show that Fr. Juan Juárez was *nominated* Bishop of Florida and Rio de las Palmas by the Spanish king. That suffices, according to Dr. Shea himself, to honor with the title of bishop the first Franciscan who entered the territory of the United States. "Under the Bull of Julius II, the Catholic king could nominate bishops in the Indies. They were constantly spoken of as bishops."⁵

⁵ SHEA, in *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, Vol. iv, p. 139.

If there be no mention of Fr. Juárez in any list of Spanish-American Bishops, *quod est demonstrandum*, that would signify nothing, because Florida never was under the jurisdiction, either ecclesiastical or political, of New Spain, by which we mean Mexico. Nor was Florida under the jurisdiction of Cuba at the time of the Narvaez expedition. It was directly subject to Spain then and very long thereafter. At any rate, it would have to be shown that the episcopal lists always included mere bishops-elect. If so, and Fr. Juárez alone were omitted, then, *in the absence on any other proof*, the claim might be safely termed a silly fable, indeed.

In an earlier work,⁶ Dr. Shea writes, "Fr. John Juarez went not only as Superior of the mission, but also, annalists assure us, as Bishop of Florida." He changed his mind later, which, of course, he had a right to do if he discovered evidence to the contrary; but if he found any such proof he has never divulged it.

Several historical writers in the nineteenth century thought the evidence strong enough to give Fr. Juárez the title of bishop. The translators of *Alzog's Church History*, already mentioned, admitted nomination of Fr. Juárez to the See of Florida, and for this Dr. Shea assails them somewhat savagely, as we have seen, but with little reason. Their affirmative was as good, at least, as his negative, until he had produced some evidence to support him.

R. H. Clarke, author of the *Lives of the Deceased Bishops in the United States*,⁷ devotes *eleven pages* to the "Rt. Rev. Juan Juarez, O.S.F., First Bishop of Florida."

George Bancroft, author of the *History of the United States*,⁸ appears to have accepted the fact, for he says: "Florida at once obtained a governor; it now constituted a part of a bishopric."

Very Rev. Fr. Pámfilo da Magliano, O.S.F., in his *St. Francis and the Franciscans*,⁹ writes: "Annalists assure us that Fr. John Juarez was also Bishop of Florida."

The *Ensayo Cronologico*,¹⁰ mentioned by Dr. Ryan as the only authority for the statement, declares: "Iba Fr. Juan Suarez por Obispo de aquel Distrito, desde el Rio de las Palmas hasta la Florida" ("Fr. Juan Suarez went as Bishop of that district, which extends from the Rio de las Palmas to Florida"). Dr. Shea quotes this work frequently.

⁶ *Catholic Missions*, New York, 1854, p. 40.

⁷ New York, 1872.

⁸ Vol. i, p. 34.

⁹ New York, 1867, p. 571.

¹⁰ *Ad annum 1527*, p. 9.

If its author is regarded trustworthy on other subjects of history, it is not clear why he should not be called as witness in this case.

The picture to which Dr. Shea alludes¹¹ as having been taken from the original portrait in the convent of Tlaltelalco, where the portraits of the other eleven friars are to be found, can be only a fanciful copy, because photography had not as yet been discovered. Out of the *Twelve Apostles*, so called, four were named bishops, not counting Fr. Juárez. Hence, there would be some force in Dr. Shea's contention if the pictures of these four Franciscan friars exhibited any episcopal insignia whilst the portrait of Fr. Juárez alone lacked such evidence.

It so happened that in 1905, when I visited Mexico, there was in the gallery of the Museo Nacional at the capital of Mexico a large oil-painting. It represented Fr. Juan Juárez in Franciscan habit and cloak. To the right of the figure of this friar on a stand or table against the wall stood upright an episcopal mitre. The inscription beneath also contained some proof. It read as follows: "El Venerable P. Fr. Juan Suáres, Hijo de esta Santa Provincia, Insigne en Pulpito y Cathedra. Renunció todos los oficios de la Orden y la Mitra de el Rio de las Palmas. Murió con fama de Santidad." ("The Venerable Father Juan Suáres, Member of this holy Province, distinguished as preacher and professor. He declined all the offices of the Order and the mitre of Rio de la Palmas. He died in the odor of sanctity.")

The "provincia" mentioned in the inscription is the Franciscan Province of the Holy Gospel, which now comprises the eastern portion of Mexico. I had the painting photographed, and still possess two poorly executed prints thereof.

Lest there be doubt as to the identity of this Fr. Juan Suáres with the nominee to the Florida diocese, I examined the list of Franciscan bishops-elect in the *Menologio* of Vetancurt, and found that Fr. Juan Suáres is the fourth on the list. No date is given, but he precedes Fr. Francisco Ximenes, who was named first Bishop of Oaxaca on May 14, 1534. The entry reads: "El V. P. Fr. Juan Suáres fue electo en Obispo de la Provincia del Rio de las Palmas, segun Antonio Herrera, lib. 4, decada 4, cap. 3."¹²

Again, in the *Menologio*, or Martyrology proper, for the date of March 21, Vetancurt says: "Fue electo Fr. Juan Suáres en Obispo de la Provincia del Rio de las Palmas, segun Antonio Herrera dice." ("Fr. Juan Suáres was elected Bishop of the Province of the Rio de las Palmas,

¹¹ A full-page engraving is shown on page 109 of SHEA's *History of the Catholic Church*, Vol. i.

¹² *Menologio Franciscano*, by FR. AUGUSTIN DE VETANCURT, Mexico, 1697, p. 137.

according to the testimony of Antonio Herrera, in his book 4, decada 4, chapter 3.)¹³

Incidentally another witness turns up in Herrera. This work, however, I have not.

Turning to Latin historians, we have two excellent authorities in Fr. Francis Harold and Fr. Luke Wadding, both Irishman. The former, in his *Epitome Annalium Ordinis Minorum*,¹⁴ writes as follows: "Alii quoque Franciscani ad Yucatanæ peninsulam missi sunt . . . His autem a Caesare serio commissum est, ut Dei suasque leges a provinciarum praefectis observari curarent, nec tyrannice cum Indianis agi permetterent . . . Sed idipsum quoque *Designato Episcopo Franciscano*, et quatuor Fratribus commendatum est, *qui cum Pamphilo de Narvaez, Provinciae Floridae et Palmarum Fluvii Praefecto transfretarunt.*" "Other Franciscans were also sent to the peninsula of Yucatan . . . These religious were earnestly charged by the emperor to see that the provincial governors observed God's Laws and his own, and not to permit Indians to be treated tyrannically . . . The same was imposed upon the *Franciscan Bishop-elect*, and the four Friars, who were making the voyage with Pamphilo de Narvaez, Governor of Florida and the Rio de las Palmas."

In paragraph 5, ad annum 1527, Fr. Harold emphasizes the previous statement by naming the bishop-elect. "Ex eadem Observatum familia selecti sunt aliquot: pro Episcopatu in urbe Mexicana erigendo, Fr. Joannes a Zumárraga; pro Darieni Episcopatu missus est Fr. Martin de Béjar; *ad Floridae provinciae sedem Fr. Joannes Suárez*, quibus etiam graviter commendatum est, etc." ("Of the Family of the Observant Franciscans some were chosen: for the Diocese to be erected in the City of Mexico, Fr. Juan de Zumárraga; for the Darian Diocese was sent Fr. Martin de Béjar; and for the See of the Province of Florida, Fr. Juan Suárez was appointed, who were likewise strictly charged, etc.")

Here we have the most important circumstance pointed out that Fr. Juan Juárez received the nomination as bishop at the same time with two other bishops-elect whose names and titles are specified exactly.

Finally the great Franciscan Annalist Fr. Luke Wadding in his *Annales Ordinis Minorum*,¹⁵ relates: "Hoc anno 1527, . . . Carolus Imperator rogatus a provinciarum paraefectis, et Suis Conciliariis persuasus, nominavit pro Episcopatu erigendo in Urbe Mexicana, Fr. Joannem de Zumárraga; pro Episcopatu Sanctae Mariae Darieni, Fr.

¹³ *Menologio Franciscano*, pp. 32, 155.

¹⁴ Rome, 1662, tom. ii, ad annum 1527, No. 4.

¹⁵ Rome, 1654, Tom. xvi, p. 247, parag. xvi.

Martinum de Béjar; *pro Episcopatu vastissimæ provinciæ Floridæ*, Fr. Joannem Suárez: quos statim hoc anno, vel sub initium sequentis, ad commissas sibi provincias amandavit, ut malis discordiis, quæ vigeabant inter provinciarum præfectos, et gravissimis Indorum pressuris mederentur." ("This year, 1527, Emperor Charles, petitioned by the governors of the provinces, and persuaded by his councillors, named for the Diocese to be erected in the City of Mexico, Fr. Juan de Zumárraga; for the Darian Diocese of St. Mary, Fr. Martin de Béjar; for the *Diocese of the vast Province of Florida*, Fr. Juan Suárez. The emperor ordered these bishops-elect to proceed at once, this year or at the beginning of the following year, to the charges committed to them, in order to remedy the evils and discords prevailing among the governors of the provinces, and to remove the exceedingly heavy burdens from the Indians.")

Historians thus far had overlooked a most important factor in the transaction—the name of the ruler who nominated the three dignitaries. Fr. Wadding happily supplies it. No less a personage than Emperor Charles V. made the nominations.

Those were not the days of steamships and railroads, of the telegraph and telephone. Between the appointment of a bishop by the king and the arrival of the Bulls from the Pope authorizing the consecration years often passed by, so that sometimes the bishop-elect departed from life before the consecration could take place. This was the case with Fr. Juan Juárez, who had been ordered to Florida and to exercise episcopal jurisdiction without awaiting the Pope's Bulls. Fr. Zumárraga, on the other hand, had to wait for his consecration until Sunday, April 27, 1533, *six years* after his nomination to the See of Mexico. Yet during all that period he exercised his episcopal authority.

Bishop-elect Fr. Juan Juárez was accompanied by the lay-brother Juan de Palos, also one of the "Twelve Apostles," three Franciscan priests, and several secular priests. The expedition consisted of more than four hundred persons; for Narvaez dreamed of conquering another empire of Mexico, and of surpassing even Hernando Cortés. So the intrinsic facts, Dr. Shea to the contrary notwithstanding, really called for a person clothed with episcopal authority in the great colony to be established independently of either Mexico or Cuba. The fleet sailed from San Lucar, Spain, on June 17, 1527. After a stormy voyage and long delays, the ships reached the coast of Florida on Holy Thursday, April 14, 1528. When a landing could be made, Narvaez and his following were exceedingly disappointed to find that the great cities they had expected to subdue proved to be mere Indian villages of the flimsiest construction. Then began the long and disastrous march

through the peninsula. The force, decimated by disease and constant engagements with hostile savages, finally emerged on the Gulf of Mexico. Slowly Narvaez and his disheartened company made their way along the northern shore. To the bright visions of conquest of another Mexico with rich treasures succeeded only the thought of escape; but only four survived the dreadful hardships, and after years, at last, turned up in the far West at Culiacán, Sinaloa. All others, Narvaez and Bishop Juárez included, perished from hunger, or by drowning, or at the hands of infuriated savages, about the end of the year 1528.

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DOCUMENTS

AN HISTORICAL, POLITICAL, AND NATURAL DESCRIPTION OF CALIFORNIA¹

By Don Pedro Fages

(Translated by Herbert I. Priestley, Ph.D., University of California, Berkeley, Cal.)

Introduction

The document herewith translated into English is one of the earliest descriptions of California extant. It comes from the pen of one of the participants in the first expedition of the Spaniards to Monterey in 1769, and possesses the value of having been composed just at the close of the author's first period of activity in California; it is thus free from the burdensome detail of an actual diary, and is not characterized by the vagueness and unreliability common to reminiscences. As Fages indicates in his title, the work was written as a continuation to the two previously printed works on the Gálvez expedition which he mentions by name. The first of these was the *Estracto de noticias del puerto de Monterrey*, which was published at Mexico over the date August 16, 1770. Of this, a second edition bearing the same date and place was also issued. Both editions are in the Bancroft Library, University of California. The *Estracto de noticias* was reprinted in Father Francisco Palóu's *Relación histórica de la vida . . . del Venerable Padre Fray Junípero Serra*, Mexico, 1787, pp. 108-12, and again in the same author's *Noticias de la Nueva California*, Mexico, 1857 (*Documentos para la historia de Mexico*, series 4, Vols. 6 and 7), and San Francisco, 1874, 4 volumes, as a publication of the California Historical Society. A translation was published in *The Land of Sunshine*, Los Angeles, Vol. 15 (July, 1901), pp. 47-9. Another translation, accompanied by a reprint of the first Mexican edition, was issued by the Academy of Pacific Coast History as Vol. 1, No. 2, of its *Publications*, Berkeley, 1909.

The second and complete account of the expedition, which was promised in the concluding paragraph of the *Estracto*, was written by the engineer Miguel Costansó; it appeared under the title: *Diario histórico de los viages de mar, y tierra hechos al norte de la California*, and was dated October 24, 1770. It is to be inferred that it was printed immediately thereafter. Certainly it was printed earlier than November 20, 1775, for on that date Fages, concluding his *Continuación y suplemento*, said that the *Diario histórico* had already been printed. The British Museum Catalogue gives 1770 as the date of publication. A manuscript copy of the *Diario histórico* was used by William Reveley for his English translation published by Alexander Dalrymple as *An historical journal*

¹ *Continuación y suplemento á los dos impresos que de orden de este Superior Gobierno han corrido: el uno con el título de Extracto de noticias del Puerto de Monterrey, su fecha 16 de Agosto de 1770; y el otro titulado Diario histórico de los viages de mar y tierra hechos al norte de California su fecha 24 Octubre del mismo año. Haze y presenta esta relacion por superior mandato de su Excelencia el Señor Virrey actual de estos reynos, Don Antonio María Bucareli y Ursúa, el capitan de infantería de la Compañía Frances de Voluntarios de Cataluna, y comandante militar que ha sido de los nuevos establecimientos en aquellas provincias, Don Pedro Fages. Mexico, November 20, 1775.*

of the expeditions, by sea and land, to the north of California; in 1768, 1769 and 1770: when Spanish establishments were first made at San-Diego and Monte-Rey, London, 1790. A modern translation into English was published in *The Land of Sunshine*, Vol. 14 (1901), pp. 485-96, and Vol. 15 (1901), pp. 38-47. The Spanish text with English translation was issued by the Academy of Pacific Coast History as Vol. 2, No. 4, of its *Publications*, 1910.

In addition to the two printed works, Fages used in his writing the diary of Miguel Costansó and his own letter to the viceroy, Bucareli, written at Monterey, November 24, 1773. To these written sources he added from his own experiences and observations the more interesting and valuable parts of the document.

The *Continuación y suplemento* apparently was never printed in the original Spanish. A copy of the manuscript came into the possession of M. Ternaux-Compans, and was used to make a translation into French which appeared in *Nouvelles annales des voyages et des sciences géographiques*, Vol. 101 (1844), pp. 145-82, 311-47.

The original signed manuscript is in the Mexican archives, Museo Nacional, *Documentos relativos á las misiones de Californias*, small folio series, Vol. 4. A signed contemporary copy dated November 30, 1775 (ten days later than the foregoing), is in the Spanish archives at Seville, *Estante* 104, *cajón* 6, *legajo* 17. Transcripts from both archives are in the Bancroft Library. The translation herewith presented was made from the transcript from the Mexican archives, which has been compared with the copy from Spain, as well as with a contemporary unsigned copy in the possession of Mr. H. R. Wagner, of Berkeley, California. The textual differences in these various forms of the document are those characteristic of most handwritten archive materials, and have not been noticed in the translation, save for the addition of a vocabulary from San Luis Obispo, which was added from the Seville manuscript.

The document is recognized as of the first importance to California ethnology. The French version was used by Bancroft to a limited extent in his *Native races* and in his *History of California*. More recently an English version in manuscript by Miss M. H. Van Gulpen was used by J. Alden Mason in "The Ethnology of the Salinan Indians" (*University of California Publications in American archaeology and ethnology*, Vol. 10, No. 4, 1912). The document has not until now, however, been made available in English to the public in general or to ethnologists and historians interested in the field surveyed by Fages, hence this new and independent translation is presented.

A word should be said for the author of the *Continuación*. Pedro Fages has a large place in the history of Spanish California. He was a young Catalan, and a lieutenant of Catalonian Volunteers, when he first appeared in Californian annals. He rendered service in New Spain in 1768 as a member of the expedition to Sonora under Colonel Domingo Elizondo against the revolted natives. He was sent to lower California in 1769 to participate in the Gálvez expedition for the occupation of Monterey. He was in command of the military force aboard the *San Carlos*, on which he reached San Diego, May 1, 1769. On land he was second in command to Gaspar de Portolá, whom he accompanied to

Monterey on the two expeditions of 1769-70. Upon the departure of Portolá from California on July 9, Fages was left as *comandante* of the "New Establishments," in which office he continued until May 25, 1774. He was promoted to a captaincy May 4, 1771, and to a lieutenant colonelcy at some time between 1777 and 1781.

His goings and comings within California gave him the experiences which make his untutored observations on California ethnology of such intense interest. In addition to his journeys with Portolá, he made an expedition from Monterey to the vicinity of Alameda in November, 1770. In March and April of 1772 he again visited the bay region with Father Crespi, going as far as the mouth of the San Joaquin River. In May of the same year he spent several weeks in the San Luis Obispo region hunting bears to supply the Monterey establishments with meat. In August he went to San Diego, where he came into conflict with Father Serra over the advisability of establishing new missions without added soldiers to serve as guards. Serra went to Mexico and obtained the removal of Fages on May 25, 1774, but subsequently expressed regret at his removal and appreciation for his services. It was while Fages was in Mexico City, after his recall, that he wrote the *Continuación*.

Subsequently, he served at Guadalajara, and in Indian fighting on the Sonora frontier. In 1781-82 he led an expedition to the Colorado River to punish the Yuma Indians for their destruction of the new mission-colonies there. About this time he made one or more visits to southern California. He was in the Colorado region when on September 10, 1782, he received his appointment as governor of the Californias, in which capacity he served until April 16, 1791. Never again, after his later interesting wanderings, did he find time to write so informative a report as that of 1775. The date of his death is supposed to have been in 1796. He had outlived most of the generation of notables who effected the occupation of California.²

AN HISTORICAL, POLITICAL, AND NATURAL DESCRIPTION OF CALIFORNIA

By Don Pedro Fages

Long Live Jesus, Mary, and Joseph

A continuation of, and supplement to, the two printed works which have been published by order of this Superior Government, one of them under the title: Extracto de noticias del puerto de Monterrey, dated August 16, 1770, and the other entitled: Diario histórico de los viages de mar y tierra hechos al norte de California, dated October 24 of the same year. This narrative is made and presented in obedience to the orders of the present viceroy of these kingdoms, Don Antonio Maria Bucareli y Ursúa, by the captain of infantry of the Free Company of Catalonia Volunteers and former military commandant of the New Settlements in those provinces [the Californias], Don Pedro Fages.

² Interesting details in the life of Fages are contained in Bancroft, *California*, Vol. 1 (1884), chapters xx-xxiii, and in I. B. Richman, *California under Spain and Mexico*, 1911. Two of his diaries have been published by the Academy of Pacific Coast History. Other diaries, and much of his official correspondence, are in the Bancroft Library.

Your Excellency:

Inasmuch as I was left in charge of the military command at the Presidio of San Carlos de Monterey in the early part of July of the year 1770, under instructions and orders which were given me at the time of his departure from the New Settlements in the northern part of California by my commander-in-chief the captain of the Dragoons of Spain, Don Gaspar de Portolá, who set sail from the port of Monterey in the packet *San Antonio* on the ninth day of the same July, I busied myself for a long period of more than four years with all possible determination and diligence in reconnoitering those remote provinces in person, gathering information concerning whatever was conducive to a practical knowledge of them. [I observed] the people who inhabit them, the character of the land and its products, the religion and customs of the uncivilized natives, and other important things which will appear in the course of my narrative, mingled, perhaps, with some few other items of a merely curious nature.

I acknowledge and give due credit to the previous accounts which up to now have been published concerning the overland and maritime expeditions to the famous port of Monterey. Indeed, nothing more exact, definite, well ordered, or expressed with more vivid colors could be conceived of than those accounts, the publication of which I mention above. I confess frankly that my own account is less fortunate in regard to arrangement, clearness, and vigor of expression, but I submit that it is in no wise inferior in point of the sincerity and good faith of what I here set down.

I would indeed have preferred to set forth (either through my own effort or that of some capable person who might have accompanied me on my wide peregrinations) a purely mathematical cosmography of all this considerable part of our American world. But, as this was impossible, I shall content myself with serving the king and my nation to the extent of my slight ability, combining therewith great zeal for the highest fulfilment of my duty under your Excellency's eminently appropriate orders.

Limiting myself then to a brief description only—historical, political, and natural—which may serve to give some idea of the actual state of those important settlements, the purpose of which has been the reduction of the numberless natives of those vast provinces to the faith of Jesus Christ and obedience to our Lord, the King, I have not sought to follow any other order of presentation than that suggested by the original notes made by my own hand as I proceeded with the inspection of places and events as they happened. It is well to put down here that nearly all that I note in my narrative occurred in my presence and before my eyes; what little did not so occur I took from excellent reports the exactness of which I doubt not at all. In the matter of distances, measurements, and other things expressed numerically, I will vouch for them only as judicious estimates in no wise to be understood literally, matters of that nature never being so accepted. Time and opportune governmental measures will some day effect a more complete knowledge of such details, but the task was impossible of accomplishment for one man alone, traveling as I did usually on foot, destitute of the conveniences and means necessary for acquiring exact information.

In addition to my notes I will, wherever necessary, make due use of the diary written on the first overland journey from the port of San Diego in search of the port of Monterey which was not at the time identified. This diary embraces the period from July 14, 1769, to January 24, 1770, and covers the round trip. The manuscript is certainly worthy of the hand that wrote it and of the leader who commanded the expedition. It is very terse, original, and complete in subject matter, and I shall hardly do other than copy faithfully and precisely such parts of it as may serve my purpose. Concerning the new missions and presidios, I will insert at the proper

places the subheads of the letter addressed to you from Monterey on November 24, 1773, in which those matters are handled with the exactness and detail demanded by the condition of the new settlements in northern California.

Notwithstanding the fact that my observations and examinations of those lands are set down in the order of our return from San Francisco (the last port, and the end of our inspection to the northward) to San Diego de Alcalá which is located in $32\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ north latitude, just as they appear in the *Estracto de Noticias* printed August 16, it has, however, seemed a better plan for my narrative that the order of presentation should be reversed. I shall deal first, then, with those places and regions to which we first came, discussing them all consecutively up to the port of San Francisco, which is the northern-most one and not far from the port of Monterey, and is, according to an entry of December 30, 1769, in the manuscript diary above cited, situated in $37^{\circ} 35'$ more or less, according to an observation taken on land near the port by the engineer Don Miguel Costansó, who later made an excellent map of the peninsula, a faithful copy of which I have in my possession. On this map the port of San Francisco is situated in the latitude mentioned. Indeed, it was thought, during the first land journey, which covered the period from July, 1769, to January, 1770, and not without some show of probability, that the latitudes observed at an earlier date by General Sebastián Vizcaíno and the pilot Cabrera Bueno were in marked error concerning the noteworthy ports and other places on the west or exterior side of the peninsula. This opinion may be seen expressed in the diary referred to in the entry dated Tuesday, December 5. It was, however, shortly afterward discovered that the error was very slight—so insignificant, indeed, that we must marvel at the cleverness and dexterity of those men who, using instruments very inferior to those we have today, and methods and rules less expeditious than those of this century, were yet able by dint of application and diligence to approximate accuracy so closely in their observations. This just praise must be conceded to our skilled national travelers and explorers, that they may receive the due acknowledgment of our posterity.

This being all I have to say by way of introduction, I will now begin my narrative.

ARTICLE I

Which Treats of the Lands Discovered and of the Natives Who Inhabit the Territory Extending from San Diego de Alcalá Northward Some Thirty Leagues in California

On the first journey by land, between the 14th and the 25th of July, 1769, our company of explorers made ten day's marches from San Diego to San Francisco Solano, a distance estimated at twenty-six leagues in a direction varying occasionally and slightly from the north and northwest toward the west.

The places examined on the march during this journey were, as they were named, as follows: First, the Cañada de San Diego (which was well-grassed), two leagues distant from the port of the same name. Second, the Poza de Osuna or de San Jacome de la Marca, which is also a pleasant, beautiful canyon all covered with pasture and in some places probably as much as twenty yards wide, with a few trees and a quantity of water collected in numerous pools. This place was distant from the preceding one about four leagues, the way being easy of transit and abounding in pasture. Our course was always northwestward in so far as the lay of the land permitted. Though the country was void of undergrowth and not at all rough, it was broken by numerous moderate-sized hills that all sloped uniformly to the level of the sea, the waters of which penetrated between the hills through several channels where salt is deposited in abundance.

Third: Going three leagues to the north and northwest over high ground interspersed with hills similar to those just mentioned, in a delightful spot wooded with alders and thick shrubbery with very abundant pasture, one comes to a canyon which was called San Alejos. Water is not abundant, nor is it entirely lacking; it was necessary to dig out the sand and make pools so as to water the animals from a small spring.

Fourth: Two leagues farther on there was another canyon, swampy and better supplied with water, which was named Santa Sinforosa. It was covered in places with reeds, and contained abundant pasture throughout.

Fifth: Another two leagues farther on, there is a very delightful and pleasantly picturesque valley of ample proportions, into which there converge from the north and northeast a number of canyons in which is formed a pool or swamp which supplied us satisfactorily with water. The place was named San Juan Capistrano.

Sixth: Continuing through canyons and along gentle hill-slopes, one passes through pleasant pasture-lands to another spot two leagues distant from the preceding one. It is a spacious, cheerful canyon, well wooded and well supplied with fresh water which has collected in numerous pools, although there is in the midst of it a fair-sized pond of brackish water. This place was named Santa Margarita.

Seventh: Two leagues farther to the northwest over hills of moderate height was a place to which the name of Los Rosales was given. It lay at the end of a canyon which contained plenty of water in numerous pools, and the entire locality abounds in rose-bushes.

Eighth: The Cañada del Bautismo is distant from the above place two leagues due north. It received its name from the happy incident of the baptism there of two dying children whom the missionary fathers found in that sad condition in the care of their Indian parents.

Ninth: Three leagues thence northwestward over a road somewhat broken but not very difficult, is found another canyon which was named Santa María Magdalena. It abounds in pasture, in willows, and in other trees, and there is a large quantity of water collected in pools.

Tenth: Finally, at a distance of three leagues farther on without change of direction, after passing through a canyon which opens into the Cañada de Santa María Magdalena, turning westward at the end of the canyon to the crest of some hills and thence crossing a wide stretch of level country, one enters another canyon through which, at the foot of a moderately high range, a good-sized stream flows among numerous trees. This is the place named San Francisco Solano.

From the narrative of the diarist it is observed that, on the second day's march, four leagues from San Diego, some Indians of a village on the coast appeared, and, though they showed great hesitancy to approach our men, they soon dismissed their fears and remained paying attentions to our men to the point of importunity and annoyance. They were inordinately gratified by our attentions and by the presents we made them, such as strings of glass beads and other trinkets which they greatly admired, and they were unwilling to leave our camp until we departed on the following day. From this point, for approximately two hundred leagues of our journey northward, and for the same distance on our return, the Indians came voluntarily to nearly every place where our men camped, that they might present themselves to us and show us honors, demonstrating the most complete confidence. Here, they presented us fish, there, nuts, pine-nuts, acorns, and other seeds prepared after their fashion. Our men made themselves understood by signs, and they in like manner indicated to us the road, the watering-places, and other matters concerning which we required

information for our guidance on the march. It was never necessary for us to use our weapons for any purpose save to obtain some game, which was generally bears. The flesh of these has a pleasant flavor. Fowl were not lacking in many places, for numerous geese and ducks were hunted.

Up to this point appear facts taken from the diary of the land expedition of which I was a witness, I having been one of the exploring party, in the capacity of lieutenant of the company of Volunteers of Catalonia.

State of the Missions in the Territory Above Mentioned

Concerning the state of the missions in this district, I reproduce what I previously reported to your Excellency in my letter of reply dated at the Presidio de San Carlos de Monterey, November 24, 1773; the paragraph of it which concerns this district is substantially in the following words:

The mission of San Diego de Alcalá was the first among the new missions of California, founded at the port of the same name in June, 1769, at the time when the sea and land expeditions were there united. The land expedition set out on July 14, as has previously been stated, in search of the port of Monterey. At San Diego there remained certain Mexican cuirassiers, with some of the members of my company of Volunteers of Catalonia who had become incapacitated by illness and who died within a few weeks. It happened then, a short time after our expedition had left, that the Indians of the village situated near the port, having been joined by some of their neighbors, became so bold as to come and besiege the camp, doubtless feeling sure of victory as they were superior numerically to our men, of whom few were able to take up arms and assume the defensive. They killed three natives and put to death some others who had been wounded. The rest were all put to flight, and have learned caution from experience, for since that time they have not committed nor even attempted any hostile act, at least publicly or as an affront. Under cover of night, however, and in the dark they have not hesitated to discharge arrows at the horses, killing some of our animals, perhaps rather for the sake of satisfying their hunger than by way of insult or of taking revenge. They remained in retirement for some time after their chastisement, but later they began to appear in the vicinity of the camp. Little by little they have been reduced, so that today the reverend fathers have already baptised more than eighty persons; among them are twelve families of a village not far distant, where they lodge in huts of brush and reeds. Those who are reduced attend regularly at Mass, indoctrination, and prayers; other natives yet unconquered who live with them come now and then and present themselves to the ministers of the Holy Gospel, who do not omit to attract them with suavity to the catechism. From the other villages (there are more than twenty) within a radius of ten leagues, there are a few who frequent the mission and listen to the recitation of the Christian doctrine. All the natives of that vicinage are very orderly, and have no cause to fear or to be feared.

It should be understood that the mission of San Diego was founded on a hill commanding the port and the Punta de Guijarras. It was situated at the side of a stream which, flowing only during the rainy season, passes through a long spacious canyon wooded with willows, alders, vines, and roses of Castile, trees of varieties other than the above also occurring. There are ponds or pools, which contain a sufficient supply of water for the use of the camp and for the mission during the entire year; but as it is not practicable to obtain irrigating water for the fields and tillable lands, life there will always be attended by the necessity of obtaining supplies for the

maintenance of the people. Attempts have been made at sowing grain in season, but the first year the stream overflowed and carried away the seed which had been sowed at the right season. The following year the attempt was repeated, the grain being then sowed farther back from the stream; but as the rains did not come in season it was possible to harvest only a little for seed. This seed it was planned to put into the ground (which is indeed not to be called sterile) at some more suitable place upstream, where the rainfall is said to be greater and more regular. Unless this proves to be the case, it will be impossible for the mission to exist there long. Nor has there been found, even after great and painstaking search, any permanent water-supply whereby sowing of irrigated crops might be undertaken. For flocks and herds there are excellent places with plenty of water and abundance of pasture. The natives of the adjacent villages do not lack for their customary seeds, and they add to their food supply by fishing. They would secure better results if they had canoes in which to go out. It would be well if the mission had a canoe of its own and a good fishnet to use in supplying its needs.

The church building is situated within a palisade; it is constructed after the native style, of poles and reeds. The dwelling and the office buildings are built partly of wood and partly of sun-dried clay blocks. The reverend fathers have sketched a plan, and have dug the foundation-trenches for another and larger building, to be made entirely of *adobes*. They have a supply of the latter as well as of stone; but the inevitable lack of food and supplies will not permit the acceleration of this important task.

Natural and Political History

The Indians of the entire region between San Diego and San Francisco Solano are of a light brown color with homely features and ungainly figures; they are dirty, very slovenly, and withal evil-looking, suspicious, treacherous, and have scant friendship for the Spaniards. Each village is despotically governed by a single captain, who has but one wife at a time, but each one dismisses his wives and takes others whenever he cares to do so. The education which they give their children consists merely of the fathers teaching the boys whatever skill and dexterity they may themselves happen to possess; the girls are taught whatever best suits them, they having perfect liberty to choose.

The deity which they adore, and there is one presiding over every village, is an aged Indian whom they themselves choose, raising him to that great dignity by acclamation; to him they make ceremonial offerings of seeds and various eatables. When there are wars—as there frequently are among the various villages as the results of disputes concerning the fruits of the earth and women—they protect this old man by shutting him up inside of a wall or fence made of tall, strong, closely set logs. Within this enclosure there is a space like a parade ground, all mined and counter-mined in different directions. The passages extend outside the wall for twelve or fifteen yards, and have openings through which they can reconnoiter and hold communication with the divinity, providing him with food during the time of trouble and protecting him from surprise or injury by the enemy. In this manner they on such occasions become the tutelary gods (according to their crass mode of thought) of the very god whom they worship in time of peace and prosperity.

In this territory there are to be seen, besides a number of other land animals, deer, antelope, conies, hares without number, wild cats, wolves, some bears, coyotes, and squirrels of three kinds. Among the birds there are various kinds of thrushes, and a few birds of prey. There are also quail, sparrows, mocking birds, woodpeckers, vultures, and buzzards. The aquatic birds are pelicans, herons, ducks, divers, mud-

hens, and other kinds. The land produces, though not in abundance, acorns, wild grapes, some asparagus, and a kind of berry (called *gabarneda* in Catalonia) on the bushes of the roses of Castile, which are really seed-pods, and have a very pleasant flavor after they have been roasted for a short time in a slow fire. There are extensive growths of kidney beans (*jojotas*), and three varieties of cactus fruit. Along the seacoast of the territory under consideration there are seen some young whale and other marine animals. Among the desirable fish there occur the sole and the tunny.

Most of the natives of this region go absolutely naked. The few of them who take pleasure in the use of clothing wear a sleeveless doublet made of undressed strips of rabbit or otter skins twisted and put together with some degree of skill. Among the men this garment does not usually fall much below the waist. The women cover themselves with aprons made of the leaves of reeds softened by beating and gathered at one end into a belt worn around the waist but hanging for the remaining part loose down to the knees. Over this fine garment they wear a pair of undressed deer-skins poorly tanned, which serve as a skirt. If the weather is cold and raw, they usually cover their backs with a third skin. Such is the simplicity of dress of these wretched people, and those who take even this small care are, as I have said, comparatively few.

Article II

From San Francisco Solano to the Río de Santa Clara

Our party could not avoid breaking this stage of the journey into thirteen marches, the sum of which was estimated as thirty-two leagues' advance in fifteen days, including four days of rest needed to allow time for the advance scouts. The halting-places examined and designated by the names which were then bestowed, occur in the following order:

First: Setting out from San Francisco Solano toward the north, over rather high hills easily traversed, one descends to a very spacious valley the level stretch of which extends as far as the eye can reach. In the first part of it there was found no watering place save a very scant one that was named after its discoverer, one of the missionary fathers who accompanied us, the Watering-place of Father Gómez.

Second: Continuing in the same direction across the plain, at a distance of three leagues there was found another stream of very good running water. It descended from the range, and must in the rainy season be of considerable swiftness and volume. This place was named Santiago.

Third: One league farther on there is a very beautiful river which showed signs of great floods and had many groves of willows. The entire vicinity possesses very good soil which can be irrigated for crops for a long distance. Here the name Río de los Temblores was bestowed, because on the afternoon of July 28 some earthquake shocks were felt, which threw into consternation even the natives, who were living in a populous village on the bank of the river.

Fourth: Leaving the plain and the seacoast to enter the mountains, we found, when we had gone two leagues from the river, some pools or springs in which there was water sufficient for the people but none for the animals. This was in a narrow canyon at a place which was named Los Ojitos.

Fifth: Crossing the level country in a northerly direction and gradually approaching the mountains, we encountered some quite rugged hills which had to be ascended. The descent from them is into a beautiful valley where there is water running in deep ditches and standing also in swampy pools. This valley must be over three leagues in width and much more in length. It is called the Valle de San Miguel.

Sixth: At a distance of two leagues to the northeast, after traveling with much difficulty through fields of dry grass and brushwood, a swampy stream is reached which emerges from a clear open spot still within the same valley in front of a gap which opens toward the west. Some soldiers who had gone out to hunt antelopes, which abound there, said that they had seen a large river which rises close to the gap at the foot of a hill about half a league distant from our camp. Passing westward then, in order to emerge from the valley by way of an opening between low hills, a wide canyon is entered after a journey of two more leagues. The canyon is well wooded with poplars and alders, among which a beautiful river flowing toward the northwest skirts the point of a steep hill and continues thence in a southerly direction. Toward the north-northeast there is seen another water-course or river-bed, which we found to be dry; it was connected with the canyon which we had just discovered, and bore plentiful evidence of heavy floods in the rainy season. It was named the Río de la Porciúncula.

Seventh: Crossing the river and pursuing a west-southwesterly direction, one arrives, after traversing three leagues of high level land, at a watering-place which was named the Ojo de Agua de los Alisos. It was a large spring situated in a ravine, in which were growing *aliso*—poplar—trees of great thickness of trunk; the entire ground was covered with pasture and shrubbery, and there was some water-cress. All the land along this march appeared admirable for the production of fruits and grains of all kinds.

Eighth: At two leagues' distance from here by a good road through well-grassed fields which skirt the range, is another watering-place in a hollow surrounded by low hills near the sea coast. It was named the Ojo de Agua del Berrendo from the circumstance that one of these animals [antelopes] had here been caught alive; a soldier of our troop had on the preceding day broken its leg by a musket-shot.

Ninth: From this place a northwesterly route was chosen, toward the point where there appears to be an opening in the range; this is entered through a canyon between sheer hillsides which, finally becoming more accessible, make it possible to take the slope and ascend to the summit. From this, a spacious pleasant valley is discovered; descending into it, one encounters a very large pool, capable of providing water in abundance. Near it there is a populous Indian village, the inhabitants of which, even to the children, are remarkably affable and peaceable. This valley must be about three leagues wide, its length extending to more than eight; it is entirely surrounded by a chain of mountains; to it the name Valle de Santa Catalina was given.

Tenth: Passing through this valley, which was named also the Valle de Los Encinos, one goes a matter of the three leagues of its width in order to reach the foot of its range. Here there was water in abundance for the people, but very little for the animals.

Eleventh: Four leagues after entering the mountains, passing in part through a narrow canyon and in part along very high barren hills, the ascent of which is very difficult for beasts of burden, a small valley is reached; it extends into a pleasant, slightly field, on the level expanse of which are seen many poplars and oaks of great size. There is a copious supply of water in a stream of moderate width running amid numerous willows and poplars. This place was called the *Ranchería del Corral*.

Twelfth: If it is desired to continue from here toward the north or northwest which are the directions which govern the journey to Monterey, it would be necessary to attempt the ascent of an immense cordillera of very high mountains which present themselves to the sight. But, by diverging for three leagues through a

canyon, which runs for that distance to the west-southwest, one comes to a halt on the bank of a stream which, although it has a moderate flow during the night and early morning, soon dries up from the heat of the sun—a peculiarity observed in some other streams from this point on. The soil of this long canyon or river-bed is all spongy and slippery, and the animals sink in it or slip at every step. It was called the Cañada de Santa Clara.

There were seven Indian villages met with between San Francisco Solano and this place. They were all on the line of march near our camping places, and were quite populous; some of them were so much so, that, had the Indians borne arms they would have given us great anxiety, for at one place over 200 of them came out at a time, in a tumultuous fashion to greet us; everywhere they paid us honors, and made gifts which helped greatly to reduce the cost of maintenance for the men, [and permitted] part of the supply of foodstuffs which we had to be reserved for other contingencies.

It is to be noted that, because terrifying earthquakes, which frequently recurred, had been experienced throughout a great part of this stretch of the journey, it was suspected that there might be some volcanoes in the mountains of the vicinage. Truly the indications did not belie this suspicion, for, at the foot of the range which runs toward the west, on the road lying between the Río de la Porciúncula and the Ojo del Agua de los Alisos, the scouts found pools of bitumen bubbling [out of the ground].

Between San Francisco Solano and the Río de Santa Clara is the new mission of San Gabriel, established in that valley which was mentioned in number five under the name of San Miguel. Describing the stopping-places according to the narrative of the diary, the mission is six leagues from the Río de los Temblores, and two and one-half from the one named Río de la Porciúncula. It is situated on a hill, down the slopes of which flow numerous streams of water, in which the Río de San Miguel has its origin. There are at this place many willows, poplars, blackberry and grape vines, and roses of Castile. The mission was founded September 8, 1771; the Indians of the nearby village, showing themselves to be very discontented [thereat] from the first, formed a confederacy with their neighbors for the purpose of besieging the camp. This they did a few days later but our men, placed in a state of defence, succeeded in killing the leader or chief who commanded the Indians, whereupon the engagement was ended without further activity, the victory remaining with our men, and the Indians taking to flight having learned a good lesson; they did not suffer themselves to be seen for a long time. Subsequently they have been much more amenable, and many had been baptized by November of '73 although no marriages had taken place.

The church and the dwelling, and the offices, which are within the stockade, are, like those in San Diego, of simple construction and not at all commodious, for nothing better is even to be thought of. The garrison is composed of seven cuirassiers and a corporal. There is a muleteer for carrying necessary things to the mission. At a short distance is the village in which the unconverted natives and the new Christians live; the latter attend regularly at mass and the recital of the doctrine, and some of the former come that the missionary fathers may catechise them. Close to the same stockade there have been constructed a few small houses for the five families of reduced Indians which the reverend father president brought from [Lower] California for the purpose of employing them in tilling the ground and sowing wheat. There is a quantity of that grain here sufficient not alone for the relief of the mission, but as well for supplying the new converts; for having as they do, good fields and abundance of running water, they can sow all that they like and indeed, wheat, corn, and beans

have given very satisfactory results in the tests which have been made. It is very essential that those fields should respond productively to cultivation, for the natives of the district do not enjoy an abundance of wild seeds of pleasant taste, nor can they derive benefit from fishing, since they are distant from the sea about six or eight leagues by the shortest route, which is toward San Pedro Bay, where the packet *San Carlos* anchored in '69 with men and provisions, which will always be easy to transport [from San Pedro Bay to the mission] on mule-back, by reason of the levelness and unbroken character of the intervening territory.

One league to the westward from the mission there are great forests of oak, from which a supply of acorns is obtained. A great many Indians live there, hidden in their villages, which are found also on the seashore and on the plain throughout the eight leagues mentioned. The Río de la Porciúncula, distant more than two long leagues, contains water sufficient to use for irrigation, as does also another copious stream which is farther on, some three leagues to the west. Nor are there lacking in the vicinity of the forest to which reference has been made, small streams from which water can be taken for the cultivation of the adjacent fields, so that the entire locality is most alluring, and offers facilities for the settlement of a few families of Spaniards. These might, without prejudice to the mission, have an assignment of fertile fields, with places adapted for all kinds of cattle. They would live in comfort, and with them we might begin to have hopes of a very important settlement.

As this mission is more than 40 leagues from San Diego, and the Indians of the numerous villages in the intervening territory are habitually restless, and commit hostile acts (as experience has shown) when parties pass near them without an escort large enough to be formidable to these savages, it would be very desirable to establish a few more missions with their corresponding presidios in the interval of this stage of the journey, after prudent efforts at examination and exploration of the numerous valleys which are met with in order to find out how and where it would be desirable to place the camps, and what expectation [there would be] of reducing the natives and populating the country. The fact is, that there has in this part been left a considerable tract of country in which no steps have been taken for the yearned-for reduction of the many indigenes, or for the safety of travelers who may be going into the interior without men and arms sufficient for their defense. As a consequence, it is absolutely necessary to traverse this stretch (whenever need arises for making the overland journey) in formation and with the organization of an expedition, as upon the first occasion. It is indeed believable that the deference and gentleness of the Indians toward our men might have been due rather to well grounded fear than to their affability and benevolence—characteristics in truth too rare and appreciable to be attributed, without less equivocal proof, to savages so untaught and uncivilized in all else which concerns their intercourse and customs.

This Part Describes Natural and Political Matters

The natives throughout the tract described are, generally speaking, rather dark, dirty, of bad figure, short of stature, and slovenly, like the preceding ones, except those who live near the Río de los Temblores, on its banks and the adjacent beaches; these Indians are fair, have light hair, and are good looking.

As to the government of the villages, they resemble each other in that they are all subject to a despotic chief, who is the highest arbiter of peace and war; to him every one contributes a part of what seeds and eatables he possesses. This captain is not only privileged to have two wives (the other Indians having only one), but he may put them away at his own caprice, and take from the same village any other two

he may desire, provided they are maidens. As to dress, those few who use clothes wear them as do those who live between here and San Diego; nearly all the men and women wear the hair cut. They are idolators, and have a custom of burying their dead just where they die; if death occurs in their village, they move to another locality.

The men employ themselves in making nets of various patterns, large enough for carrying their food in the fields; they also use them to bind about the body. They make bows and arrows innumerable, and a kind of warclub of tough wood in the shape of a well-balanced cutlass, which they use in war and in hunting conies, hares, deer, coyotes, and antelope, throwing them so far and with such certain aim, that they rarely fail to break the bones of such of these animals as come within range. The women know how to weave baskets of varying capacity, in which to collect their seeds, pine-nuts, madroña-berries, acorns, etc.

Cactus fruit of superior flavor, wild grapes, and bramble-berries abound in the country. In the Cañada de Santa Clara there are many willows, from the fruit of which in season, the Indians know how to make a certain wine which has no unpleasant flavor. The mountaineers know how to make also a kind of sweet paste, and sugar, which is not unworthy of the name among those people. These products are taken from certain vegetables, which in themselves do not look very promising. They utilize the *tule*, (cat-tail reed) making *atole*—gruel— from the seeds, and bread from the roots, as will be described in another place.

Beside deer, antelope (which is a kind of mountain goat), coyote, wolf, fox, cony, hare, squirrel, and skunk, there is here another land animal just like a sucking pig, which they call *mantugar*, and the flesh of which they eat, just as they do that of the other animals mentioned. There are also reptiles and poisonous animals, vipers, tarantulas, salamanders, and crabs. The entire country is overrun with fleas, but the chinchbug and the louse are unknown. Under the topic of birds and fish, nothing said with reference to the territory previously described fails of application here, there being even some additional species. These Indians are, however, better equipped for fishing; they have their rafts of reeds on which to go out to sea, and by means of these the Indians of the plain of San Gabriel communicate with the islanders of San Clemente and Santa Barbara.

Article III

From the Canada de Santa Clara to the Rancheria de los Pedernales

This stage, according to the distance traveled, was estimated at thirty-seven leagues, as is shown by the diary of the land expedition, adding the distances from one stopping-place to another between the points above mentioned. But it is to be noted that on the backward journey made by the party on its return to San Diego, it is shown that the distance traveled from Los Pedernales to the Cañada de Santa Clara was little more than twenty-five leagues, for at that time a more direct road, leading in the proper direction, was chosen, for by that time [the explorers] had a tolerably accurate idea of the country, and did not advance so tentatively as on the first trip, when a prudent distrust, and a fear of meeting some insuperable obstacle caused by the sea or by the asperity of the country, obliged our men to digress purposely so as to avoid the danger of greater delay in the marches. This observation is made for the purpose of satisfying anyone who may notice that the second expedition, which left San Diego on April 17 of the following year, could arrive at Monterey in the exact space of thirty-six days, whereas the first expedition (which either by an error or a mistake in the printing, is said in one of the printed volumes to have set out

from San Diego on June 14, when July, of 1769, should have been named) consumed entire months in arriving at the same latitude.

The camping places of this stage were reached and named in the following order: First: By way of the Cañada de Santa Clara itself, which runs toward the west-south-west, after going three leagues, one encounters a stream of running water which descends from the range through a narrow canyon, emptying into the valley which here has greater width. Near this place there is a populous village of Indians who live practically without shelter, under the open sky, within the limits of a thicket. The Indians seen exceeded two hundred in number.

Second: Three leagues farther down-stream over broken ground traversed by ravines which drained the mountain slopes in the rainy season, was found a village which did not appear so populous as the preceding one, though the natives were less good-natured and solicitous in making us their customary gifts.

Third: Still two leagues farther down-stream, one discovers a spacious plain which stretches southward and westward to the sea; it is well grassed, and has some groves of trees. The stream here rather deserves the name of river, on account of the volume it acquires from numerous streams which empty into it on each side. Here a very small village was seen; its peculiarity was that the inhabitants dwell in huts covered with grass, spherical in construction like a half-orange, at the apex of which an air-hole was left for the escape of smoke and the entrance of light. These three places in which the camp was pitched were not distinguished by any names at all.

Fourth: Turning westward, one reaches the sea after going two leagues, soon coming upon an established village, the most populous and best arranged of any so far seen. It is situated on a point or tongue of land, right on the beach. There must have been about thirty houses; they were capacious, and well built in the same spherical figure already described. The inhabitants, counting those alone who came to do us honor and make us presents, could not have numbered less than four hundred. These natives are well built and of good disposition, very agile and alert, and ingenious to a degree. They well display their ability in the construction of their canoes, which are made of good pine boards, well joined and calked, and of quite graceful lines. But I will refer entirely, on this subject, to the description given on folios thirty-three and following of the printed *Diario Histórico*, which treats of the inhabitants of the islands and the coast of the Canal de Santa Bárbara, that I may not uselessly repeat what has already been stated in other documents. I will reserve [the privilege] of adding in the proper place my private notes, acquired during a long period of time through my personal observation. This large village was called the Pueblo de la Asumpta; its observed latitude is 34° 13'.

Fifth: Passing along the beach for two leagues, we camped near a temporary town of Indian fishermen, and this was the name given to that place [Ranchería Volante] that we might not lose the custom of giving names agreeing with the circumstances to all the places in our discovery.

Sixth: On account of the extraordinary entertainment with which an Indian favored us [at a place] two leagues farther along the seashore where there is a populous town on a point of land right on the beach—this Indian was a muscular man of good figure, and a great dancer, who had seen us in Asumpta two days before—on this account we named the town of which our friend was a resident, the Pueblo del Baylarín. It appears even more populous than the other, and its houses are of the same construction.

Seventh: A short stretch of beach follows, after which some high hills along the coast are passed in order to come to a stream of excellent water which flows from a canyon in the mountains having many willows. Another native town was here in

sight; in it thirty-two houses were counted, and it was named the Pueblo de la Carpintería. This entire locality seems very suitable for a mission, as well on account of the numberless natives who dwell on this beach within a distance of six leagues, as for the fact that it has excellent fields and abundant water for use in cultivation. The gentleness and good disposition of the Indians give good reason for entertaining a moral certainty of their reduction, provided they be preached the word of God.

Eighth: At three leagues' distance, another village is reached; it is doubtless the most populous of them all to this point, for it contains more than six hundred souls. It is situated near a lake of fresh water, from which the inhabitants obtain their supply. They came with their women and children to visit us, bringing us a quantity of fish *llatmado*, as they say (that is, roasted), as well as fresh fish and other articles of food as gifts. The place was called the Pueblo de la Laguna.

Ninth: At a distance of three leagues from it, following the march, are found the towns which we called the Pueblos de la Isla. It is thus that, going over level ground between the mountains and some hills which extend seaward, one comes in sight of a long bare point of land, on the eastern side of which a great estuary penetrates inland by two separate arms, which are probably about half a league distant from each other. This estuary runs close to the north side of a small hill which rises on a point of land and has the appearance of an island. On this hill, the verdure and forest growth of which makes a pleasing and harmonious picture, there is a populous Indian village, in which someone claims to have counted one hundred houses. The estuary spreads continually over the level ground eastward, forming various swamps and ponds of considerable extent, on the banks of which are discerned other towns of larger population. The liberality and festivity with which those poor people received us cannot be adequately described. Our arrival was for them a motive of public rejoicing in which there was no stint of music and dancing, which were not badly performed after their fashion.

Tenth: The coast, which runs continuously west-northwest from the Pueblo de la Asumpta to the Pueblo de las Islas, now extends almost directly westward. Pursuing this direction for two leagues over high hills within sight of the ocean, then crossing a somewhat dense oak forest, one comes to a canyon where there is a good watering-place; on the slopes near the beach is a village so populous that it may well contain over one thousand inhabitants. They are no less agreeable and disposed to gift-making than those of the preceding [Pueblo] de las Islas. We gave to this place the name San Luis Obispo de Toloso.

Eleventh: By utilizing the time of low tide, one traverses a short remaining interval of beach, later to ascend some high hills broken by ravines and gullies, until arriving at a town of about eighty houses, which shelter perhaps eight hundred persons. The settlement is scattered along both sides of a canyon containing running water. This place was named San Guido; it is distant three leagues from San Luis Obispo.

Twelfth: At an equal distance, by a road equally rough and difficult, there is discovered another town of nearly fifty fires; it stands likewise on the bank of a canyon which admits an influent estuary. These natives lack firewood, and to provide themselves with water they are obliged to go up the canyon to obtain it from a tributary stream, before the current becomes commingled with the saline water of the estuary. From this place, which we named San Luis Rey, were discerned the last three islands of the Canal de Santa Bárbara; of these, the most western took the name of San Bernardo, the one lying next toward the east, Santa Cruz, and the

other Santa Bárbara, which is the easternmost and the one which gave its name to that stretch of sea and coasts.

Thirteenth: [After traversing] high ground with a very rough road, at times descending and again ascending rugged mountains and crags, at the end of two leagues one comes to San Zeferino, which was the name we gave to a place containing twenty-four houses; the Indians in them must have numbered almost two hundred, and they were as affable in their intercourse as the previous ones. The entire country is of a rather desolate, sombre aspect; not because there is no forest, but on account of the height and bareness of the hills, among which, however, there begin to be found pastures as one enters them, and others are not far distant from the place. The soil is very mellow, and there is a canyon into which another estuary penetrates, serving as a landing place for these Indians, who live by fishing; they go up-stream to get fresh water under the same precaution and inconvenience as the people of San Luis Rey. The latitude of this place was observed to be $34\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$.

Fourteenth: Going a short day's march of about two leagues, now by a more accessible road, though over high hills, a village is passed midway situated by the sea on a spacious beach just in sight of the Punta de la Concepción, which is the end of the oft-mentioned Canal de Santa Bárbara, and is on the same parallel as San Zeferino, $34^{\circ} 30'$ north latitude. Camp was pitched on the east side of a canyon within which there is an Indian town of about twenty-four houses. Here they lack and abound in the same things as do those near by. Our soldiers took a fancy to call the town the Pueblo del Cojo, because the cacique or captain of the place was, indeed, lame.

Fifteenth: From the Punta de la Concepción a northwesterly direction was taken; rounding the coast, at the end of two leagues and a half, another canyon was found, containing a town of twenty fires and two hundred and fifty Indians more or less. Here penetrates still another estuary which prevents the current of the stream from reaching the sea. The natives of the village are exceedingly poor, and so hungry that they can hardly subsist, as they are without canoes, live on rough ground, and have a scarcity of firewood. The village was called the *Ranchería de la Espada*.

The story of a small incident which occurred at this place should not be omitted, as it records the motive for giving the place its name. A soldier lost his sword, allowing it through carelessness to be abstracted from his belt. But the Indians who noticed this theft, themselves ran after the thief and dispossessed him of the weapon that it might be restored to its owner—an act very worthy of remark occurring, as it did, among a lot of barbarians, for they are barbarians after a fashion, compared to those of our own race, owing to the roughness and wildness of the land they inhabit.

Sixteenth: Finally, after going two leagues over high ground of pleasing aspect, a spring of good water is found by the shore and near it a poor village of only ten houses with probably sixty inhabitants. We camped at a place near which a point or tongue of land projects into the sea. There we collected a great number of flints suitable for firearms, so the place was named *Los Pedernales*. Its latitude was observed to be $34^{\circ} 33'$.

From the mission of San Gabriel, which was spoken of in the preceding article—to here, there is no other. I have thought best to interrupt the course of our first land expedition, limiting the third stretch of it to this point (although it includes no chapter on missions) and go on to treat of the habits and customs of these people, that your Excellency's attention may be relieved from the fatigue of reading about marches daily pursued northward, and also for my own convenience, I having per-

ceived that my notes on natural and political history should be distributed in the order and after the fashion in which I have them arranged in the original.

Natural and Political History

In the preceding account of the habits and customs of the natives, and of the products of those countries, I have already included all that pertains to [the territory] from San Diego, not only as far as the Cañada de Santa Clara as was proposed in Article II with reference to day's marches,—but as far as the place called La Carpintería, which is included in this third stage. It only remains to recount here then, those observations which concern the interval between La Carpintería and the Punta de los Pedernales. They are as follows:

The Indians of all these villages are of good disposition and average figure; they are inclined to work, and much more to self-interest. They show with great covetousness a certain inclination to traffic and barter, and it may be said in a way that they are the Chinese of California. In matters concerning their possessions, they will not yield or concede the smallest point. They receive the Spaniards well, and make them welcome; but they are very warlike among themselves, living at almost incessant war, village against village.

In each of these villages (which are very populous here, each one containing on an estimate about six hundred men capable of bearing arms) there is a captain, as has been said of the previous territory. This chief has hardly any other function than that of the military command; they always choose the most conspicuous and intrepid one in the village. The position is for life, and [the incumbent enjoys] an absolute, total independence in the government.

The men go clothed with a large cloak made of skins of cony, hare, fox, or sea-otter; the garment reaches to the waist, the captain only being allowed to wear it reaching to the ankle, without other mark of distinction. The women wear skirts, made and fitted uncouthly of antelope hide, either colored or white, which do not extend below the knees. Most of them are decorated with various trinkets chosen from the smaller sea-shells and stones of various colors. They wear the hair tightly bound and gathered at the back, forming a short heavy queue, with a very handsome adornment of shells; they also wear collars and bracelets of snail-shells and little sea-shells. The few men who desire to cut their beards, accomplish it not without great pain, by using a pair of shells of the clam, or large oyster, which, being fastened together on one side by nature, can be given a kind of opening and shutting motion on the other. With these they extract the hairs one at a time by the root, as though pulling with nippers. Those who like to wear the hair short, do so by burning it close to their pates—an uncomfortable and fatiguing operation, but necessary on account of their lack of any iron instrument.

They are idolators like the rest. Their idols are placed near the village, with some here and there about the fields, to protect, they say, the seeds and crops. These idols are nothing but sticks, or stone figurines painted with colors and surmounted with plumage. Their ordinary height is three hands, and they place them in the cleanest, most highly embellished place they can find, whither they go frequently to worship them and offer their food, and whatever they have.

Although in this district the captains commonly enjoy the privilege of taking two or three wives, and putting them away at will, the ordinary men have only one, and may abandon her only in case of adultery. The Indians of either sex who wish to marry a second time, may do so only with another widow or widower—a custom which seems not at all irrational if we consider what result such a practice should have in favor of the population.

I have substantial evidence that those Indian men who both here and farther inland, are observed in the dress, clothing, and character of women—there being two or three such in each village—pass as Sodomites by profession (it being confirmed that all these Indians are much addicted to this abominable vice) and permit the heathen to practice the execrable, unnatural abuse of their bodies. They are called *joyas*, and are held in great esteem. Let this mention suffice for a matter which could not be omitted—on account of the bearing it may have on the discussion of the reduction of these natives—with a promise to revert in another place to an excess so criminal that it seems even forbidden to speak its name. Let us go on then, to describe the ceremony of their funerals and burials.

When any Indian dies, they carry the body to the adulatory, or place near the village dedicated to their idols. There they celebrate the mortuary ceremony, and watch all the following night, some of them gathered about a huge fire until day-break; then come all the rest (men and women) and four of them begin the ceremony in this wise: One Indian, smoking tobacco in a large stone pipe, goes first; he is followed by the other three, all passing thrice around the body; but each time he passes the head, his companions lift the skins with which it is covered, that the priest may blow upon it three mouthfuls of smoke. On arriving at the feet, they all four together stop to sing, I know not what manner of laudation. Then come the near and remote relatives of the deceased, each one giving to the chief celebrant a string of beads, something over a span in length. Then immediately there is raised a sorrowful outcry and lamentation from all the mourners. When this sort of solemn response is ended, the four ministers take up the body, and all the Indians follow them, singing, to the cemetery which they have prepared for the purpose, where it is given sepulture; with the body are buried some little things made by the deceased himself; some other objects are deposited round about the spot where the body rests, and over it, thrust into the earth, is raised a spear or very long rod, painted in various colors. At the foot of this rod are left a few relics, which naturally represent the ability and kind of occupation which the man had while he was living. If the deceased is a woman, they leave strung on the rod some of the boxes and baskets which she was accustomed to weave.

The occupations and ordinary pursuits of these people are limited; some of them follow fishing, others engage in their small carpentry jobs; some make strings of beads, others grind red, white, and blue paint-clays, and a certain kind of plumbiferous stones, which serve for the men to paint themselves with when they are celebrating and dancing or when they go to war, and which are used by the women for their usual adornment. They make various shaped plates from the roots of the oak and the alder trees, and also mortars, crocks and plates of black stone, all of which they cut out with flint, certainly with great skill and dexterity. They make an infinite number of arrows. The women go about their seed-sowing, bringing the wood for the use of the house, the water and other provisions. They skilfully weave trays, baskets, and pitchers for various purposes; these are well made with thread of grass roots of various colors.

There is abundance of all seeds needed for their use, and many acorns. There are birds and land animals of the same species as above mentioned, besides many additional ones. The fishing is so good, and so great is the variety of fish, known in other seas, that this industry alone would suffice to provide sustenance to all the settlers which this vast stretch of country could receive. In the mountains there are seen many pines like those of Spain, *mollares*, and oaks and live-oaks upon the slopes and in certain spots on level ground. On the rivers and streams there are many white

and black poplars, willows, alders, elms, small poplars, some laurels, and canes. The soil is very good; it is black, well-grassed, and mellow; and the fields are thickly dotted with shrubs. Almost every half league one encounters a stream more or less sizeable which flows to the sea, besides headwaters and springs of excellent water, so that there are many places having all the advantages necessary for establishing missions; such are: First, San Luis Obispo, one league inside the canyon of the stream; second, the *Ranchería de la Isla*; third, the village of *La Carpintería*, also within another canyon into which another stream empties.

Finally, that nothing may be omitted in the narrative, I will tell [the customs] which these Indians observe in their dances. The women go to them well painted, and dressed as has been described, carrying in both hands bundles of feathers of various colors. The men go entirely naked, but very much painted. Only two pairs from each sex are chosen to perform the dance, and two musicians, who play their flutes. Nearly all the others who are present, increase the noise with their rattles made of cane dried and split, at the same time singing, very displeasingly for us, who are not accustomed to distressing the ear with this kind of composition.

Article IV

From Los Pedernales to the Foot of the Sierra de Santa Lucia

This stage of the journey was estimated at thirty-three leagues. The places occurred and had names bestowed upon them in the following order and manner: First: As one sets out from Los Pedernales toward the north-northwest across high land overlooking the sea and partly covered with sand-dunes, there is, at a distance of two leagues, a canyon with abundant pasture, though with but little water, which is collected in a pool. The canyon was named the *Cañada Seca*. The coast before one comes to the sand-dunes is broken, being cut into numerous rocky points which extend into the sea.

Second: One league from this place is the *Río de San Verardo*. Its mouth is entirely closed by a sand-bank which it was possible to cross dry-shod, its waters being dammed as it were, and without current. But this is clearly understood by going to observe further up, where it is seen that the waters unite with the sea, reappearing after filtering through near the sand-bank. This river flows through a beautiful valley containing many willows, and the fields are capable of producing all kinds of grain. Very large bears were seen here, and there is a populous village.

[Third]: Two leagues to the north, over ground that is level but very much overgrown with wild rosemary and trees of delicate perfume, [after] crossing a canyon that had abundant pasture, then ascending its northern slope, we discovered an Indian village on a moderate-sized lake, surrounded by low hills. These people were very poor and without the shelter of houses, so that we doubted with some reason if this place was their permanent abode. They made festival for us with dancing, if with nothing else; as this was the place where the women were seen dancing, it was for that reason named the *Ranchería del Bayle de las Indias*.

Fourth: We took the road inland from this point, bearing northward to avoid the sand-dunes and numerous bad stretches, but we could not entirely escape a chain of these [dunes] which, extending from the interior of the country, were encountered midway of the day's march; the trouble of overcoming this difficulty, however, did not last long. Going afterward along high hills, and canyons containing very good land and better pasture, we pitched camp in a very spacious valley in which there is a lake of fresh water which may be some two thousand yards long and perhaps more than half as wide. We did not deliberate long over naming this valley the *Valle de la*

Laguna Larga; three leagues from the previous camping place, there were seen in the valley two villages, the one very small and insignificant, the other containing a few more small houses made after their fashion.

Fifth: Crossing the valley, which was two leagues wide in the north-northwesterly direction which we were pursuing, we then traversed another league over high table-lands, until another large pond was found. It was almost circular in form, in a canyon which some sand-dunes obstructed, stopping the water from direct outlet to the sea; the canyon extends from east to west, and is covered with reeds and rushes in swampy puddly ground. The pond was called the Laguna Redonda.

Sixth: The range which we were keeping in sight (it is the one which we have continuously kept on our right hand since leaving San Diego) alternately recedes from and approaches the sea, and our passage along the beach was here cut off by it absolutely. So, to avoid the marshes of the plains and the estuaries that reach to the foot of the range, we chose a westerly route over some sand-dunes at the narrowest place, which must be a matter of half a league wide; then, descending to the beach and traversing it for something like a league toward the north-northwest, we again headed inland (turning east), crossing sand-dunes until we reached firmer ground by means of a tongue of land between two bodies of water. Later, resuming a northerly route, we entered the range through a pass or canyon wooded with live-oaks, alders, and other trees, pitching camp beside a stream covered with cresses. This day's march was four leagues long, and in the whole of it we came upon only one small village of very poor, ill-conditioned Indians. Those of the [village] just by our camping-place came during the day to show us the customary courtesies, bringing seeds and a few fish. The cacique or commander of the village had a huge tumor (which they are accustomed here to call *buche*) that hung from his neck, and it instantly occurred to the soldiers to name the place the *Ranchería del Buchón*.

Seventh: Following the canyon of the preceding camping-place—it turns north-westward here—and then after a short distance making our way over hills and high peaks not far from the sea, the road being rough and difficult, with frequent declivities and slopes, yet pleasant and wooded with white oaks and live-oaks, one encounters at a distance of two leagues (in which not a village is seen) a very narrow canyon encircled by very high hills; the canyon contains running water, and there is no lack of pasture for thirty or forty animals.

Eighth: Continuing from here for three leagues of rough road over high, serrate hills, one finds on descending, another extensive canyon containing many pools of fresh water. As the animals cannot approach these pools close enough to drink on account of their miry margins, it is necessary to go on another league in quest of the watering-place. It is a stream of very good water, and is of adequate volume. In this canyon were seen whole troops of bears; they have the ground all plowed up from digging in it to find their sustenance in the roots which the land produces. They are ferocious brutes, hard to hunt; they attack the hunter with incredible quickness and courage, [so that] he can only escape on a swift horse. They do not give up unless they are shot either in the head or in the heart. The canyon was named the *Cañada del Oso*.

Ninth: The march was continued through the same canyon, which leads continuously westward, for two leagues; we passed over a hill within sight of the sea near a good stream, not, however, without having overcome the difficulty occasioned by some deep ravines and other bad stretches. The field about the camping-place was pleasant and fertile; it had abundant pasture, and was not at all scantily forested. Not far away was seen a small village of Indians who lived without house or hearth.

Bet that which was most worthy of notice was an estuary of immense size, which enters the valley from the south; at first sight it appears to be a large port. Its mouth, opening to the southwest, is covered with reefs, and a short distance northward from it is seen a huge rock shaped like a round head, which at high tide becomes an island, separated from the coast. From this rock the coast extends toward the west-northwest as far as a great point which is discerned at some distance, and which, with another which is left behind, forms a large bay, with shelter from the south, south-west, and west [winds], and may perhaps have sufficient depth [for vessels].

Tenth: After proceeding for three leagues along the beach, where at every step was encountered running water drained from the range, which here recedes somewhat from the sea—one reaches another moderately wide canyon; into it penetrates an estuary which receives a stream. This place was given simply the name of El Estero, as no other name to be given it was suggested. Its latitude by observation is $35^{\circ} 27'$.

Eleventh: Taking the branch of the canyon that runs to the north-northwest and following it for three leagues, since it turns northward at that point, one comes to a better view of the pine-clad range; here occurs a very deep canyon densely wooded with willows, poplars, and other trees; in it ran an ample stream which some claimed was the Río Carmelo. Because of the fact that some sixty hill Indians came down at our arrival to present their compliments, bringing us a bear cub which they had captured in the camp, from this incident occasion was taken to name this rivulet the Cañada del Osito.

Twelfth: Descending thence to the coast and following the beach, which here bore to the northwest, at a distance of a good league of easy road and frequent watering-places, one comes to a cliff at the edge of the sea, in the northwestern part of a valley through which this stream of very good water empties. There was all the pasture and wood wanted, and the place was named El Cantil; the latitude here observed was $35^{\circ} 35'$.

Thirteenth: Without leaving the coast, going over high hills and rolling land broken by ravines and streams, opening the way and clearing ground every moment, one then passes before a point of land terminating in the sea, and, leaving it to the left, strikes into a gorge here presented in the range, continuing the march north-westward, across various canyons and streams. These two leagues passed, one comes to a deep water-course where sufficient water was found in a pool. The place was called Arroyada Honda.

Fourteenth: Going part of the way through this canyon and part along the top of cliffs within view of the sea for another two leagues, one arrives at the foot of a range that is very high, but seems as though it might permit of passage by way of the opening which is seen to the east. This is the range known by the name of Santa Lucía, of which mention is made by the old pilots who first navigated these seas. Those of Sebastián Vizcaíno's expeditions especially speak of it, enlarging with good reason upon its asperity and brokenness. But, interrupting here the [narrative of] the days' marches, it is now time to speak of the missions.

State of the New Missions

The mission of San Luis Obispo de Toloso is the only one established in the third and fourth stages of the journey. It was founded September 1, 1772, and is situated on a hill three leagues distant from the beach and the bay called [La Ensenada] del Buchón. It has near it many fields excellent for cultivation, and abundant water for everything. At the foot of the hill runs a ditch from which water is taken for the fields, which have now been tested, and proven to yield prolifically of whatever is sown. I was there about the first of November in '73, to interview the Rever-

end Father-President Francisco Palóu, who was coming from [Lower] California. There was then a field of two *almudes* [sowing] from which the corn, heavily eared, was just ready to be harvested. They were plowing and preparing the soil for sowing eight *fanegas* of wheat to be irrigated. Certainly, with the measures which the Reverend Father-President has taken to settle there half of the families of married and single Indians whom he brought with him from the peninsula, everything may turn out well. And as he has done the same thing at the mission of San Gabriel, which is no less well supplied with land, water, and pasture, as has been said, it is to be expected that these two missions alone may soon succor and provide for the rest, that of San Gabriel for those below, and that of San Luis Obispo for those in the upper part, rendering unnecessary the exportation of grains from the port of San Blas.

Not only is there the water-supply spoken of, running at the foot of the hill, which will supply this mission and furnish irrigation for its crops, but there is still another ample stream at a short distance and in its vicinity are good localities possessing fertile soil. In addition, abundant water is found in every direction, and pasture for the cattle, so that no matter how large the mission grows to be and however great the number of Indians reduced, the land promises sustenance, without prejudice either to the mission or the Indians, and for many settlers as well, who may desire to establish themselves here—an efficacious means for the advancement of the spiritual conquest and for the secure conservation of that which has been conquered temporally. The Father-President assured me that some settlers from [Lower] California and some cuirassiers had offered voluntarily to bring their wives and families to this country, and that they had gone to Loreto to make the proposal to their governor, Don Felipe Barry. To him this zealous minister of God and good vassal of the King had written with reference to the enterprise, informing him how desirable and advantageous this emigration would be for the service of both Majesties. It is certain that if this [colonization] should some day happen, the Indians would soon cease to consider (as they now do) that we are exiles from our own lands who have come here in quest of their women; for they would then see coming here to settle men who had their own wives, instead of noting as at present, that we have come neither to oppose them in arms or to settle the country, since only men have come. They would then cease to feel the inquietude and misgiving in which they have lived from the first as a result of apprehension or whim.

Nearly all the natives of this middle district possessing, as they do, abundance of seeds to store and use, and those along the beach having all the fish they want, to such a degree that this nation may be considered the richest among them all, it may with reason be feared that collecting and reducing the Indians to mission life will be difficult; there remains only the hope of interesting and attracting them by gifts of clothing—which they lack without confusion or shame, but chiefly by the suavity and kindness which through love of God and desire for the welfare of these poor souls is edifyingly manifested by the reverend father missionaries.

As a result, a few adults are submitting; for their instruction continuous effort is made, and they are being catechised that they may prepare to receive holy baptism. This benefit only twelve boys and girls have availed themselves of at this mission in more than a year, and no adults whatever during that time.

The church, the dwelling of the father missionaries, and the offices, are all within the stockade, and all made in the ordinary manner described in preceding chapters. Of the same construction is the barrack of the guard, a body which is here composed of eight cuirassiers with a corporal and a servant. In the neighborhood of this

mission there is no well established village, but the parents of the new Christians have settled close to the stockade, and in the same place small houses were being built for receiving the Indians who, with their families, were expected from [Lower] California.

Going at leisure to reconnoitre the bay called del Buchón, distant about three leagues, I found that it affords excellent shelter for ships, except upon the south, and that perhaps anchor might be dropped there, or the vessel might at least be moored, in order to leave supplies at the mission and take on water, for there is a good estuary, and at a short distance fresh water is found, and an abundance of firewood.

I might introduce here other notes which I had the honor to include in my previously mentioned letter to your Excellency, concerning the natural geography and the actual population of this part which I have examined—I might almost say, measured by hand-breadths. But as these notes agree in substance with whose recorded in the chapter from the diary of the land journey, which are placed in their [proper] order at the beginning of this [present] section four, as in the preceding ones, I will only make additions by speaking in very general, though in very positive terms: First, that as far as concerns water supply, fishing, fertility of soil, population, and abundance of everything necessary, all this region—together with a long stretch of the coast—greatly exceeds the favorable idea we formed of it when we were merely passing through it. Second: that the towns or villages called *de la Isla*, and those of the channel of Santa Barbara and its entire coast are worthy of particular consideration, with reference to providing them with ministers of the Holy Gospel, especially the [village] named *La Asumpta*. There are, in this stretch and that one just preceding it, very suitable locations for this important establishment of missions, it being understood that they be founded with a presidio and guard of fifty or sixty soldiers; for the natives are so numerous, that in the five channel towns only, which lie almost side by side, and are ready to unite for the sake of any common interest, it may be estimated that there are as many as six thousand Indians. They are the most dexterous and capable people seen in the entire northern section, and are too daring to permit of confidence in them because of their apparent affability and real lack of offensive and defensive arms. In a word, they are savages, and therefore capable of attempting any kind of hostility whenever they see fit. In view of this fact, and of lack of a sufficient number of soldiers, the mission of San Buenaventura has not been established, as your predecessor the Marquis of Croix had resolved it should, at the town of *La Asumpta*, which is some twenty-six leagues distant from the mission of San Gabriel. Between the two points are numerous villages, for the conquest of which was also ordered the foundation of another mission with the name of Santa Clara. The most suitable location for this latter appeared to me to be near the beginning of the valley of the same name, where ample streams of good water flow, and where there are grassy fields of pleasing aspect. Thence to the mission of San Gabriel it would be only fourteen leagues, and twelve to the place selected for the mission of San Buenaventura. It would be wise, however, to reconnoiter and examine the valley of the Santa Clara again, as since the year '69 when the land expedition went [through it], it has not been seen, the fact being that on the return journey another route was chosen which was more direct and had a better arrangement of days' marches.

Third, and lastly: That, in order to travel and transport goods from San Diego to Monterey, it is necessary to pass twenty or more towns, either directly through them, along their borders, or, at least within sight at about a gunshot's distance, [and] there are numerous cliffs, bluffs, and difficult passages, where the natives

might to advantage dispute the way and even prevent travelers from passing; instances of this are not lacking. For instance, in the year '72, they threw stones and darts at me, when I was going down to San Diego, at a place which we named El Rincón; the Indians took advantage of an opportunity to surprise me and my escort when we were occupied in effecting a difficult passage, or rather a steep descent which unavoidably presents itself midway of one of their streets. We found ourselves in such straits that it was necessary, assuming the defensive, to punish the boldness of the insolent fellows, killing one or more of them, but losing none of our men. Since then they have shown some cautiousness, but whenever they see a small number of travelers not well armed, and defenseless, the Indians do not hesitate to throw themselves upon them and try their fortune. It is plainly to be seen that there is or can be no means of forefending these injuries than the presidio and mission [to be established] in the suitable places of which I have just informed your Excellency.

(To be continued)

BOOK REVIEWS

Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century. Studies in Spanish Colonial History and Administration. By Herbert Eugene Bolton, Ph.D., Professor of American History in the University of California. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1915. Pp. vii + 501.

The Mission as a Frontier Institution in the Spanish-American Colonies. By Herbert E. Bolton. Reprint from the *American Historical Review*, Vol. xxiii, No. 1, pp. 41-61.

The territory comprised within the boundaries of the Lone Star State came into prominence, and engaged the attention of Spain and France, at a very early period in our North American history. The four survivors of the ill-fated Navaez expedition, which towards the end of 1528 perished on the northern coast of the Gulf of Mexico, passed several years groping their way through the numerous Indian tribes of Texas. When in 1536 they at last reached civilization at Culiacán, Sinaloa, they had a story to relate which inspired various military and missionary movements for the occupation of the country in question. From that date on the Spanish government claimed Texas by right of discovery. Nevertheless it failed to develop the resources of the territory, or to take steps for the conversion of the savages to Christianity.

Spanish missionaries would, indeed, offer to cross the Rio Grande in order to acquaint the roving natives with the Gospel of Christ, but nothing came of the ardent appeal, because they were not permitted to give vent to their zeal in that direction without military guards. Soldiers would cause expense to the royal treasury which must not be burdened save for purposes that produced adequate returns. In the eyes of the Spanish government missions "served as means of defense to the king's dominions," as Prof. Bolton writes in his admirable essay, *The Mission as a Frontier Institution*. Hence, primarily, according to royal intent, the missions were pioneering agencies of the State. It was not a noble situation that confronted the Spanish missionary.

He could not present himself to the savages as the messenger of Christ only, the acceptance of whose teachings alone would secure salvation, but he must, at the same time, unlike the Apostles of old, unlike a St. Patrick, a St. Augustine, a St. Boniface, etc., preach submission to a particular foreign sovereign. It was humiliating; but only under such condition would the Spanish government lend its protection or even allow a missionary to proceed without military aid. Even then the missionary would have to await the good pleasure of the government, and remain indifferent to the clamors of the Indian for baptism, and the good will of the government in Mexico would not be manifested until some foreign invasion threatened to deprive the Crown of Spain of the territory it claimed. Then the royal purse-strings would be loosened, and the necessary funds granted for missions.

Such a rude awakening the viceroy experienced when he learned that early in 1685, the *Sieur de la Salle* had erected a fort at Matagorda Bay in the name of the King of France. Alarmed at this French presumption, Viceroy de Galve, in 1689, sent an expedition into Texas with orders to drive out the intruders, and to establish missions for the conversion of the natives under the protection of a military fort. The Franciscans Fr. Damian Mazanet, Fr. Miguel Fontcubierta, and Fr. Francisco Casañas were selected to accompany the soldiers. When the Spaniards arrived at the site of the French settlement, they found that the fort had been destroyed and the colonists massacred by savages. Two unburied bodies were given Christian burial, then the expedition proceeded to eastern Texas to establish missions.

The exact location of La Salle's Fort St. Louis has long been disputed, but, says Dr. Bolton in the *Austin American* of July 19, 1914, "this question is debatable no longer; for it is settled once for all by newly discovered records which are corroborated by archeological and topographical investigation . . . It is exactly where Cárdenas's map shows La Salle's settlement on the west bank of the Garcitas River, about 5 miles above its mouth, and on the highest point of the cliff-like bank of that stream." Dr. Bolton identified the site on July 4, 1914. In the preface of the larger book under review he says: "I count as my cardinal joy the identification of the location of La Salle's fort, on the Garcitas River, near the shores of Lavaca Bay."

After founding Mission San Francisco in the extreme north-east corner of the present Houston County on June 1, 1690, and a Mission in honor of the holy Name of Mary directly across the Neches River east of Mission San Francisco, in southwestern Cherokee County, some time in October, the Fathers endeavored to win the savages, but the evil conduct of the soldiers, who had been recruited from the scum of society in Mexico, rendered all their efforts useless. "Scarcely a day passed without some one fighting, or some officer stabbing a soldier, so that the servant brother was generally kept busy attending the wounded," writes Fr. Mazanet. Worse than that, the guards would enter the homes of the Indians to gratify their lusts. Reporting the situation in person, Fr. Casañas declared to the viceroy that the Spanish officials had yet to learn that the missionaries, however patient and self-sacrificing they might be, could accomplish little for Christianity and civilization among the savages unless the guards themselves set an example in civilization and the practice of Christian virtues.

This may be said to be a sample of the complaints of the missionaries throughout the Texan missionary period. Fr. Mazanet a little later reported that the misdeeds of the soldiers had enraged the Indians, and that medicine men were adding to the difficulties by blaming the missionaries for diseases and deaths among the savages. As six of the fifteen guards had deserted, he asked for a sufficient number of reliable men. Instead of heeding the urgent appeal, the Government in August, 1693, directed the missionaries to retire to Mexico. Nor could the Franciscans prevail upon the viceroy to let them return until twenty-three years later, and then it was an alarm of French encroachments that brought about the reestablishment of the missions, and the founding of new ones, as *frontier posts against the enemy*.

In his splendid essay, *The Mission as a Frontier Institution*, Professor Bolton throws such strong and clear light on this feature of the Indian missionary establishments under Spanish rule that we urgently advise the student, who desires to comprehend mission history, first to study Bolton's little work, and then to read his *Texas in the Eighteenth Century* for information regarding the activity of the Franciscans in Texas, or *The Mis-*

sions and Missionaries of California on their labors in the Golden State.

"From the standpoint of the Church," says Prof. Bolton, "and as viewed by the missionaries themselves, their principal work was to spread the Faith, first, last, and always. To doubt this is to confess complete and disqualifying ignorance of the great mass of existing missionary correspondence, printed and unprinted, so fraught with unmistakable proofs of religious zeal and devotion of the vast majority of the missionaries." (*Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century*, pp. 46-47.)

Be it known that the man who makes this emphatic statement is not a Catholic. His boyhood passed within the shadows of a Methodist meetinghouse of Wisconsin. He must have heard many of the usual strange stories about the Catholic Church and her ministers; but having chosen the field of history for his life's work, an innate love for truth urged him to investigate every statement, until he found it to correspond with the facts as noted in original documents. Nor is he a mere armchair historian, but he would visit the scenes of past events in order to discover corroboration for what the documents revealed. "My quest has been as romantic as the search for the Golden Fleece," he writes. "I have burrowed in the dust of the archives of Church and State in Mexico City, in a dozen state capitals, in Nachitoches, Louisiana, and in numerous places in Texas. The distance travelled in my pursuit of documents would carry me around the globe. I have lived with the *padres* in ruinous old monasteries in out of the way villages in the mountains of Mexico . . . My researches have taken me not only into foreign archives in quest of records, but also over hundreds of miles of old trails in Texas, Louisiana, and other parts of the Southwest, in search of topographical and archeological data, for light on the historical tale. I have ridden by team long distances over the Old San Antonio Road, where no railroads run, and on horseback in mud fetlock deep, over the historic trail from Nachitoches, the old French outpost of Louisiana, to Adaes (Robeline), the Spanish outposts of Texas. To examine the ruins and map out the sites of the forgotten missions near Rockdale, I have several times driven and tramped back and forth, up and down the valley of the San Gabriel." (Preface to *Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century*.)

Nevertheless, all these sincere efforts to secure accurate data would not be sufficient guarantee that the professor's presentation of the facts is trustworthy, were it not for his apparent determination to abide by the rule laid down by Cicero, and which Pope Leo XIII prescribed for all Catholic historians, "not to dare state what is false, and then not to dare suppress what is true." Would that all writers of history stood by that rule.

For a second time the Franciscans, as already indicated, returned to eastern Texas. This time twelve Fathers composed the band of intrepid missionaries, among whom was Fr. Antonio Margil, declared Venerable by Pope Gregory XVI in 1836, which means that he had practised the theological and cardinal virtues in an heroic degree. They reestablished Mission San Francisco, not on the same place, as Prof. Bolton shows, but "near the Neches Mounds, on the land of the Morrill Orchard Company, just east of and across the river from Neches, Houston County." The other two missions and the garrison for their protection were planted as follows: "The presidio or fort was erected at the spring just west of Douglas, and Mission Purísima Concepción arose on the Angelina River just west thereof. Mission San José de los Nazonés was placed near the border of Rush and Nacogdoches counties." These three establishments were in charge of the Franciscans from the missionary College of Santa Cruz de Querétaro. The Franciscans of the College of Our Lady of Guadalupe, Zacatecas, under Fr. Margil, founded their three missions as follows: "Mission Guadalupe in the center of modern Nacogdoches; Mission Nuestra Señora de los Dolores at the present City of San Augustine, San Augustine County; and Mission San Miguel right at the modern village of Robeline, Louisiana, and a short distance to the northeast was the presidio" for the protection of this group of missions.

Meanwhile, in 1718, Fr. Antonio Olivares, by permission of Viceroy de Valero, transferred his Xarame Indian mission from the southern banks of the Rio Grande to the headwaters of the Rio de San Antonio, where he established the mission of the same name, later on famous as the "Álamo," at what is now the City of San Antonio.

In 1720, Viceroy Valero equipped an expedition for the expul-

sion of the French invaders and the return of the Fathers to their missions. This expedition reached San Antonio on April 4, 1721. After a needed rest, the soldiers and colonists, joined by the Franciscans, arrived at the first mission in July. The Fathers took possession, and then in their turn all other missions were reoccupied. While the three establishments of the Zacatecan Fathers in the extreme east continued, the three in charge of the Querétaro Fathers, chiefly because the guards were withdrawn as not necessary in the opinion of the Government, were permitted to be transplanted to the Rio San Antonio. The change was effected by 1731, in which year the missions of San José, San Juan Capistrano, and San Francisco de Espada were founded in the vicinity of San Antonio.

This takes us directly to the beginning of the period discussed in Prof. Bolton's *Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century*.

At the very outset Professor Bolton disclaims wanting to present a history. "It is, rather, a collection of special studies, closely related in time and subject-matter, and designed to throw light upon a neglected period in the history of one of the most important of Spain's northern provinces . . . The special studies here presented are based almost exclusively upon manuscript sources, chiefly in the archives of Mexico, Spain, and Texas, and for the most part hitherto unknown and unused" (Preface v-vi). The numerous and luminous footnotes, such as the historical student delights to encounter in a work of this kind, sustain the professor's claim.

One observes, too, that the author heartily sympathizes with his subject, which of necessity deals chiefly with the missions and missionaries, for Texas history in the eighteenth century without the missions would be a blank. His very studies of authorities at first hand, his determination not to permit any early sectarian training or previous adverse impressions to warp his judgment, and his innate sense of what is fair, have led him to express his sympathy in no uncertain terms. Others, indeed, have written about Texas and its history, but inasmuch as they lacked the qualities essential for an accurate presentation of the historical facts, their writings have not satisfied the lovers of truth and justice.

With these *Studies* Prof. Bolton appears to have inaugurated a new departure from the methods observed in State Universities concerning Catholic activities. Professors of History would seem to have made it a law to themselves not to say anything favorable about Catholic work anywhere, if they could find nothing unfavorable, or to hem in what is good with "buts," "however," "nevertheless," etc., until the good impression made by the recital of the mere facts is effectually smothered. Professor Bolton takes the opposite course. He disdains to be a partisan. As a true historian he is a judge, and a judge must sift the evidence, clarify it, not smother it, nor twist it out of semblance to the truth. Hence, as in the case of the missionaries, for instance, he abstracts from any view or notion he may have about the Catholic Church, and simply judges the work of the friars according to their own convictions, motives, and aims. Inasmuch as he knows these from personal observation, from original documents, and from consequent results, he does not see why the Catholic missionary should not receive the credit due. Therefore he manfully and honestly expresses judgment in keeping with the evidence. These principles he has likewise impressed upon his pupils, first at the University of Texas, then at the University of Stanford, California, and he continues to inculcate the same fair historical rules at the University of California, with the result that his students have in turn gained for themselves honorable positions as professors of history at various State institutions, where they are proud to conduct their department in the equitable spirit of their revered master. In this way the author of *Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century* has, perhaps, unconsciously, founded a new school of history, which we should call the "Bolton School of Historical Research," for it is based on original research, which yields knowledge that is quite different from the information easy-going literary hacks in professors' chairs repeat from printed works of little historical value.

Nor does Professor Bolton stand alone in taking a fair and sympathetic view of Catholic missionary activities and their results. In the case of New Mexico, visited by Franciscans much earlier than Texas, others before him, non-Catholics too,

investigated, above and below ground, and with the same results for themselves, that is to say, previous unfavorable impressions about Catholic religious were changed to a feeling of admiration. The most conspicuous men of this band of scientific men, who actually revolutionized the accounts current about the early days in the far West, and paved the way for a real scientific treatment of its history, are Adolf F. Bandelier, Frank H. Cushing, Parker Winship, F. W. Hodge, Charles F. Lummis, and even the radical atheist Dr. Elliott Coues. All their writings exhibit unmistakable friendliness, the effect of personal examination performed with the determination to be fair. Bandelier went further. He employed the same system to secure the facts and the truth in another line with the result that he yielded to the evidences and became a Catholic, for which action none of his companions in the historical and ethnographical field respected him one whit less.

Dealing chiefly with Indian missionary establishments, Prof. Bolton's book contains much that will interest the student of ethnology. The names of the tribes and their habitat is carefully described. "All were objects of solicitude to the missionaries," (p. 4) whose purpose was to Christianize and civilize them. They could not be induced to adopt either Christianity or civilization unless those willing were segregated from their wild tribesmen, and put under the humane rule of the missionaries. This suggested the mission and the mission system. They had then to be taught industry and civic life. What that meant is only intimated, but may be inferred from the letter of a Franciscan Superior, which is quoted: "At present," writes the Father, "as is notorious, they are incapable of governing themselves. It is necessary that the missionary religious take them out to the work of planting, and that he go about with them in planting and in harvesting, and that he take care that they guard the stock, that he count them, that he go with them to work on the buildings, and in fine, in all temporal occupations; for experience shows that if the missionary does not go about in this work and leaves it in their care, everything is lost and they go at once to the forest. Every day it is necessary to give rations to each Indian, for if the food is left to their disposition in two days it is exhausted." (Page 12.)

"The conversions," Fr. Santa Ana writes in 1740, "are not difficult, but they are vexatious; for it is necessary to deal with them like a mother instructing a child. Until after five, or six, or seven years they are unable to enter into a perfect understanding, and thus it is rare that one does not flee to the forests twice or three times, and so far that they sometimes go inland as many as a hundred leagues, but we have the patience to seek them, and as soon as they see the Father they come like lambs." (Page 17.)

Professor Bolton points out another serious obstacle to effective work. "By the Laws of the Indies," he says, "the missionaries were enjoined to instruct the Indians in their native languages; but in the first place, the native languages usually lacked terms in which properly to convey the meaning of the Christian doctrine. In the second place, on some frontiers there were so many dialects that it was impossible for the friars to learn them. This was eminently true in the region between the Rio Grande and San Antonio, where there were more than twenty dialects or languages regularly spoken. Hence instruction was given in Spanish, reliance being placed when necessary upon native interpreters. In 1760 Father Bartolomé García published a *Manual* for religious instruction in the Coahuiltecan language which served for about twenty tribes represented at the missions on the San Antonio and the lower Rio Grande. The form outlined for the confessional in this book reflects the horrible moral conditions with which the missionaries had to contend in their work of civilization." (Page 11.)

It is this habit of explaining what might be misconstrued that materially enhances the value of Professor Bolton's work. He does not essay to defend the friars, but simply adds the explanatory circumstances, which is all that the friars would want. It is the right way to present what has occurred in the past. It is true history. Of course, in this way he misses a glorious opportunity of "roasting the priests" and "making Rome howl," as was the custom with anti-Catholic professors and bogus historians up to about twenty or thirty years ago. However, the author of those "Studies" is not out for cheap notoriety; besides he has won for himself the distinction of being a fair, painstaking, accurate teacher in the Department of History.

With that enviable reputation he desires to go down to posterity. Hence his careful research which results in products the students may confidently study and consult.

"At Mission San Antonio alone," the author continues, "no fewer than forty different bands or tribes were represented by the baptisms between 1731 and 1745. . . . The original tribes at Mission Concepción were three—the Pajalat, Siquipil, and Tilpacopal—but by 1745 members of at least fifteen others had been attracted thither" (p. 16). "Quarrels between the missionaries and the secular authorities were almost constant, in Texas as elsewhere," the professor writes. "It is difficult to determine whether the seat of the trouble was the imperfect definition and distribution of authority provided by the administrative system, or pride, 'headiness,' and insubordination in the Spanish character. Whatever the cause, wrangling was a chronic and disastrous malady in all the frontier Spanish provinces" (p. 13).

It will help the student to a decision if he bear in mind that the very aims and character of the quarrelling parties rendered disputes unavoidable. The missionaries, vowed to a life of poverty and chastity, entered the field intent on nothing but the temporal and spiritual welfare of the Indians. By royal decrees they were also constituted the guardians and protectors of the Indians and their rights. On the other hand, the military guards were generally composed of convicts and jailbirds, and officered by men who sought only their personal gain. Both, officers and guards, wanted to exploit the Indians for their own selfish ends. Under such circumstances it is a wonder that the friars made any converts at all. It would take us far beyond the space allotted to ventilate even briefly this phase of missionary afflictions. We shall, therefore, hasten to one of the best features of Dr. Bolton's work. The professor has taken great pains to locate the various missions and presidios. Of some the very memory had been lost. After personally visiting the scenes of friar activities, documents in hand, he has succeeded in identifying every one of them, and thus earned the lasting gratitude of the State and of the Franciscans as well. Besides the six missions in eastern Texas and the five in the vicinity of San Antonio, a third group was established on the lower Guadalupe and San Antonio rivers in what is now Victoria and Goliad counties. These were the missions of *Espiritu*

Santo, Nuestra Señora del Rosario, and Nuestra Señora del Refugio. About midway between San Antonio and the abandoned establishments of the Neches and Angelina rivers, on San Xavier River (now San Gabriel), in Milam County, about ten miles northwest from Rockdale, were the missions of *Nuestra Señora de los Dolores* (or San Francisco Xavier), *Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria*, and *San Lorenzo*. Among the fierce Apaches of western Texas arose Mission *Santa Cruz* on the San Sabá River, about four miles below Menardville, Menard County. Here Fathers Alonso Giraldo de Terreros and José Santiesteban were massacred by the savages in 1759. On the eastern branch of the Upper Nueces River, near the southern border of Edwards County, four or five leagues apart, in 1762, were founded the second missions of the same names—*San Lorenzo* and *Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria*. These with *Santa Cruz* formed the San Sabá Missions. Finally, we have Mission *Nuestra Señora de la Luz*, near the presidio of San Agustin, which lay a "short distance east of the left bank of the Trinity River, some two leagues from the head of the bay, or near the north line of present Chambers County." (Pages 346-347.) Hence between the years 1690 and 1790 twenty-one missions were founded for the savages of Texas. This was the same number reported for California, but only those in the vicinity of San Antonio ever reached the importance of the smaller missions in the Golden States.

A number of topographical maps greatly aid the student to comprehend the situation around the various missions and presidios. "Too high praise," to use the words of Prof. W. E. Dunn of Austin University, "cannot be given to the general map of Texas, which furnishes the most elaborate and authoritative map of colonial Texas in existence, one which could only be prepared by a profound specialist in the field." It points out exactly the route taken by various expeditions, marks out the habitat of the different Indian tribes, and locates accurately the missions, giving the dates of founding as well.

If we may express a wish it is that Dr. Bolton supply us with a complete history of Texas, beginning with the period not treated, 1689 to 1730, incorporate the new material since discovered in the archives of Spain, and bring the work down to the independence of the territory of Texas. Save for the learned

articles that appeared in the *Texas Historical Quarterly* and its successor, the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, most of the work printed in English on the missions is of little historical value. We hope the professor may consider the proposition and earn the lasting gratitude of posterity.

ZEPHYRIN ENGELHARDT.

American Presidents—Their Individualities and Their Contributions to American Progress. By Thomas Francis Moran, Ph.D. New York: T. Y. Crowell Company. Pp. 148.

The divisions of this little volume, Washington to Jackson, Jackson to Lincoln, and Lincoln to Wilson, give to the reader a hint of the author's principles. In the first section we find the statesmen Presidents, those chief executives whose public services singled them out for the suffrages of their fellow-citizens. In this group we have gradations in efficiency from Washington, the greatest, to Monroe, the least, though measured by the standard of the later times a not inconsiderable official. From Jackson, chosen for considerations other than a knowledge of national or of international affairs, there is an evident deterioration. Lincoln the first of the third division, and, perhaps, the greatest among them, was nominated because of his conservative opinions on the subject of slavery, while his successors, three of them not intended for the first office, appear to have been chosen in part for their availability and talents.

In his sketch of John Adams the author mentions "the X. Y. Z. Affair" as the "principal event" of the second President's administration. It was, indeed, the principal diplomatic event, but in its momentous importance the passage of the Alien and Sedition Laws far transcended the mission of Marshall, Gerry, and Pinckney. This legislation suggests the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions, the Hartford Convention, Nullification, and Secession. In a word, it locates the landmarks of much of the history of our Republic between 1798 and 1860.

In his account of the next two terms Dr. Moran states that Jefferson and Hamilton represented "opposite poles of political thought, always opposing and never pulling in the same direction." This is almost the literal truth, but there was a memorable

dinner, and thereafter, for the moment, they worked together for the assumption by the Federal Government of the Revolutionary debts of the States. Jefferson, it is true, subsequently regretted his share in that transaction.

The author gives the usual estimate of Madison, and it is, perhaps, ungracious to mar the outline of his perfect picture. But in reflecting on the Father of the Constitution one who has read widely in American history might call up the spectre of the Pinckney draft, a document too long, we are informed, to have been included in the Journal of the Constitutional Convention, the suspicious circumstances attending Madison's nomination in 1812 or that statesman's unwarranted attack on the character of a certain New England contemporary. But when due allowance has been made for these evidences of human fallibility, Madison's achievements were sufficient for fame.

In paying a deserved tribute to the Adams family, Professor Moran concludes with this comment, "and the greatest of this family was John Quincy Adams." If one is thinking of only the Adamses in public life, there are few who will question this judgment. It is generally conceded that he surpassed his father, John Adams, as well as his son, Charles Francis Adams. But there was another Adams, a grandson, not actively engaged in the hurly-burly of politics, yet an interested spectator of the happenings in that arena. Nothing, in our opinion, in the writings of Samuel Adams, a cousin of the second President, in the writings of John Adams or in the Memoirs of John Quincy Adams approaches in excellence the autobiographical work entitled *The Education of Henry Adams*. If this may be regarded as a *tour de force*, there is also *Mont-Saint Michel and Chartres*, a work of interest to multitudes besides architects. We say nothing of the eight splendid volumes in which Henry Adams writes the history of the United States from 1801 to 1817. Many of his contemporaries have shown a practical appreciation of that great work by silently adopting its conclusions.

How Henry Adams contrived to escape the keen eyes of men who possessed the power of appointment to high office is neither easy to understand nor creditable to the intelligence and patriotism of a rather long line of Presidents. Nor is it to be explained by the well known antagonism between the Adams family and

State Street. Whatever the explanation, Henry Adams, one of the ablest Americans of the past fifty years, succeeded almost completely in effacing himself from the political landscape.

The reviewer has carefully examined Dr. Moran's book and is glad to testify to the justness of its conclusions, to its value as a summary of the two major themes which the author has undertaken to treat, and to its exceedingly attractive form. Professor Moran writes interestingly, and the entertainment of the reader is a perfectly legitimate, though not the chief object of an author. So easy is it to ascertain his meaning that without effort one finds one's self at the end of his volume, regretting that he did not prepare a narrative somewhat more ample. Like other books by Professor Moran this is marked by evidences of excellent scholarship.

Life and Letters of Thomas Hodgkin, By Louise Creighton.
London, New York, Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras: Longmans
Green & Co., 1917. Pp. 445. Price, \$4.50 net.

This work is not, as is sufficiently indicated by its title, a commentary on the writings of Thomas Hodgkin, but a biographical sketch confirmed by countless excerpts from his tireless epistolary correspondence. Voluminous and vast, the Miltonic phrase, is perhaps the only description in our language which adequately suggests the extent of his compositions. But the reviewer disclaims any thought of hinting at a connection between the pious historian and the porters of the inferno. We have never read the whole of *Italy and Her Invaders*, the masterpiece of Hodgkin, and the work that engaged so many of the best years of his busy life. But its merits one is willing to accept on the concurrent testimony of eminent historians and the public approval of universities undoubtedly great. Of Hodgkin's writings the reviewer has hitherto fully read only the first volume of a *Political History of England* published by Messrs. Longmans, Green, and Company. In its pages he discovered nothing whatever that was new. In fact, that performance is an excellent illustration of mediocrity in historical writing. This impression was all but effaced when Mrs. Creighton's volume came up for examination. It is to be regretted that she did not cast her

narrative in another form and impose upon her subject a measure of silence. She permits him to speak too much. There is, however, an evident advantage in her plan, for from the multitude of his dreary letters the reader is able to collect the principles of the historian.

The narrative and the testimony shows that Hodgkin was an affectionate son, a devoted husband (to successive wives), and a fond father. In short, in his case the domestic virtues were ideal. He was a loyal subject of his sovereign, an enlightened employer, a helpful friend, and a public-spirited leader in the communities in which he lived. He had been systematically educated, had been a diligent, if not a brilliant student, and during the course of a long life was noted for his extraordinary industry. Though he was a banker of ability, he was never so much attached to the profits of business as to devote to it his entire energy. The muse of history, he was persuaded, had sent him a message to deliver to men. Therefore, when not engrossed by problems of private finance, he was forever talking and writing. Judged by his attributes and his appearances, Hodgkin was a typical English gentleman, and a versatile one. Nevertheless, this urbane writer had limitations not less obvious than his merits. Doubtless the intolerance of his age, which excluded members of the Society of Friends from both Oxford and Cambridge, was a disadvantage which somewhat disabled him through all his days and it may serve to explain his own rooted prejudices.

As a youth Hodgkin, who chanced to be in Dublin with his father, had witnessed a contested election for the representation for Trinity College. The hustings, located in that celebrated seminary of learning, "reeked with Orangeism." The fitness of candidates for the imperial legislature was judged by the vehemence with which they could proclaim their hatred of the Pope and the suffrages of the learned were solicited on the ground of superior powers of vituperation, each candidate professing to be the Lord's own trumpet. The tides of angry declamation failed to attract Hodgkin to Irish politics. Vulgarly indeed appeared never to have successfully appealed to his dignity. Not that he was shocked by the character of the invectives directed at the

Pope, but it was an unpardonable offence against taste. Of the Popes he had himself often exclaimed, "Oh, the Vicars of Christ, how the earth groans and has groaned under them."

The issue between the North and the South, Hodgkin saw clearly. He did not desire England to be dragged into the great American conflict on the side of pro-slavery interests. On that question his Quaker principles led him to take the right-hand road. He was also able to anticipate the judgment of the English people in the midst of the Russo-Turkish war. He feared that England might once more espouse the cause of the Turk. But at that time even diplomats were aware that in 1854 they had backed the wrong horse. Great Britain had recovered from her infatuation for the subjects of the Sultan. But justice to the negro and to the dwellers in the Balkans was one thing, while justice to the Irish was quite another matter. "His indignation over Gladstone's conversion to Home Rule," says the author, "was deep and lasting." Over that question he broke with several of his Liberal friends, and he labored to the limit of his powers to avert the calamity of a self-governed Ireland.

What particularly disturbed the repose of Dr. Hodgkin was the proximity of anything Catholic. Mrs. Creighton informs us that toward the ecclesiastical history of the period covered by his great work his attitude was "cold and almost contemptuous." In this attitude he had the example of a distinguished predecessor in another field of history. Hume's history of England, as we remember it from a distant reading, fails to note the influence of Christianity upon the development of the British Isles. Whether that force operated for good or for ill it was the duty of the chronicler to advert to the fact. Hodgkin regarded Naples as more than a half-way house toward an Oriental city. Traveling in Italy, he acknowledges, always made him a "bitter Protestant." The stimuli of that country's ancient memorials and modern art were really not needed, for this bitterness was subjective. Hodgkin actually preferred paganism to Catholicism. Unfortunately in that opinion he was not alone. One of his letters, a dull composition for a student who had read *Marmion*, describes a visit to Lindisfarne. That historic spot, according to the excerpt, suggested no allusion except to the fate of Pharaoh's army whose horses and chariots, the poet tells us, were sunk in

the waves. Holy Isle and Whitby recalled to his mind nothing save the Biblical allusion to an experience which he thought similar to his own. There was really nothing in his cavalcade or his caravan to call up a vision of Memphian chivalry. At Albi a view of St. Cecelia's Cathedral led him to remark that it seemed incongruous "that that slight musical little saint" should have had such an edifice dedicated to her honor. Veneration for the Blessed Virgin, who is sometimes said to have been a slight little lady, has led many a town of southern Europe to build edifices not less stately. Hodgkin regarded *Janus* as "an astonishing book certainly to have been written by any Roman Catholic." He hesitated about the epithet *vicarious* because it was not Biblical but scholastic. He appears to have drawn everything from the Bible except its charity, its poetry, and its sublimity. At Nazareth he would not go to the Church of the Annunciation, for he was "quite tired of these so-called holy places, so monotonous in their tawdry decorations and so redolent of the ecclesiastical humbug of many generations." If Dante could have partaken of certain waters in Wales, he "might have written a really fine poem." One is scarcely expected to maintain that he did write a splendid poem. The Oxford Movement, the historian asserts, was *the greatest spiritual misfortune of our country*. In the enjoyment of such feelings Hodgkin passed happy days.

After a careful survey of this level stretch of desolation one turns with pleasure to peruse once more the letters of Cowper, also an Englishman and a Protestant. One who has been introduced to DeQuincy, or Newman, or Burke, or Ruskin, or even Macaulay will not find it easy to admit Hodgkin to the circle of his select friends. If, at the outset, the author had resolved to reveal to the readers of *Italy and Her Invaders* the personality of the historian, that purpose has been admirably accomplished. Our criticism is not of her art, but of her choice of a theme.

A History of Europe. By A. J. Grant. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1917. Pp. iii+751. Price, \$2.75.

To write the history of Europe as an organic unit, and not as a group of separate states, requires a fine sense of perspective, proportion and continuity, and a constant subordination of inter-related parts to the whole. The present work weaves together

the political and social elements in European civilization, omits the intellectual factors, and fails completely to grasp the central and formative function of Christianity. The implications of the name Christendom are not even suggested. Perhaps this were too definite a philosophy of history and no writer may be denied his viewpoint.

As a narrative of consecutive events the book is successful. It is well planned and well divided. And while the bibliographies seldom contain works which would give all sides of open questions, and though some of the estimates of persons and events, notably in connection with religious history, are curiously inaccurate, the work is free from conscious prejudice.

The Development of Japan. By Kenneth Scott Latourette, Professor of History in Denison University. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1918. Pp. xi+237.

This volume is published under the auspices of the Japan Society. The manuscript was read and suggestions as to its content and form were made by Professor K. Asakawa, of Yale University, by Professor Treat of Leland Stanford, and by others. The Japan Society fathers the book, but it was prepared without the knowledge of the Society, and until completed it did not come under the eyes of the Society's officers. No changes were made by the Society before its publication. These facts should be kept in mind by the reader who may feel some hesitation in approaching a volume which has a definite pro-Nippon tendency. It may not be unfair to propose Dr. Latourette's thesis in the following paragraph from his chapter on the *Development of Japan*: "This nearness to Asia means, too, that the Japanese are vitally interested in continental affairs. Here is their natural field for commercial and territorial expansion. Here is the natural outlet for their surplus population. They must see to it that no strong foreign power dominates the points where Japan most nearly touches Asia. Hence they fought both Russia and China, for Korea and later annexed it. Hence they demanded that China alienate to no European power the coast of Fuhkien province opposite Formosa. They must also insist that their voice be heard in settling the affairs of their unwieldy neighbor, China, and that her door

be kept open to their commerce: they have attempted during the War of Nations so to establish themselves in the great Asiatic republic that they cannot be easily dislodged when the struggle is over. Their policy on the continent has not without some appropriateness been styled their 'Monroe Doctrine.' It has been inspired largely by the same fear of foreign aggression that gave rise to our insistence on Latin-American independence. We feared lest Europe, by encroaching on the newly won freedom of our sister republics of the south, would threaten our own existence. Japan is apprehensive of a monopoly by Occidental nations of the vast resources of China and Korea that would stifle her legitimate commercial expansion. In the hearts of some of her leaders there has been a passion for expansion, but before we cast a stone we need to remember that it is not yet a hundred years since we talked glibly of our 'manifest destiny' and seized vast regions from a defenseless neighbor."

We are to see, therefore, a dominant factor in the geographical situation of this great Eastern power. Great, Japan has actually become in the short space of a century. "Of all the unexpected and startling developments of this remarkable century through which we have just passed, none has been more notable than the transformation of Japan. A hundred years ago she was an obscure Asiatic Kingdom, by her own volition tightly closed from the world." In this almost unparalleled metamorphosis, no country has played a larger share than the United States. The coming of Perry divides the civilization of old Japan from that of the modern Japanese world; but, though the change has an abruptness which is singular in history, the Japan of today is the child of the Japan of 1850. To know modern Japan one must first be acquainted with the period which precedes that historic date. To make Japan known to the American world, to that world in which "during the past few years, there has been a growing mutual suspicion," is the author's aim. He has succeeded where many before his time have failed.

This volume is divided into twelve chapters which describe in a brilliant and solid fashion the legendary history of our great neighbor of the Pacific, the rise and fall of the Shogunate, the civilization of the land before Perry spoke his Open Sesame at its gates, the internal transformations of the latter half of the nine-

teenth century, and the international relations which have pre-occupied the minds of Japanese statesmen since 1850. The volume is well-balanced, and, despite its tendency—to use a much abused word—can be trusted to give a fair setting to the historic rôle Japan seems bound to have in the world after the present war is over.

One would naturally look for a rather detailed account of the rise and fall of Christianity in the mysterious Empire; the author has given a word of praise to the “zealous and heroic Jesuit, Francis Xavier,” who brought the Faith to Japan in 1549. The glorious martyrology of the country between 1596 and 1640, when thousands were put to death for the Christian belief is fittingly described; but the reader is left unaware of the presence of Catholicism in the islands from the day they were “hermetically sealed” down to 1844, when Father Forcade entered Japan as a missionary. In 1865, fifteen Christians presented themselves to the Catholic priest at Nagasaki and assured him that there were at least 50,000 Catholics in the islands. The persecutions begun afresh in 1867, after two centuries of silence, and some forty thousand Catholics were exiled. From 1876 to the present time toleration has been the rule. At present a Catholic hierarchy exists with an Archbishop at Tokio, and three Bishops in Nagasaki, Osaka, and Hakodate. Dr. Latourette’s bibliography makes no mention of the list of Catholic works on Japan. There is also scant mention of Protestant missions in the Empire, although a list of Protestant missionaries from 1829 down to the present contains the names of such well-known personages as Channing Williams, James Hepburn, and Mr. Thompson. The educational work projected by these pioneer missionaries has had more than a passing effect upon the development of the islands. Apart from these defects, which are not minor ones in a volume which sets out to explain Japan to the American mind, the author has succeeded in explaining the present attitude of Japanese politics better than any writer before his time. “What the Japanese genius is to produce,” he says, “and what the nation is to be and do when it completely finishes the process of adjustment, no one can yet accurately predict. Japan will hardly be content to be an imitator and there is much in her past history that leads one to hope for new and valuable contributions to world culture.”

Dramatic Moments in American Diplomacy. By Ralph W. Page. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1918. Pp. xi+284.

The book has been written because "public apathy in regard to our foreign policy and cheerful indifference shown by the majority of our people towards the Diplomatic Service has had a baleful influence upon our country." The author's purpose is not to give a chronological summary of the diplomatic achievements of the United States, but rather to present simply and clearly the most striking dramatic episodes in our foreign relations since Franklin's day. His volume, nevertheless, follows the order of time, and treats of the diplomatic history of the United States from the days of France's benevolent neutrality and of Benjamin Franklin, "the incarnation of sanity and clear sense," down to the coup d'état in Panama under Roosevelt. Not all Mr. Page's chapters give an honorable hue to the general coloring of our diplomatic relations with our foreign neighbors. Probably the most unpleasant event in the series described by the author is McKinley's attitude towards the Spanish government over the question of Cuba. Something besides politics started the Spanish war, and that something cannot be charged entirely to McKinley's lack of broad statesmanship.

The author has written to interest and to please his audience and has given his theme as many theatrical turns as possible; but the narrative is purposely "told in the language of the man in the street rather than in the dignified diction of the historian." That Mr. Page has created interest in a little known aspect of American history is certain. The book is well worth reading, and might justly be added to the Reading Books for the school-room.

Syllabus Topics in American History for Seventh and Eighth Grades. By H. E. Reed. Syracuse: Iroquois Publishing Co., 1917. Pp. 64.

This useful publication gives in topical outline the map work required in American history for the seventh and eighth grades of the New York schools. The Regents Examinations are the norm for its divisions. The essential topics are treated, and with the aid of the Syllabus the pupil can easily find his way to reference books and text-books. The careful use of the maps will prove of

great value in "fixing history in the minds of the pupils by making the work graphic. Many parts will thus be fixed which otherwise would soon be forgotten."

A Syllabus of United States History, 1492-1916. By Homer C. Hockett and Arthur W. Schlesinger. Columbus, Ohio, 1911. Pp. 93.

This Syllabus is an evolution from an Outline of Bassett's *Short History of the United States*, which was prepared as an aid in teaching an introductory course in United States History at the Ohio State University. The divisions of the *Syllabus* follow along the conventional lines and the ample list of References and Readings fairly covers the topics assigned for study. The entire list of books cited is not above a hundred, and in our Catholic colleges and academies where a separate course in American History is given, these books could be purchased as a working library for the students. No books dealing with the history of the Church are included, but references to them can be easily supplied by the teacher.

NOTES AND COMMENT

With the Rev. Dr. Souvay, C.M., as Editor-in-chief, and assisted by a noted group of Catholic scholars, among whom are the Rev. Father Holweck, the Rev. Gilbert J. Garraghan, S.J., the Rev. John Rothenstein, and Mr. Edward Brown, the first number of the *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review* has appeared and has at the outset given fine promise of success. All students of Middle West history will welcome this magazine. The CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW sees in this new venture fresh strength to the growing influence of Catholic historical studies in the United States. St. Louis has always been a logical home for such studies. Love for its Catholic past has been always mutual to those within and without the Church; but among all who have striven to make that past a living reality to present-day readers, none deserves a higher encomium than the Editor of *The Fortnightly Review*, Dr. Arthur Preuss. For a quarter century, the history of the Church in and around old St. Louis has had in him a constant and sincere student. A card-index of historical articles from *The Fortnightly Review* contains a surprising number of excellent contributions to the study of the Church history of old Louisiana. It is to be hoped that the Catholics of New Orleans and of San Francisco will be the next to found an historical Review for similar purposes in their sections.

The Student Army Training Corps has taken its place among the unsuccessful experiments of the war. Administered by the Committee on Education and Special Training of the War Department, it had for its primary purpose "to utilize the educative and teaching personnel and the physical equipment of the educational institutions to assist in the training of our new armies." This training was conducted in some 562 colleges and universities; about 141,000 students were enrolled. The Corps was divided into two sections: Section A, or the Collegiate Section, and Section B, or the Vocational Section. The status of the students, when inducted, was that of a private in the United States Army. The project as originally outlined divided the students into age groups: twenty-year-old men, nineteen-year-old men, and eighteen-year-old men. The twenty-year-old men were to leave the S. A. T. C. units at the end of the first three months; the nineteen-year-old men at the end of the second three months; and the eighteen-year-old men at the end of the third three months. Members of the three groups were to be sent, according to their rating in academic and military work, to a Central Officers' Training School, a Non-commissioned Officers' School, a college for more intensive work in a specified line, or to a cantonment for duty with the regular troops. The curriculum consisted mainly of eleven hours a week of military training, and of forty-two hours of academic work. The whole system seemed assured of success from the beginning. For administrative purposes the country was divided into twelve Districts, with a

District Headquarters. At each District Headquarters there was a staff composed of members of the collegiate, medical, military, and business departments.

In the Collegiate Section, the following Catholic Colleges were established as units of the Students Army Training Corps:

Alabama, Spring Hill College, Spring Hill. *Arkansas*, Little Rock College, Little Rock. *California*, University of Santa Clara, Santa Clara; St. Ignatius University, San Francisco; St. Mary's College, Oakland. *District of Columbia*, Georgetown University, Washington; The Catholic University of America, Washington; *Illinois*, Loyola University, Chicago; St. Ignatius College, Chicago; DePaul University, Chicago; St. Viator College, Bourbonnais. *Indiana*, University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame. *Iowa*, Des Moines College, Des Moines; Dubuque College, Dubuque. *Kansas*, St. Mary's College, St. Mary's. *Louisiana*, Loyola University, New Orleans; St. Charles College, Grand Coteau. *Maryland*, Mount St. Mary's College, Emmitsburg. *Massachusetts*, Boston College, Boston; Holy Cross College, Worcester; Assumption College, Worcester. *Michigan*, University of Detroit, Detroit; St. Cyrillus and Methodius Seminary, Orchard Lake. *Minnesota*, College of St. Thomas, St. Paul. *Missouri*, St. Louis University, St. Louis. *Montana*, Mt. St. Charles College, Helena. *Nebraska*, Creighton University, Omaha. *New York*, Canisius College, Buffalo; Fordham University, New York City; Manhattan College, New York City; Niagara University, Niagara; St. Bonaventure's College, St. Bonaventure; St. John's College, Brooklyn. *Ohio*, St. Ignatius College, Cleveland; St. Mary's College, Dayton; St. Xavier College, Cincinnati. *Pennsylvania*, St. Joseph's College, Philadelphia; Villanova College, Villanova; Duquesne University, Pittsburgh. *Washington*, Gonzaga University, Spokane. *Wisconsin*, Campion College, Prairie du Chien; Marquette University, Milwaukee. Thus making a total of forty-two Catholic colleges and universities.

No doubt, at the next annual meeting of the Catholic Educational Association, educators from these S. A. T. C. units will give us the benefit of their experiences in making adjustment with military life for the war emergency which has passed.

The Churches of Allentown, the doctoral dissertation of James H. Bossard of the University of Pennsylvania, is mainly a study in statistics of the denominations of that city.

Abbé Félix Klein has contributed to the *Correspondant* of October 10, 1918, an eloquent tribute to Cardinal Gibbons—*Le Cardinal Gibbons, à l'occasion de ses Noces d'Or Episcopales* (pp. 28). Dr. Klein accompanied the Mission sent to America by the French Hierarchy to felicitate the venerable American Cardinal on the occasion of his Golden Jubilee as bishop, October 20, 1918.

J. Richard Beste's account of Father Theobald Mathew in the United States, first printed in *The Wabash, or Adventures of an English Gentleman's Family in the Interior of America* (London, 1855), is reprinted in the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* for July.

A recent ceremony in the venerable Cathedral of Havana recalls to memory two illustrious figures of the Church in Cuba. Some time ago, when the cloistered Dominican nuns of Santa Catalina sold their large convent in the city in order to remove to a new site in the suburbs, the Bishop of Havana, the Right Rev. Pedro Gonzalez de Estrada, decided to inter in the Cathedral the mortal remains of two deceased prelates of Havana who for a long time had reposed, the one in Santa Catalina, and the other in Santa Teresa. Their bodies were brought to the Chapel of Loreta in the Cathedral, where, amid imposing ceremonies and before a great concourse of the clergy and laity, they were finally laid to rest in August last. A masterly discourse in praise of the dead and for the edification of the living was delivered by the distinguished Canon and Professor of the Seminary of Havana, Doctor Andres Lago. Doctor Lago is an alumnus of an American Seminary, and stands high among the Cuban clergy for the masterly manner in which, on every occasion, he defends the rights of the Church and the truths of religion.

The *Staples World* of June 13, in connection with its account of the dedication of the Staples (Minn.) Sacred Heart Church, reviews the history of that congregation from the time of its organization, in 1890, to the present.

Le Canada Francais, the first number of which was published in September, 1918, by Laval University, Quebec, takes the place of two former magazines, now suspended, the *Parler Francais* and the *Nouvelle-France*. For sixteen years the *Parler Francais* existed as the organ of the *Société du Parler français*, a society which endeavors to keep the French language pure in Canada. The *Nouvelle-France* was mainly an historical magazine, and was directed during the past eighteen years by Canon Lindsay. From 1881 to 1891, Laval University published a magazine with the same title: *Canada Francais*, and the professors of today have resurrected the magazine for the purpose of bringing the University nearer to the people.

The January, 1918, issue of the *Michigan History Magazine* contains an article on *Father Marquette at Michilimackinac*, by Hon. Edwin O. Wood, a chapter from Vol. i of the author's *Historic Mackinac*, since published. In the July number of this magazine, Hon. Fred Landon writes of *Father Jones and the Jesuit Archives*, and Rev. William Gagnieur, S.J., contributes a study of *Indian Place Names in the Upper Peninsula and their Interpretations*. John A. Lemmer.

of Notre University, gives an account of *The Missionary Labors in the Northwest of Claude Jean Allouez, S.J.* (1613-1689), in the October, 1918, issue. *The History of St. Mary's Parish, Marshall, Mich.*, by Rev. James Cahalan, appears in the same number.

The *Northwestern Chronicle* (St. Paul, Minn.) in its issue of April 27, 1918, contains a short account of the beginnings of Catholicity in Minneapolis.

The Right Reverend Bishop Garrigan of Sioux City contributes a preface to two excellent papers entitled: *The Church in Sioux City* and *The Church in the Diocese of Sioux City* which were prepared and read at the Quarterly Meetings of the Priests of Sioux City. It was in the hope that these papers might stimulate the pastors of the Diocese to prepare similar papers dealing with the history of their parishes that the two essays mentioned were printed.

Edward S. Delaplaine, in his study of *Chief Justice Roger B. Taney, His Career at the Frederick Bar*, printed in the *Maryland Historical Magazine* for June, 1918, says: "Mr. Taney also took a deep interest in his Church. In November, 1803, the Legislature authorized him and six other men to devise a lottery to raise \$3,600 with which to complete the Catholic Church in Frederick. The seven men, bonded in the following February, proposed the lottery scheme, delivered the prizes to the 'fortunate adventurers' within six months and applied the proceeds to the completion of the church within a period of two years." . . . "Mr. Taney himself was a man of deep religious devotion. For many years he could be seen every morning during his residence in Frederick at his religious devotions in the little Catholic Chapel, near which his mother was buried. Before taking his departure from Frederick he made arrangements with a friend, William Murdock Beall, a younger man than himself, for his own burial by the side of his mother." Some Taney Letters from the collection in the Maryland Historical Society are published in the same number of this magazine.

Among the Bandelier Manuscripts, now in the possession of Mrs. Fanny Bandelier, the widow of the archeologist and historian, there is an undated letter written to Johann Conrad von Reinach-Hirtzbach, Prince-Bishop of Basle, from one of the Swiss settlers who came to America in 1733, under the leadership of Colonel Purry who founded Purrysbourg, in South Carolina. An English translation of Colonel Purry's *Report*, written about 1726, before he brought his first colonists across the Atlantic, states quite clearly that Purrysbourg was to be a Protestant settlement. This Report was privately printed in 1880, by Charles C. Jones under the title: *Memorial presented to His Grace, my Lord the Duke of Newcastle, Chaplain of His Majesty, King George, etc., and Secretary of State, upon the Present Condition of Carolina and the Means of its Amelioration*

by Jean Pierre Purry, of Neufchatel, Switzerland (Augusta, Ga., 1880). The *Memorial* has been published in Force's *Tracts*, Vol. ii, and it is included in Carroll's *Historical Collections of South Carolina*. It presents a good specimen of the methods used to induce colonists to come to America. Purry visited Carolina to inform himself of the circumstances and situation of the province and then returned to England where he succeeded in obtaining government aid for his project. The English Government agreed to give lands and 400 pounds sterling for every hundred effective men he should transport from Switzerland to Carolina. One hundred and seventy Swiss agreed to follow him. Later two hundred more came over and joined the colony. The Governor, agreeable to instructions, allotted 40,000 acres of land for the use of the settlement on the north bank of the Savannah river, and a town called Purrisburgh, Purrysburg, or Purrysbourg was begun. Hewitt, in his *Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Colonies of South Carolina and Georgia*, Vol. ii, p. 26 (London, 1779), tells us that a certain Mr. Bignon, a Swiss minister who was engaged by the colonists, received episcopal ordination from the Bishop of London, before leaving for the new colony. The *United States Gazetteer* for 1795, speaks of Purrysburg, as "a most handsome town of South Carolina . . . it contains forty to fifty dwellings, and an Episcopalian church." The colony did not prosper. "The poverty of Carolina," writes Jones in his *Preface*, "the indifference of the Home Government, the penury of the colonists and the evil effects of the climate conspired to retard the progress of the settlement, and quickly brought about its almost total abandonment. After a comparatively short and precarious existence, Purrisburgh, like new Ebenezer and Abercorn on the Georgia side of the river, became little more than a name, scarcely aught else than a frail monument of hope deferred and disappointment most severe."

The *Memorial* is rather outspoken on the religion of the proposed settlement:

It happens every day (very much after the fashion of bees when they find themselves overcrowded in their hives), that many young people leave Protestant Switzerland who have, so to speak, no recourse other than to go into service in France, Spain, Italy, Savoy, and other Roman Catholic communities in their neighborhood, where most of them change their religion in order to maintain themselves and ameliorate their condition. Thus we see the poor Calvinists of the Palatinate betaking themselves into Hungary, although there at the mercy of the Turks or of the Jesuits, not knowing where else to go. Likewise many Protestants remain in France, enduring tyranny and persecution, influenced much less by a just horror of the idolatry which they there behold and frequently have the misfortune to commit, than by the helping hand which is drawing them into such a dangerous snare.

Escape from the danger of apostasy was not the only inducement held out to the British Government. The creation of an added barrier against the encroachments of the French in Louisiana, and the possibilities of fruits, oils, wax, cotton, tobacco, rice, indigo, wines, etc., etc., were held out as the attractions in the new colony. But the principal attraction was silk—"Carolina will

undoubtedly far surpass all the countries I have just named, because it is located precisely in the degree of heat and temperature which best befits the nature of the silk worm." Purry claimed that within thirty years Great Britain would be able to supply all Europe with silk from the Carolina settlement.

Students of English colonial policies will not be surprised to find a Catholic in this distinctly Protestant project. The efforts of the persecuted Catholics for a half a century before the foundation of Maryland are evidences of the difference between the letter and the spirit of the penal laws. Miles Standish in Plymouth and Edward Maria Wingfield in Jamestown are gradually being detached from the Protestant haze that surrounds these two early settlements. The letter of Jean Batiste Bourguin to the Bishop of Basle-Porentruy is another factor in the study of what might be called the crypto-Catholicism of the Colonial period of our history. The letter follows; the translation is by Mrs. Bandelier:

Lettre de la Caroline

A Son Altesse Monseigneur L'Evêque de Bâle et Porentruy, Prince du St. Empire, etc., au Chateau de Porentrui.

Monseigneur:

Sur ce que votre Altesse voulut bien me faire connaitre lorsque j'eus l'honneur de prendre congé d'elle, au chateau de Porentruy, que je lui ferais plaisir de lui envoyer une petite relation de ce pays, aussi bien que de la manière dont je m'y trouverais, et en laquelle j'y aurais été reçu, je prends, Monseigneur, la liberté de vous assurer en toute vérité et sans exagération, qu'on pourrait très justement dire de cette contrée ce que la reine de Sheba disait du Roi Salomon: on m'en avait déjà fait un rapport très avantageux, mais je l'ai trouvé encore beaucoup meilleur que tout ce qu'on m'en avait dit dans mon pays; car j'ose assurer votre Altesse que c'est un pays découlant de lait et de miel, les forêts y étant remplies d'abeilles qui produisent du miel en abondance. D'ailleurs on trouve presque partout un excellent fourage, sans qu'il soit nécessaire de ramasser du foin pour nourrir les bestiaux dans les écuries pendant l'hiver, a cause qu'ils ont dans les bois et dans les campagnes de quoi se repaître toute l'année.

La ville de Purybourg que nous avons commencé de bâtir, sur la rivière Savannah, avec environ 160 personnes qui composent notre colonie, est un des meilleurs quartiers de la Caroline, qu'on nommait autrefois le grand Yamesee, et que les Indiens occupaient autrefois, d'où les Anglais les ont chassés, ce que n'empêche pas qu'ils ne soient dans une profonde paix avec nous à présent.

La rivière y est d'une très bonne eau, remplie d'excellens poissons; la plupart des herbages et des fruits que nous y avons planté y viennent à merveille. L'orge, le lin, le blé indien autrement dit de Turquie, les patates, pois, fèves et autres herbes potagères nous ont parfaitement réussi: et nous ne doutons point que le froment aussi bien que le chauvre lorsqu'on les cultivera dans une saison convenable, et que les semences seront bonnes n'y réussissent de même.

Nous avons aussi construit un fort à quatre bastions, avec de gros pieux d'arbres, et six pièces de canon, qui nous mettent en état de défense contre tous ceux qui oseraient nous venir attaquer.

Nous fûmes déjà très bien reçu en arrivant à Charlestown qui est la capitale du pays.—Les habitans nous y firent tout l'accueil et toutes les caresses imaginables.—Mr. le Gouverneur nous fit même manger quelques uns de nous à sa table, dont je fûs du nombre; on eut soin de nous bien loger, rendant le séjour d'environ trois semaines que nous y fûmes; on nous donna des medecines pour les maladies, des vivres et toute sorte de rafraichissements.

Enfin, Monseigneur, quoique je sois très bien en ce pays avec ma petite famille, j'ose néanmoins vous assurer, mon très gracieux prince, que l'une des choses qui me feront le plus de plaisir en ce monde, serait celle de pouvoir jouir du bonheur de voir votre Altesse encore une fois, avant de mourir et que je me souviendrai toujours avec une respectueuse reconnaissance de la bonté que votre Altesse eut, de vouloir bien conserver mon Greffe, au cas que j'eusse été contraint de retourner dans le pays. C'est ce qui m'oblige aussi d'adresser continuellement des voeux au Ciel pour la conservation de votre sacrée personne, et d'être toute ma vie avec la plus respectueuse soumission, Monseigneur, de votre Altesse le très humble et très obligeant Serviteur et encore une fois fidèle.

Signé: JEAN BATISTE BOURGUIN,
ancien Greffier de Soncesbos.

Letter from Carolina

To His Highness Monseigneur the Bishop of Basle and Porentruy, Prince of the Holy Empire, etc., etc., at the Castle of Porentrui.

Monseigneur:

According to what Your Highness has had the kindness to tell me, at the time I had the honour to take personal leave of Your Highness at the Castle of Porentruy, namely that I would give you pleasure by sending you a short report of this country as well as of the way I liked it and had been received in it, I take the liberty, Monseigneur, to assure you most truthfully and without exaggeration, that one could very justly apply to this country that which the queen of Sheba said of King Solomon: I had already received a very favourable report, but I have found it (the country) to be a great deal better than I had been told that it was, when still at home, for now I may well assure Your Highness that this is truly a country where milk and honey are overflowing; the forests are filled with bees which produce an abundance of honey. Furthermore one finds almost everywhere an abundance of fodder so that it is not necessary to make hay to feed cattle, horses, etc., within the stables during the winter months, for they find plenty of pasture in the woods and fields all the year round.

The city of Purybourg which we have commenced to build, lies near the Savannah river and has about 160 inhabitants, which number constitutes our colony. It is one of the best parts of Carolina, formerly called the Great Yamesee and inhabited by the Indians (of that name), but from whence the English have chased them away, which, however, does not impede that at present they are at profound peace with us.

The river in this part has very good water, and is full of most excellent

fish; most of the truck and fruit which we have planted grows marvelously. Barley, flax (or hemp), Indian corn, which is also otherwise called Turkish corn, potatoes, peas, beans, and other vegetables, and we do not doubt but that wheat as well as hemp, will grow perfectly if cultivated in their proper season and provided the seeds were fresh.

We have also built a fort of four bastions, with palisades made of trunks of trees, and six pieces of cannon which will enable us to defend ourselves against all those who should attack us.

We were already very well received at Charlestown which is the capital of this part of the country. The inhabitants received us and treated us in the kindest manner imaginable. The Governor even invited several of us to eat at his own table, and I was among that number; and he saw to it that we were well housed during our stay there which lasted almost three weeks. He gave us medicines for our sick, provisions and all kinds of refreshments.

But, Monseigneur, although I feel very well satisfied in this country with my small family, I take nevertheless the liberty of assuring you, my very gracious prince, that one of the things that would give me the greatest pleasure in this world, would be that of enjoying the happiness of seeing Your highness once more before I die. I shall forever remember with respectful gratitude the kindness Your Highness has had to offer me to keep my secretariat open for me in case I should be obliged to return home. This is what makes me address my prayers continuously to heaven for the conservation of your sacred person and to allow me to remain all my life, with utmost humility, Monseigneur, the very humble and most obedient servant of Your Highness. Once more, faithfully:

[Signed]: JEAN BATISTE BOURGUIN,
Ancient Notary of Soncebois.

Ecclesiastical biography has unworthily many possible volumes missing from its shelves. Among them may be mentioned the Life of Don Felix Varela, which so far exists only in the Spanish of JOSÉ IGNACIO RODRIGUEZ' *Vida del Presbítero Don Félix Varela* (New York, 1878, pp. 448). This illustrious Cuban priest, whose interesting career was spent in Havana, Philadelphia, and New York where he became Vicar-General in 1837, was one of the profound scholars of his day. The author of some forty works in Spanish and English, the founder of at least three periodicals—*El Habanero*, a political, scientific and literary magazine, seven numbers of which were published at Philadelphia and New York in 1824-25; *The Protestant Abridger and Expositor*, published at New York in 1830, and of which no copy seems to be extant today; and *The Catholic Expositor and Literary Magazine*, which he edited monthly, in company with the Rev. Charles Constantine Fise, D.D., and which ran from 1841 to 1843. The four volumes of this magazine contain many of his finest philosophical essays. A complete list of his works includes the following titles:

Propositiones varias ad Tyronum exercitationem.

Institutiones Philosophiæ ecclésiasticæ ad usum studiosæ juventutis editæ.

Havana, 1812.

Instituciones de Filosofía ecléctica para el uso de la juventud. Havana, 1813.

Instituciones de Filosofía ecléctica para el uso de la juventud. Havana, 1814.

- Examen philosophicum de correctione mentis a D. Francisco Garcia et D. Cecilio Doval sustinendum in hoc S. Caroli habanensis Seminario. Præside D. Felice Varela.* Havana, 1813.
- Doctrinas de Logica Metafísica y Moral enseñada en el Real Seminario de San Carlos de la Habana por el Presbítero D. Félix Varela, en el primer año del curso filosófico.* Havana, 1816.
- Discurso de ingreso en la Real Sociedad Patriótica de la Habana, sobre la Influencia de la Ideología en la marcha de la sociedad, y medios de rectificar este ramo.* Havana, 1817.
- Apuntes filosóficos sobre la dirección del espíritu humano, hechos por el Presbítero Don Félix Varela para que sus discípulos puedan recordar las doctrinas enseñadas acerca de esta materia.* Havana, 1818.
- La Miscelánea Filosófica.* Havana, 1819. (Second Edition, Madrid, 1821; Third Edition, New York, 1827.)
- Observaciones sobre la Constitución de la Monarquía española, escritas por el Presbítero Don Félix Varela, catedrático de Filosofía y de Constitución, en el Seminario de San Carlos de la Habana.* Havana, 1821.
- Manual de práctica parlamentaria para el uso del Senado de los Estados Unidos, por Tomás Jefferson, al cual se han agregado el Reglamento de cada Cámara, y el común á ambas, traducido del inglés, y anotado por Félix Varela.* New York, 1826.
- Elementos de Química aplicada á la agricultura por Humphrey Davy, traducidos del inglés por Félix Varela.* New York, 1826.
- Cartas a Elpidio sobre la impiedad, la superstición y el fanatismo en sus relaciones con la sociedad.* New York, 1835; Madrid, 1836; New York, 1838.

Rodriguez' *Vida* was an important contribution to American literature, and it is regrettable that so many years have passed without a translation of his estimable production. Better still, we should have an original *Life of Father Varela* written in English. Many of his unpublished letters and essays are to be found in the Archdiocesan Archives of New York, in the Diocesan Archives of Havana, and in the Archives of the old College of S. Carlos in that city.

Among the historical articles in current magazines and reviews are the following:

1. *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society*, Philadelphia, for September, 1918.

An Historical Sketch of the Diocese of Harrisburg, by Monsignor Hassett, DD., V.G.

Bishop Flaget's Diary, by Rev. W. J. Howlett.

The Life of Bishop Conwell (Chapters 30-31), by the late Martin I. J. Griffin.

San Domingo Refugees in Philadelphia, by Jane Campbell.

2. *The Catholic World*, for December, 1918.

Catholic Doctrine on the Right of Self-Government, by Rev. Dr. John Ryan.

In an Old Maryland Manor, by Margaret B. Downing.

3. *The Ecclesiastical Review*, for December, 1918.

The First Missionary to the Bahama Islands, by Rev. Henry E. O'Keefe, C.S.P.

The National Flag in Our Churches.

4. *Le Canada Français*, for November, 1918.
La Deportation des Acadiens, by Henri d'Arles.
Un Anniversaire, l'ouverture du Petit Séminaire de Quebec, by Msgr. A. Gosselin.
5. *The Dublin Review*, for October–December, 1918.
Forgotten Passages in the Life of Cardinal Wiseman, by Shane Leslie.
 (Letters to members of the American hierarchy.)
6. *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, for October, 1918.
Early Catholicity in Chicago, by Rev. Gilbert J. Garraghan, S.J.
The First American Born Nun, by Mother St. Charles.
Catholic Progress in Chicago, by William J. Onahan.
The Illinois Missions, by Joseph J. Thompson.
Kaskaskia—Fr. Benedict Roux, by Rev. John Rothensteiner.
Annals of the Propagation of the Faith, by Cecilia Mary Young.
Illinois and the Leopoldine Association, by Rev. Francis J. Epstein.
Illinois' First Citizen—Pierre Gibault, by Joseph J. Thompson.
7. *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review*, for October, 1918.
Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis, by Rev. J. Rothensteiner.
The Historical Archives of St. Louis, by Rev. F. G. Holweck.
The Centenary of the Foundation of the St. Louis Diocesan Seminary, by Rev. M. J. O'Malley, C.M.
8. *The Hispanic-American Historical Review*, for August, 1918.
Recognition of the Hispanic-American Nations by the United States, by W. S. Robinson.
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9. *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, for September, 1918.
The Literary Spirit among the Early Ohio Valley Settlers, by Logan Esarey.
10. *Historical Records and Studies* (U. S. Cath. Hist. Society), for June, 1918.
The Church in the Island of San Domingo, by Rev. Peter Condon, A.M.
Francis Cooper: New York's First Catholic Legislator, by William H. Bennett.
Catholics in the War with Mexico, by Thomas F. Meehan.
Destruction of the Charlestown Convent. Statement by the Leader of the Mob.
Pierre Toussaint, a Catholic Uncle Tom, by Henry Binsse.
The Church of Saint Vincent De Paul (The French Church), New York, by Henry Binsse.
Our Diplomatic Relations with the Holy See.
11. *The American Catholic Quarterly Review*, for July, 1918.
States of our Union Settled by Catholics, by Marc. F. Vallette.
A Century of Catholic Education, by Anna C. Minogue.
A Summer Tour of Southern California, by William S. Long.

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THE "CATHOLIC ENCYCLOPEDIA" DIOCESAN BIBLIOGRAPHY

There exists no complete bibliography of the Catholic Church in the United States. The only work published thus far that approaches the problem is Finotti's *Bibliographia Catholica Americana*. Finotti's work, however, is not a technical one. It is a list of books written and published by Catholic authors in the United States, and it covers only the years 1789 to 1820. What is needed is a volume similar to that published by Professors Channing, Hart, and Turner: *Guide to the Study of American History*. They selected from the immense mass of rich material on American History all that was likely to be most immediately useful to the searcher in political, social, constitutional, and economic American history. A *Bibliography of American Catholic History* is the work of a lifetime. It can hardly be done by any one scholar or student. Help must be asked from the thousands of American Catholics who are interested in such a study; and help must come especially from the clergy.

It is only after long deliberation that a plan has been decided upon for launching this much-needed work. We begin by publishing the bibliographies to be found at the end of all the articles in the *Catholic Encyclopedia* which treat of the Dioceses and Archdioceses of the United States. Parts I and II of this bibliograph were published in the July and October (1918) issues of the *REVIEW*. Copies of these pages will then be sent to all who are known to be students of American Church history, with the request that books be added. From time to time these completed lists will be reprinted in the *REVIEW*, and all those who assist in the work will be given credit for the same. For the present, the usual divisions of *Sources* and *Books* must be abandoned, and the final classification will be postponed until it is concluded that the lists as published are as exhaustive as possible. The scheme to be followed will be chronological, that is, the fourteen Provinces will be taken up in the order of their erection and under each Province or Archdiocese the Suffragan Bishoprics as they are at present will be placed again in the order of their erection. Through the courtesy of the Editors of the *Catholic Encyclopedia* we are permitted to use their volumes for these purposes.

PART III

X. PROVINCE OF MILWAUKEE (1843-1875)*

1. Milwaukee (1843).

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2. Marquette (1853-1857-1865).²²

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3. Green Bay (1868)

Catholic Directory (Milwaukee, 1909); *Catholic Home Almanac* (New York, 1892); REUSA, *Biog. Encycl. Cath. Hierarchy U. S.* (Milwaukee, 1898); *Catholic Citizen* (Milwaukee), files.

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XI. PROVINCE OF SANTA FE (1850-1875)²⁴

1. Santa Fe (1850).

SALPOINTE, *Soldiers of the Cross* (Banning, 1898); DEFOURI, *Historical Sketch of the Catholic Church in New Mexico* (San Francisco, 1887); ENGELHARDT, *The Franciscans in Arizona* (Harbor Springs, 1899).

2. Denver (1868-1887).²⁵

HOWLETT, *Life of Bishop Machabeuf* (Denver, 1908); REUSA, *Biog. Cycl. of the Cath. Hierarchy of the U. S.* (Milwaukee, 1898).

3. Tucson (1868).

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4. El Paso (1914).

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²² Erected as Vicariate in 1853, as Diocese of Sault Sainte Marie in 1857, and as Diocese of Marquette in 1865.

²⁴ Erected as Vicariate of New Mexico in 1850, as Diocese of Santa Fe in 1853, and as Archdiocese in 1875.

²⁵ Erected as the Vicariate of Colorado and Utah in 1868 and as the Diocese of Denver in 1887.

XII. PROVINCE OF CHICAGO (1843-1880)²⁶

1. Chicago (1843).

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XIII. PROVINCE OF ST. PAUL (1850-1888)²⁸

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2. St. Cloud (1875-1889).²⁹

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3. Sioux Falls (1879-1889).³⁰

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4. Fargo (1889-1897).³¹

Diocesan records; *Catholic Directory*, 1909; REUSS, *Biog. Encycl. Cath. Hierarchy U. S.* (Milwaukee, 1898).

5. Winona (1889).

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²⁶ Erected as Diocese in 1843 and as Archdiocese in 1880.

²⁷ Erected as Diocese of Quincy in 1853 and was transferred to Alton in 1857.

²⁸ Erected as Diocese in 1850 and as Archdiocese in 1888.

²⁹ Erected as Vicariate of Northern Minnesota in 1875, and as Diocese of St. Cloud in 1889.

³⁰ Erected as Vicariate of Dakota in 1879 and as Diocese of Sioux Falls in 1889.

³¹ Erected as Diocese of Jamestown in 1889 and transferred to Fargo in 1897.

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²² Erected as Diocese of Dubuque in 1837 and as Archbishopric in 1893.

²³ Erected as a Vicariate in 1857 and as a Diocese in 1885.

4. Lincoln (1887).

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7. Des Moines (1911).

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8. Grand Island (1912-1917).¹⁴

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XV. RUTHENIAN-GREEK CATHOLIC DIOCESE (1907-1913)

None given.

¹⁴ Erected as Diocese of Kearney in 1912 and transferred to Grand Island in 1917.

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